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The works of John Bunyan

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John Bunyan.

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The Works of John Bunyan

Vol. III.

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THE

WORKS OF JOHN BUNYAN.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION TO EACH TREATISE, NOTES,

AND A

SKETCH OF HIS LIFE, TIMES, AND CONTEMPORARIES.

VOLUME THIRD.

ALLEGORICAL, FIGURATIVE, AND SYMBOLICAL.

EDITED BY

GEORGE OFFOR, ESQ.

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This curious and rare copper-plate engraving, on a large sheet, was published in 1663; soon after the author was first sent to prison, the profits probably assisted in maintaining his family. It is now engraved from an original impression in 1691, at which time the words, "Author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*," and the publishers' names, were added. It has never been re-published in any edition of Bunyan's *Whole Works*, until the present complete series. It commences with a symbol of the Trinity; on the one side is the line of grace, from election, by every step of the ascent to eternal glory; and, on the other, in a darker shade, the road from reprobation to eternal ruin. The whole is interspersed with poetry.

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MEMOIR OF JOHN BUNYAN.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

THIS GREAT MAN DESCENDED FROM IGNOBLE PARENTS—BORN IN POVERTY—HIS EDUCATION AND EVIL HABITS—FOLLOWS HIS FATHER'S BUSINESS AS A BRAZIER—ENLISTS FOR A SOLDIER—RETURNS FROM THE WARS AND OBTAINS AN AMIABLE, RELIGIOUS WIFE—HER DOWER.

'*We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.*'—2 Cor. iv. 7.

'*For my thoughts* are *not your thoughts, neither* are *your ways my ways, saith the Lord.*'—Isa. lv. 8.

'*Though ye have lien among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.*'—Ps. lxviii. 13.

When the Philistine giant, Goliath, mocked the host of Israel, and challenged any of their stern warriors to single combat, what human being could have imagined that the gigantic heathen would be successfully met in the mortal struggle by a youth 'ruddy and of a fair countenance?' who unarmed, except with a sling and a stone, 'gave the carcases of the hosts of the Philistines to the fowls of the air, and to the wild beasts of the earth.'

Who, upon seeing an infant born in a stable, and laid in a manger, or beholding him when a youth working with his father as a carpenter, could have conceived that he was the manifestation of the Deity in human form, before whom every knee should bow, and every tongue confess Him to be THE ETERNAL?

Father Michael, a Franciscan friar, on a journey to Ancona, having lost his way, sought direction from a wretched lad keeping hogs — deserted, forlorn, his back smarting with severe stripes, and his eyes suffused with tears. The poor ragged boy not only went cheerfully with him to point out his road, but besought the monk to take him into his convent, voluntecring to fulfil the most degrading services, in the hope of procuring a little learning, and escaping from 'those filthy hogs.' How incredulously would the friar have listened to any one who could have suggested that this desolate, tattered, dirty boy, might and would fill a greater than an imperial throne! Yet, eventually that swine-herd was clothed in purple and fine linen, and, under the title of Pope Sixtus V., became one of those mighty magicians who are described in Roger's *Italy*, as

> 'Setting their feet upon the necks of kings,
> And through the world subduing, chaining down
> The free, immortal spirit—theirs a wondrous spell.'[1]

A woman that was 'a loose and ungodly wretch' hearing a tinker lad most awfully cursing and swearing, protested to him that 'he swore and cursed at that most fearful rate that it made her tremble to hear him,' 'that he was the ungodliest fellow for swearing that ever she heard in all her life,' and 'that he was able to spoil all the youth in a whole town, if they came in his company.' This blow at the young reprobate made that indelible impression which all the sermons he had heard had failed to make. Satan, by one of his own slaves, wounded a conscience which had resisted all the overtures of mercy. The youth pondered her words in his heart; they were good seed strangely sown, and their working formed one of those mysterious steps which led the foul-mouthed blasphemer to bitter repentance; who, when he had received mercy and pardon, felt impelled to bless and magnify the Divine grace with shining, burning thoughts and words. The poor profligate, swearing tinker became transformed into the most ardent preacher of the love of Christ—the well-trained author of *The Jerusalem Sinner Saved, or Good News to the Vilest of Men.*

How often have the saints of God been made a most unexpected blessing to others. The good seed of Divine truth has been many times sown by those who did not *go out to sow*, but who were profitably engaged in cultivating their own graces, enjoying the communion of saints, and advancing their own personal happiness! Think of a few poor, but pious happy women, sitting in the sun one beautiful summer's day, before one of their cottages, probably each one with her pillow on her

[1] For a most interesting account of the rise of Sixtus V., see the new volume of the *Lounger's Common-place Book*, 1807, p. 152.

lap, dexterously twisting the bobbins to make lace, the profits of which helped to maintain their children. While they are communing on the things of God, a travelling tinker draws near, and, overhearing their talk, takes up a position where he might listen to their converse while he pursued his avocation. Their words distil into his soul; they speak the language of Canaan; they talk of holy enjoyments, the result of being born again, acknowledging their miserable state by nature, and how freely and undeservedly God had visited their hearts with pardoning mercy, and supported them while suffering the assaults and suggestions of Satan; how they had been borne up in every dark, cloudy, stormy day; and how they contemned, slighted, and abhorred their own righteousness as filthy and insufficient to do them any good. The learned discourses our tinker had heard at church had casually passed over his mind like evanescent clouds, and left little or no lasting impression. But these poor women, 'methought they spake as if joy did make them speak; they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture language, and with such appearance of grace in all they said, that they were to me as if they had found a new world, as if they were people that dwelt alone, and were not to be reckoned among their neighbours.' Num. xxiii. 9.

O! how little did they imagine that their pious converse was to be the means employed by the Holy Spirit in the conversion of that poor tinker, and that, by their agency, he was to be transformed into one of the brightest luminaries of heaven; who, when he had entered into rest would leave his works to follow him as spiritual thunder to pierce the hearts of the impenitent, and as heavenly consolation to bind up the broken-hearted; liberating the prisoners of Giant Despair, and directing the pilgrims to the Celestial City. Thus were blessings in rich abundance showered down upon the church by the instrumentality, in the first instance, of a woman that was a sinner, but most eminently by the Christian converse of a few poor but pious women.

This poverty-stricken, ragged tinker was the son of a working mechanic at Elstow, near Bedford. So obscure was his origin that even the Christian name of his father is yet unknown:[1] he was born in 1628, a year memorable as that in which the Bill of Rights was passed. Then began the struggle against arbitrary power, which was overthrown in 1688, the year of Bunyan's death, by the accession of William III. Of Bunyan's parents, his infancy, and childhood, little is recorded. All that we know is from his own account, and that principally contained in his doctrine of the *Law and Grace*, and in his extraordinary development of his spiritual life, under the title of *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*. His birth would have shed a lustre on the wealthiest mansion, and have imparted additional grandeur to any lordly palace. Had royal or noble gossips, and a splendid entertainment attended his christening, it might have been pointed to with pride; but so obscure was his birth, that it has not been discovered that he was christened at all; while the fact of his new birth by the Holy Ghost is known over the whole world to the vast extent that his writings have been circulated. He entered this world in a labourer's cottage of the humblest class, at the village of Elstow, about a mile from Bedford.[2] His pedigree is thus narrated by himself:—'My descent was of a low and inconsiderable generation, my father's house being of that rank that is meanest and most despised of all the families in the land.'[3] Bunyan alludes to this very pointedly in the preface to *A Few Sighs from Hell*:—'I am thine, if thou be not ashamed to own me, because of my low and contemptible descent in the world.'[4] His poor and abject parentage was so notorious, that his pastor, John Burton, apologized for it in his recommendation to *The Gospel Truths Opened*:—'Be not offended because Christ holds forth the glorious treasure of the gospel to thee in a poor earthen vessel, by one who hath neither the greatness nor the wisdom of this world to commend him to thee.'[5] And in his most admirable treatise, on *The Fear of God*, Bunyan observes—'The poor Christian

[1] The Rev. J. H. A. Rudd, the Vicar of Elstow, has most kindly furnished me with an extract from the registers of all the entries relative to Bunyan's family. The register commences in 1641, and has been searched to 1750. It confirms the Rev. J. Juke's impression, that soon after Bunyan joined Gifford's church he left Elstow to live in Bedford.

Thomas Bonion, buried, Dec. 9, 1641.
Margaret Bonion, wife, buried, June 20, 1644.
Margaret Bonion, b., July 24, 1644.
Charles, the son of Thos. Bunion, bapt., May 22, 1645.
Charles Bunion, bur., May 30, 1645.
Mary, the daught. of Joh. Bonion, bapt., July 20, 1650.
Elizabeth, the daughter of John Bonyon, was born 14th day of April, 1654.
Thomas ? Bonion of the town of Bedford, and Elizabeth —— of the parish of Elstow, were married, May 10, 1656.
(The Christian name of the husband, and the surname of the wife, are very much obliterated).
Ann Bonyonn, Widdo, was buried, 12th day of April, 1659.
Thos. Bunyan, buried, Feby. 7th, 1675.
Ann Bunyon, Widdo, buried in Woolen, September 25, 1680.
The marriage here recorded, May 10, 1656, could not be that of John Bunyan to his second wife Elizabeth; for she declared to Judge Hale in August, 1661, that she had 'not been married to him yet full two years.'—Vol. i. 61.

[2] This cottage has long ceased to exist, and has been replaced by another of the poorest description. But from an old print we have given in the Plate, p. 1, vol. i., a representation of the original, with the shed at side often mentioned as 'The forge;' thus leading us to believe, that to the 'tinker's' humble calling might be united that of the 'smith,' a more manly and honourable trade.

[3] *Grace Abounding*, No. 2. [4] Vol. iii., p. 674.
[5] Vol. ii., p. 140.

hath something to answer them that reproach him for his ignoble pedigree, and shortness of the glory of the wisdom of this world. True may that man say I am taken out of the dunghill. I was born in a base and low estate; but I fear God. This is the highest and most noble; he hath the honour, the life, and glory that is lasting.'[1] In his controversy with the Strict Baptists, he chides them for reviling his ignoble pedigree:—'You closely disdain my person because of my low descent among men, stigmatizing me as a person of THAT rank that need not be heeded or attended unto.'[2] He inquired of his father—'Whether we were of the Israelites or no? for, finding in the Scripture that they were once the peculiar people of God, thought I, if I were one of this race, my soul must needs be happy.'[3] This somewhat justifies the conclusion that his father was a Gipsy tinker, that occupation being then followed by the Gipsy tribe. In the life of Bunyan appended to the forged third part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, his father is described as 'an honest poor labouring man, who, like Adam unparadised, had all the world before him to get his bread in; and was very careful and industrious to maintain his family.'[4]

Happily for Bunyan, he was born in a neighbourhood in which it was a disgrace to any parents not to have their children educated. With gratitude he records, that 'it pleased God to put it into their hearts to put me to school to learn both to read and to write.' In the neighbourhood of his birthplace, a noble charity diffused the blessings of lettered knowledge.[5] To this charity Bunyan was for a short period indebted for the rudiments of education; but, alas, evil associates made awful havoc of those slight unshapen literary impressions which had been made upon a mind boisterous and impatient of discipline. He says—'To my shame, I confess I did soon lose that little I learned, and that almost utterly.'[6] This fact will recur to the reader's recollection when he peruses *Israel's Hope Encouraged*, in which, speaking of the all-important doctrine of justification, he says—'It is with many that begin with this doctrine as it is with boys that go to the Latin school; they learn till they have learned the grounds of their grammar, and then go home and forget all.'[7]

As soon as his strength enabled him, he devoted his whole soul and body to licentiousness—'As for my own natural life, for the time that I was without God in the world, it was indeed according to the course of this world, and the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience. It was my delight to be taken captive by the devil at his will: being filled with all unrighteousness; that from a child I had but few equals, both for cursing, swearing, lying, and blaspheming the holy name of God.'[8]

It has been supposed, that in delineating the early career of Badman, 'Bunyan drew the picture of his own boyhood.'[9] But the difference is broadly given. Badman is the child of pious parents, who gave him a 'good education' in every sense, both moral and secular;[10] the very reverse of Bunyan's training. His associates would enable him to draw the awful character and conduct of Badman, as a terrible example to deter others from the downward road to misery and perdition.

Bunyan's parents do not appear to have checked, or attempted to counteract, his unbridled career of wickedness. He gives no hint of the kind; but when he notices his wife's father, he adds that he 'was counted godly;' and in his beautiful non-sectarian catechism, there is a very touching conclusion to his instructions to children on their behaviour to their parents:—'The Lord, if it be his will, convert our poor parents, that they, with us, may be the children of God.'[11] These fervent expressions may refer to his own parents; and, connecting them with other evidence, it appears that he was not blessed with pious example. Upon one occasion, when severely reproved for swearing, he says—'I wished, with all my heart, that I might be a little child again, that my father *might* learn me to speak without this wicked way of swearing.'[12] In his numerous confessions, he never expresses pain at having, by his vicious conduct, occasioned grief to his father or mother. From this it may be inferred, that neither his father's example nor precept had checked this wretched propensity to swearing, and that he owed nothing to his parents for moral training; but, on the contrary, they had connived at, and encouraged him in, a course of life which made him a curse to the neighbourhood in which he lived.

In the midst of all this violent depravity, the Holy Spirit began the work of regeneration in his soul—a long, a solemn, yea, an awful work—which was to fit this poor debauched youth for purity of conduct—for communion with heaven—for wondrous usefulness as a minister of the gospel—for patient endurance of sufferings for righteousness' sake—for the writing of works which promise to

[1] Vol. i., p. 490. [2] Vol. ii., p. 617.
[3] *Grace Abounding*, No. 18.
[4] Extracted from the first edition in the British Museum. It was much altered in the subsequent impressions.
[5] In 1566, Sir Thomas Harper, Lord Mayor of London, gave £180 for thirteen acres and a rood of meadow land in Holborn. This was settled, in trust, to promote the education of the poor in and round Bedford. In 1668, it produced a yearly revenue of £99—a considerable sum in that day, but not in any proportion to the present rental, which amounts to upwards of £12,000 a-year.
[6] *Grace Abounding*, No. 3. [7] Vol. i., p. 618.
[8] *Grace Abounding*, No. 4. [9] Philip's *Life of Bunyan*, p. 4.
[10] Vol. iii., p. 597. [11] Vol. ii., p. 564.
[12] *Grace Abounding*, No. 27.

be a blessing to the Church in all ages—for his support during his passage through the black river which has no bridge—to shine all bright and glorious, as a star in the firmament of heaven. 'Wonders of grace to God belong.'

During the period of his open profligacy, his conscience was ill at ease; at times the clanking of Satan's slavish chains in which he was hurrying to destruction, distracted him. The stern reality of a future state clouded and embittered many of those moments employed in gratifying his baser passions. The face of the eventful times in which he lived was rapidly changing; the trammels were loosened, which, with atrocious penalties, had fettered all free inquiry into religious truth. Puritanism began to walk upright; and as the restraints imposed upon Divine truths were taken off, in the same proportion restraints were imposed upon impiety, profaneness, and debauchery. A ringleader in all wickedness would not long continue without reproof, either personally, or as seen in the holy conduct of others. Bunyan very properly attributed to a gracious God, those checks of conscience which he so strongly felt even while he was apparently dead in trespasses and sins. 'The Lord, even in my childhood, did scare and affright me with fearful dreams, and did terrify me with dreadful visions.'[1] 'I often wished that there had been no hell, or that I had been a devil to torment others.' A common childish but demoniac idea. His mind was as 'the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt.' 'A while after, these terrible dreams did leave me; and with more greediness, according to the strength of nature, I did let loose the reins of my lusts, and delighted in all transgression against the law of God.' 'I was the very ringleader of all the youth that kept me company, into ALL MANNER of vice and ungodliness.'[2]

Dr. Southey and others have attempted to whiten this blackamore, but the veil that they throw over him is so transparent that it cannot deceive those who are in the least degree spiritually enlightened. He alleges that Bunyan, in his mad career of vice and folly, 'was never so given over to a reprobate mind,'[3] as to be wholly free from compunctions of conscience. This is the case with every depraved character; but he goes further, when he asserts that 'Bunyan's heart never was hardened.'[4] This is directly opposed to his description of himself:—'I found within me a great desire to take my fill of sin, still studying what sin was yet to be committed; and I made as much haste as I could to fill my belly with its delicates, lest I should die before I had my desire.' He thus solemnly adds, 'In these things, I protest before God, I lie not, neither do I feign this sort of speech; these were really, strongly, and with all my heart, my desires; the good Lord, whose mercy is unsearchable, forgive me my transgressions.' The whole of his career, from childhood to manhood, was, 'According to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.' Ep. ii. 2.

These reminiscences are alluded to in the prologue of the *Holy War*:—

> 'When Mansoul trampled upon things Divine,
> And wallowed in filth as doth a swine,
> Then I was there, and did rejoice to see
> Diabolus and Mansoul so agree.'

The Laureate had read this, and yet considers it the language of a heart that 'never was hardened.' He says that 'the wickedness of the tinker has been greatly overcharged, and it is taking the language of self-accusation too literally to pronounce of John Bunyan, that *he was at any time depraved.* The worst of what he was in his worst days is to be expressed in a single word, the full meaning of which no circumlocution can convey; and which, though it may hardly be deemed presentable in serious composition, I shall use, as Bunyan himself (no mealy-mouthed writer) would have used it, had it in his days borne the same acceptation in which it is now universally understood;—in that word then, he had been a *blackguard.*

> The very head and front of his offending
> Hath this extent—no more.'[5]

The meaning of the epithet is admirably explained; but what could Dr. Southey imagine possible to render such a character *more* vile in the sight of God, or a greater pest to society? Is there any vicious propensity, the gratification of which is not included in that character? Bunyan's estimate of his immorality and profaneness prior to his conversion, was not made by comparing himself with the infinitely Holy One, but he measured his conduct by that of his more moral neighbours. In his *Jerusalem Sinner Saved,* he pleads with great sinners, the outwardly and violently profane and vicious, that if HE had received mercy, and had become regenerated, they surely ought not to despair, but to seek earnestly for the same grace. He thus describes himself:—'I speak by experience; I was one of those great sin-breeders; I infected all the youth of the town where I was born; the neighbours counted me so, my practice proved me so: wherefore, Christ Jesus took me first; and, taking me first, the contagion was much allayed all

[1] *Grace Abounding*, No. 5.
[2] Ibid., No. 8.
[3] *Life*, p. vii.
[4] Ibid. p. viii.
[5] *Life*, pp. xli., xlii.

the town over. When God made me sigh, they would hearken, and inquiringly say, What's the matter with John? When I went out to seek the bread of life, some of them would follow, and the rest be put into a muse at home. Some of them, perceiving that God had mercy upon me, came crying to him for mercy too.'[1] Can any one, in the face of such language, doubt that he was most eminently 'a brand snatched from the fire;' a pitchy burning brand, known and seen as such by all who witnessed his conduct? He pointedly exemplified the character set forth by James, 'the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity, set on fire of hell,' Ja. iii. 6. This was as publicly known before his conversion, as the effects of the wondrous change were openly seen in his Christian career afterwards. He who, when convinced of sin, strained his eyes to see the distant shining light over the wicket-gate, after he had gazed upon

'The wondrous cross
On which the Prince of glory died,'

became a luminous beacon, to attract the vilest characters to seek newness of life; and if there be hope for them, no one ought to despair. Far be it from us to cloud this light, or to tarnish so conspicuous an example. Like a Magdalene or a thief on the cross, his case may be exhibited to encourage hope in every returning prodigal. During this period of his childhood, while striving to harden his heart against God, many were the glimmerings of light which from time to time directed his unwilling eyes to a dread eternity. In the still hours of the night 'in a dream God opened' his ears[2]—the dreadful vision was that 'devils and wicked spirits laboured to draw me away with them.' These thoughts must have left a deep and alarming impression upon his mind; for he adds, 'of which I could never be rid.'[3]

The author of his life, published in 1692, who was one of his personal friends, gives the following account of Bunyan's profligacy, and his checks of conscience:—'He himself hath often, since his conversion, confessed with horror, that when he was but a child or stripling, he had but few equals for lying, swearing, and blaspheming God's holy name—living without God in the world; the thoughts of which, when he, by the light of Divine grace, came to understand his dangerous condition, drew many showers of tears from his sorrowful eyes, and sighs from his groaning heart. The first thing that sensibly touched him in this his unregenerate state, were fearful dreams, and visions of the night, which often made him cry out in his sleep, and alarm the house, as if somebody was about to murder him; and being waked, he would start, and stare about him with such a wildness, as if some real apparition had yet remained; and generally those dreams were about evil spirits, in monstrous shapes and forms, that presented themselves to him in threatening postures, as if they would have taken him away, or torn him in pieces. At some times they seemed to belch flame, at other times a continuous smoke, with horrible noises and roaring. Once he dreamed he saw the face of the heavens, as it were, all on fire; the firmament crackling and shivering with the noise of mighty thunders, and an archangel flew in the midst of heaven, sounding a trumpet, and a glorious throne was seated in the east, whereon sat one in brightness, like the morning star, upon which he, thinking it was the end of the world, fell upon his knees, and, with uplifted hands towards heaven, cried, O Lord God, have mercy upon me! What shall I do, the day of judgment is come, and I am not prepared! When immediately he heard a voice behind him, exceeding loud, saying, Repent. At another time he dreamed that he was in a pleasant place, jovial and rioting, banqueting and feasting his senses, when a mighty earthquake suddenly rent the earth, and made a wide gap, out of which came bloody flames, and the figures of men tossed up in globes of fire, and falling down again with horrible cries, shrieks, and execrations, whilst some devils that were mingled with them, laughed aloud at their torments; and whilst he stood trembling at this sight, he thought the earth sunk under him, and a circle of flame enclosed him; but when he fancied he was just at the point to perish, one in white shining raiment descended, and plucked him out of that dreadful place; whilst the devils cried after him, to leave him with them, to take the just punishment his sins had deserved, yet he escaped the danger, and leaped for joy when he awoke and found it was a dream.'

Such dreams as these fitted him in after life to be the glorious dreamer of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, in which a dream is told which doubtless embodies some of those which terrified him in the night visions of his youth.

In the Interpreter's house he is 'led into a chamber where there was one rising out of bed, and as he put on his raiment he shook and trembled. Then said Christian, Why doth this man thus tremble? The Interpreter then bid him tell to Christian the reason of his so doing. So he began and said, This night, as I was in my sleep I dreamed, and behold the heavens grew exceeding black; also it thundered and lightened in most fearful wise, that it put me into an agony. So I looked up in my dream, and saw the clouds rack at an unusual rate, upon which I heard a great sound of a trumpet, and saw also a man sit upon a cloud, attended with the thousands of heaven—they were all in flaming fire; also the heavens were in a burning flame. I heard then a voice saying, "Arise, ye dead, and come

[1] Vol. i., p. 79. [2] Job, xxxiii. 15.
[3] *Grace Abounding*, No. 5, vol. i., p. 6.

to judgment;" and with that the rocks rent, the graves opened, and the dead that were therein came forth. Some of them were exceeding glad, and looked upward; and some sought to hide themselves under the mountains. Then I saw the man that sat upon the cloud open the book, and bid the world draw near. Yet there was, by reason of a fierce flame which issued out and came from before him, a convenient distance betwixt him and them, as betwixt the judge and prisoners at the bar. I heard it also proclaimed, "Gather together the tares, the chaff, and stubble, and cast them into the burning lake;" and with that the bottomless pit opened just whereabout I stood, out of the mouth of which there came, in an abundant manner, smoke and coals of fire, with hideous noises. It was also said, "Gather my wheat into the garner;" and with that I saw many catched up and carried away into the clouds, but I was left behind. I also sought to hide myself, but I could not, for the man that sat upon the cloud still kept his eye upon me; my sins also came into my mind, and my conscience did accuse me on every side. Upon that I awaked from my sleep.'

No laboured composition could have produced such a dream as this. It flows in such dream-like order as would lead us to infer, that the author who narrates it had, when a boy, heard the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew read at church, and the solemn impression following him at night assisted in producing a dream which stands, and perhaps will ever stand, unrivalled.

Awful as must have been these impressions upon his imagination, they were soon thrown off, and the mad youth rushed on in his desperate career of vice and folly. Is he then left to fill up the measure of his iniquities? No, the Lord has a great work for him to do. His hand is not shortened that he cannot save. Bunyan has to be prepared for his work; and if terrors will not stop him, manifested mercies in judgments are to be tried.

'God did not utterly leave me, but followed me still, not now with convictions, but judgments; yet such as were mixed with mercy. For once I fell into a creek of the sea, and hardly escaped drowning. Another time I fell out of a boat into Bedford river, but mercy yet preserved me alive. Besides, another time, being in the field with one of my companions, it chanced that an adder passed over the highway, so I, having a stick in my hand, struck her over the back; and having stunned her, I forced open her mouth with my stick, and plucked her sting out with my fingers; by which act, had not God been merciful unto me, I might by my desperateness have brought myself to my end.

'This also have I taken notice of, with thanksgiving. When I was a soldier, I, with others, were drawn out to go to such a place to besiege it; but when I was just ready to go, one of the company desired to go in my room, to which, when I had consented, he took my place; and coming to the siege, as he stood sentinel, he was shot into the head with a musket bullet, and died.'[1]

In addition to these mercies recorded by his own pen, one of his friends asserts that he acknowledged his deep obligations to Divine mercy for being saved when he fell into an exceeding deep pit, as he was travelling in the dark; for having been preserved in sickness; and also for providential goodness that such a sinner was sustained with food and raiment, even to his own admiration.

Bunyan adds, 'Here were judgments and mercy, but neither of them did awaken my soul to righteousness; wherefore I sinned still, and grew more and more rebellious against God, and careless of mine own salvation.'[2]

That such a scape-grace should enter the army can occasion no surprise. His robust, hardy frame, used to exposure in all weathers—his daring courage, as displayed in his perilous dealing with the adder, bordering upon fool-hardiness—his mental depravity and immoral habits, fitted him for all the military glory of rapine and desolation. In his *Grace Abounding* he expressly states that this took place before his marriage, while his earliest biographer places this event some years after his marriage, and even argues upon it, as a reason why he became a soldier, that 'when the unnatural civil war came on, finding little or nothing to do to support himself and *small family*, he, as many thousands did, betook himself to arms.'[3] The same account states that, 'in June, 1645, being at the siege of Leicester, he was called out to be one who was to make a violent attack upon the town, vigorously defended by the King's forces against the Parliamentarians, but appearing to the officer who was to command them to be somewhat awkward in handling his arms, another voluntarily, and as it were thrust himself into his place, who, having the same post that was designed Mr. Bunyan, met his fate by a carbine-shot from the wall; but this little or nothing startled our too secure sinner at that time; for being now in an army where wickedness abounded, he was the more hardened.'

Thus we find Bunyan engaged in military affairs. There can be no doubt but that he was a soldier prior to his marriage, and that he was

[1] Life appended to the first and second editions of the forged third part of *Pilgrim's Progress*.

[2] *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 12–14, vol. i., p. 7. How do these hair-breadth escapes illustrate the unerring providence of God, and the short-sightedness of even pious Christians. It is easy to imagine the exclamations of a reflecting character when hearing of the marvellous escapes of this wicked youth. 'Dark providences! the good and benevolent are snatched away; but such a plague as this has his life preserved to pester us still. Short-sighted mortal, "shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"' No life in the British empire was so precious in the sight and gracious purposes of God, as that of the poor depraved lad; which was thus preserved by the special care of Divine providence.

[3] Life appended to part third of *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1692. This is omitted from the third edition (1700), and all the subsequent ones.

present at the siege of Leicester; but it is somewhat strange (if true) that he should have preferred the Parliamentary to the Royal army. Although this is a question that cannot be positively decided without further evidence than has yet been discovered, there are strong reasons for thinking that so loyal a man joined the Royal army, and not that of the Republicans.

The army into which Bunyan entered is described as being 'where wickedness abounded,' but, according to Hume, in this year the Republican troops were generally pious men.

Bunyan's loyalty was so remarkable as to appear to be natural to him; for even after he had so severely suffered from the abuse of kingly power, in interfering with the Divine prerogative of appointing modes of worship, he, who feared the face of no man—who never wrote a line to curry favour with any man or class of men—thus expresses his loyal feelings—'I do confess myself one of the old-fashioned professors, that covet to fear God, and honour the king. I also am for blessing of them that curse me, for doing good to them that hate me, and for praying for them that despitefully use me and persecute me; and have had more peace in the practice of these things than all the world are aware of.' 'Pray for the long life of the king.' 'Pray that God would discover all plots and conspiracies against his person and government.'[1] 'Will you rebel against the king? is a word that shakes the world.'[2] 'Pray for all that are in authority; reproach not the governor, he is set over thee; all his ways are God's, either for thy help or the trial of thy graces—this is duty, will render thee lovely to thy friends, terrible to thine enemies, serviceable as a Christian.'[3] 'Let kings have that fear, honour, reverence, worship that is due to their place, their office and dignity.' 'I speak it to show my loyalty to the king, and my love to my fellow-subjects.'[4] With such proofs of his peaceful submission to government in all things that touched not the prerogatives of God; it would have been marvellous indeed if he had taken up arms against his king. His infatuated delight in swearing, and roisterous habits, were ill suited to the religious restraints of the Parliamentarians, while they would render him a high prize to Rupert's dragoons. Add to this, the remarkable fact, that Leicester was besieged and stormed with terrible slaughter by the king, but not by the army of the Parliament. The taking of Leicester by the king in person was attended with great cruelties. The abbey was burnt by the cavaliers. Rupert's black flag was hoisted on the gate which had been treacherously given up. Every Scotchman found in the town was murdered. The mace and town seals were carried off as plunder; and, if the account given by Thoresby in his *History of Leicester* is correct, the scene of carnage was quite enough to sicken Bunyan of a military life. He knew the mode in which plunder taken from the bodies of the slain was divided by the conquerors:—

> 'Or as the soldiers give unto
> Each man the share and lot,
> Which they by dint of sword have won,
> From their most daring foe;
> While he lies by as still as stone,
> Not knowing what they do.'[5]

'The king's forces having made their batteries, stormed Leicester; those within made stout resistance, but some of them betrayed one of the gates; the women of the town laboured in making up the breaches, and in great danger. The king's forces having entered the town, had a hot encounter in the market-place; and many of them were slain by shot out of the windows, that they gave no quarter, but hanged some of the committee, and cut others to pieces. Some letters say that the kennels ran down with blood; Colonel Gray the governor, and Captain Hacker, were wounded and taken prisoners, and very many of the garrison were put to the sword, and the town miserably plundered. The king's forces killed divers who prayed quarter, and put divers women to the sword,[6] and other women and children they turned naked into the streets, and many they ravished. They hanged Mr. Reynor and Mr. Sawyer in cold blood; and at Wighton they smothered Mrs. Barlowes, a minister's wife, and her children.'[7]

Lord Clarendon admits the rapine and plunder, and that the king regretted that some of his friends suffered with the rest.[8] Humphrey Brown deposed that he was present when the garrison, having surrendered upon a promise of quarter, he saw the king's soldiers strip and wound the prisoners, and heard the king say—'cut them more, for they are mine enemies.' A national collection was made for the sufferers, by an ordinance bearing date the 28th October, 1645, which states that—'Whereas it is very well known what miseries befel the inhabitants of the town and county of Leicester, when the king's army took Leicester, by plundering the said inhabitants, not only of their wares in their shops, but also all their household goods, and their apparel from their backs, both of men, women, and children, not sparing, in that kind, infants in their

[1] Vol. ii., p. 74. [2] Vol. i., p. 732. [3] Vol. ii., p. 758.
[4] Vol. ii., p. 709; ii., p. 45; ii., 601.

[5] Vol. iii., p. 727; v. 7, 8.
[6] The women were remarkably active in defending the town.
[7] *Thoresby's Leicester*, 4to, p. 128.
[8] *Hist. of Rebellion*, edition 1712, vol. ii., p. 632.

cradles; and, by violent courses and tortures, compelled them to discover whatsoever they had concealed or hid, and after all they imprisoned their persons, to the undoing of the tradesmen, and the ruin of many of the country.'

Can we wonder that 'the king was abused as a barbarian and a murderer, for having put numbers to death in cold blood after the garrison had surrendered; and for hanging the Parliament's committee, and some Scots found in that town?' The cruelties practised in the king's presence were signally punished. He lost 709 men on that occasion, and it infused new vigour into the Parliament's army. The battle of Naseby was fought a few days after; the numbers of the contending forces were nearly equal; the royal troops were veterans, commanded by experienced officers; but the God of armies avenged the innocent blood shed in Leicester, and the royal army was cut to pieces; carriages, cannon, the king's cabinet, full of treasonable correspondence, were taken, and from that day he made feeble fight, and soon lost his crown and his life. The conquerors marched to Leicester, which surrendered by capitulation. Heath, in his *Chronicle*, asserts that 'no life was lost at the retaking of Leicester.' Many of Bunyan's sayings and proverbs are strongly tinged with the spirit of Rupert's dragoons—'as we say, blood up to the ears.'[1] 'What can be the meaning of this (trumpeters), they neither sound boot and saddle, nor horse and away, nor a charge?'[2] In his allegories when he alludes to fighting, it is with the sword and not with the musket;[3] 'rub up man, put on thy harness.'[4] 'The father's *sword* in the hand of the sucking child is not able to conquer a foe.'[5]

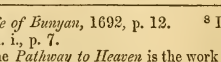
Considering his singular loyalty, which, during the French Revolution, was exhibited as a pattern to Dissenters by an eminent Baptist minister;[6] considering also his profligate character and military sayings, it is very probable that Bunyan was in the king's army in 1645, being about seventeen years of age. It was a finishing school to the hardened sinner, which enabled him, in his account of the *Holy War*, so well to describe every filthy lane and dirty street in the town of Mansoul.

Whether Bunyan left the army when Charles was routed at the battle of Naseby, or was discharged, is not known. He returned to his native town full of military ideas, which he used to advantage in his *Holy War*. He was not reformed, but hardened in sin, and, although at times alarmed with convictions of the danger of his soul, yet in the end, the flesh pleading powerfully, it prevailed; and he made a resolution to indulge himself in such carnal delights and pleasures as he was accustomed to, or that fell in his way. 'His neglecting his business, and following gaming and sports, to put melancholy thoughts out of his mind, which he could not always do, had rendered him very poor and despicable.'[7]

In this forlorn and miserable state, he was induced, by the persuasion of friends, under the invisible guidance of God, to enter into the marriage state. Such a youth, then only twenty years of age, would naturally be expected to marry some young woman as hardened as himself, but he made a very different choice. His earliest biographer says, with singular simplicity, 'his poverty, and irregular course of life, made it very difficult for him to get a wife suitable to his inclination; and because none that were rich would yield to his allurements, he found himself constrained to marry one without any fortune, though very virtuous, loving, and conformably obedient and obliging, being born of good, honest, godly parents, who had instructed her, as well as they were able, in the ways of truth and saving knowledge.'[8] The idea of his seeking a rich wife is sufficiently droll; he must have been naturally a persuasive lover, to have gained so good a helpmate. They were not troubled with sending cards, cake, or gloves, nor with the ceremony of receiving the visits of their friends in state; for he says, that 'This woman and I came together as poor as poor might be, not having so much household stuff as a dish or spoon betwixt us both.'[9] His wife had two books, *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, and *The Practice of Piety*; but what was of more importance than wealth or household stuff, she had that seed sown in her heart which no thief could steal.[10] She enticed and persuaded him to read those books. To do this he by application 'again recovered his reading, which he had almost lost.' His wife became an unspeakable blessing to him. She presents a pattern to any woman, who, having neglected the apostolic injunction not to be unequally yoked, finds herself under the dominion of a swearing dare devil. It affords a lovely proof of the insinuating benign favour of female influence. This was the more surprising, as he says,

[1] Vol. i., p. 661. [2] Vol. iii., p. 357.
[3] Vol. iii., p. 113, 338. [4] Vol. i., p. 726. [5] Vol. i., p. 694.
[6] *The Political Sentiments of John Bunyan*, re-published by John Martin, 1798.

[7] *Life of Bunyan*, 1692, p. 12. [8] Ibid., 1692, p. 13.
[9] Vol. i., p. 7.
[10] The *Pathway to Heaven* is the work of that pious puritan Dent, and is full of those striking illustrations which were admirably adapted to prepare Bunyan for writing his allegories. A copy with the name Ma Bunyann, written on the title page, has long been in the editor's library. We give a facsimile of the writing, as it has been supposed that of Bunyan. This is



very doubtful; it appears more like a woman's hand; but, if it is the name of Mrs. Bunyan, then it indicates that his daughter Mary, baptized 20th July, 1650, was called after her.

'the thoughts of religion were very grevious to me,' and when 'books that concerned Christian piety were read in my hearing, it was as it were a prison to me.' In spite of all obstacles, his rugged heart was softened by her tenderness and obedience, he 'keeping on the old course,'[1] she upon every proper season teaching him how her father's piety secured his own and his family's happiness. Here was no upbraiding, no snubbing, no curtain lectures; all was affectionate, amiable mildness. At first, he became occasionally alarmed for his soul's salvation; then with the thought of having sinned away the day of grace, he plunged again into sin with greediness; anon a faint hope of mercy would fill him with fear and trembling. But this leads us to the wondrous narrative of his new birth.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

THE INTERNAL CONFLICT, OR BUNYAN'S CONVICTIONS AND CONVERSION.

All nature is progressive; if an infant was suddenly to arrive at manhood, how idiotic and dangerous he would be! A long training is essential to fit the human being for the important duties of life; and just so is it in the new birth to spiritual existence—first a babe, then the young man; at length the full stature, and at last the experienced Christian.

The narrative of Bunyan's progress in his conversion is, without exception, the most astonishing of any that has been published. It is well calculated to excite the profoundest investigation of the Christian philosopher. Whence came those sudden suggestions, those gloomy fears, those heavenly rays of joy? Much learning certainly did not make *him* mad. The Christian dares not attribute his intense feelings to a distempered brain. Whence came the invisible power that struck Paul from his horse? Who was it that scared Job with dreams, and terrified him with visions? What messenger of Satan buffeted Paul? Who put 'a new song' into the mouth of David? We have no space in this short memoir to attempt the drawing a line between convictions of sin and the terrors of a distempered brain. Bunyan's opinions upon this subject are deeply interesting, and are fully developed in his *Holy War*. The capabilities of the soul to entertain vast armies of thoughts, strong and feeble, represented as men, women, and children, are so great as almost to perplex the strongest understanding. All these multitudes of warriors are the innumerable thoughts—the strife—in ONE soul. Upon such a subject an interesting volume might be written. But we must fix our attention upon the poor tinker who was the subject of this wondrous war.

The tender and wise efforts of Mrs. Bunyan to reclaim her husband, were attended by the Divine blessing, and soon led to many resolutions, on his part, to curb his sinful propensities and to promote an outward reformation; his first effort was regularly to attend Divine worship.

He says, 'I fell in very eagerly with the religion of the times, to wit, to go to church twice a-day, and that too with the foremost; and there should very devoutly both say and sing as others did, yet retaining my wicked life; but withal, I was so overrun with a spirit of superstition, that I adored, and that with great devotion, even all things, both the high-place, priest, clerk, vestment, service, and what else belonging to the Church; counting all things holy that were therein contained, and especially, the priest and clerk most happy, and without doubt greatly blessed, because they were the servants, as I then thought,[2] of God, and were principal in the holy temple, to do his work therein. 'This conceit grew so strong in little time upon my spirit, that had I but seen a priest, though never so sordid and debauched in his life,[3] I should find my spirit fall under him, reverence him, and knit unto him; yea, I thought, for the love I did bear unto them, supposing they were the ministers of God, I could have lain down at their feet, and have been trampled upon by them; their name, their garb, and work did so intoxicate and bewitch me.'

All this took place at the time when *The Book of Common Prayer*, having been said to occasion 'manifold inconveniency,' was, by an Act of Parliament, 'abolished,'[4] and by a subsequent Act[5] prohibited, under severe penalties, from being publicly used. The 'manifold inconveniences' to which the Act refers, arose from differences of opinion as to the propriety of the form which had been enforced, heightened by the enormous cruelties practised upon multitudes who refused to use it. Opposition to the English Liturgy was more combined in Scotland, by a covenant entered into, June 20, 1580, by the king, lords, nobles, and people, against Popery; and upon Archbishop Laud's attempt, in 1637, to impose the service-book upon our northern neighbours, tumults and bloodshed ensued; until, in 1643, a new and very solemn league and covenant was entered into, which, in 1645, extended its influence to England, being subscribed by thousands of our best citizens, with many of the nobility—'wherein we all subscribe, and each with his own hands lifted up to the Most High God, doe swear;' that being the mode of taking an oath, instead of kissing the cover of a book, as is now practised. To the cruel and intemperate measures of Laud, and the zeal of Charles, for priestly domination over conscience, may be justly

[1] *Life of Bunyan*, 1691, p. 13.

[2] This is a solemn consideration; many profess to serve God while they are bond-slaves to sin; and many are servants in his family who are not sons, nor heirs, of heaven. Blessed are those who are both servants and sons.

[3] Vol. i., p. 7, 8. [4] Jan. 3, 1644-5. [5] Aug. 23, 1645.

attributed the wars which desolated the country, while the solemn league and covenant brought an overwhelming force to aid the Parliament in redressing the grievances of the kingdom. During the Commonwealth there was substituted, in place of the *Common Prayer*, *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God*, and the uniformity which was enjoined in it was like that of the Presbyterians and Dissenters of the present day. The people having assembled, and been exhorted to reverence and humility, joined the preacher in prayer. He then read portions of Scripture, with or without an exposition, as he judged it necessary, but not so as to render the service tedious. After singing a psalm, the minister prayed, leading the people to mourn under a sense of sin, and to hunger and thirst after the grace of God, in Jesus Christ; an outline or abstract is given of the subject of public prayer, and similar instructions are given as to the sermon or paraphrase. Immediately after the sermon, prayer was again offered up, and after the outline that is given of this devotional exercise, it is noted, 'And because the prayer which Christ taught his disciples, is not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the prayers of the Church.' This being ended, a psalm was sung, and the minister dismissed the congregation with a solemn blessing.[1] Some of the clergy continued the use of prayers, contained in the liturgy, reciting, instead of reading them—a course that was not objected to. This was the form of service which struck Bunyan with such awe and reverence, leaving a very solemn impression upon his mind, which the old form of common prayer had never produced.

Bunyan was fond of athletic sports, bell-ringing, and dancing; and in these he had indulged, so far as his worldly calling allowed. Charles I., whether to promote Popery—to divert his subjects from political grievances—or to punish the Puritans, had endeavoured to drown their serious thoughts in a vortex of dissipation, by re-publishing the *Book of Sports*, to be used on Sundays. That 'after Divine service our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from dancing, either men or women; archery, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreations; May games, Whitsunales, Morris dances, May poles, and other sports.' But this was not all, for every 'Puritan and Precisian was to be constrained to conformity with these sports, or to leave their country.' The same severe penalty was enforced upon every clergyman who refused to read from his pulpit the *Book of Sports*, and to persuade the people thus to desecrate the Lord's-day. 'Many hundred godly ministers were suspended from their ministry, sequestered, driven from their livings, excommunicated, prosecuted in the high commission court, and forced to leave the kingdom for not publishing this declaration.'[2] A little gleam of heavenly light falls upon those dark and gloomy times, from the melancholy fact that nearly eight hundred conscientious clergymen were thus wickedly persecuted. This was *one* of the works of Laud, who outbonnered Bonner himself in his dreadful career of cruelty, while making havoc of the church of Christ. Even transportation for refusing obedience to such diabolical laws was not the greatest penalty; in some cases it was followed by the death of the offender. The punishments inflicted for nonconformity were accompanied by the most refined and barbarous cruelties. Still many of the learned bowed their necks to this yoke with abject servility: thus, Robert Powell, speaking of the *Book of Sports*, says, 'Needless is it to argue or dispute for that which authority hath commanded, and *most insufferable insolence to speak or write against it.*'[3] These Sunday sports, published by Charles I., in 1633, had doubtless aided in fostering Bunyan's bad conduct in his youthful days. In 1644, when *The Book of Common Prayer* was abolished, an Act was passed for the better observance of the Lord's-day; all persons were prohibited on that day to use any wrestlings, shooting, bowling, ringing of bells for pastime, masques, wakes, church-ales, dancing, game, sports or pastime whatever;' and that 'the *Book of Sports* shall be seized, and publicly burnt.' During the civil war this Act does not appear to have been strictly enforced; for, four years after it was passed, we find Bunyan and his dissolute companions worshipping the priest, clerk, and vestments on the Sunday morning, and assembling for their Sabbath-breaking sports in the afternoon. It was upon one of these occasions that a most extraordinary impression was fixed upon the spirit of Bunyan. A remarkable scene took place, worthy the pencil of the most eminent artist. This event cannot be better described than in his own words:—

'One day, amongst all the sermons our parson made, his subject was, to treat of the Sabbath-day, and of the evil of breaking that, either with labour, sports, or otherwise; now I was, notwithstanding my religion, one that took much delight in all manner of vice, and especially that was the day that I did solace myself therewith; wherefore I fell in my conscience under his sermon, thinking and believing that he made that sermon on purpose to show me my evil doing. And at that time I felt what guilt was, though never before, that I can remember; but then I was, for the present, greatly loaden therewith, and so went home, when the sermon was ended, with a great burthen upon my spirit.

[1] 4to Edit., 1644.

[2] Neale, 1822, vol. ii., p. 220.

[3] *Life of Alfred*, comparing him to Charles I. Preface. 8vo. 1634.

'This, for that instant, did benumb the sinews of my best delights, and did imbitter my former pleasures to me; but behold it lasted not, for before I had well dined, the trouble began to go off my mind, and my heart returned to its old course. But O! how glad was I, that this trouble was gone from me, and that the fire was put out, that I might sin again without control! Wherefore, when I had satisfied nature with my food, I shook the sermon out of my mind, and to my old custom of sports and gaming I returned with great delight.

'But the same day, as I was in the midst of a game at cat, and having struck it one blow from the hole, just as I was about to strike it the second time, a voice did suddenly dart from heaven into my soul, which said, "Wilt thou *leave* thy sins and go to heaven, or *have* thy sins and go to hell?" At this I was put to an exceeding maze; wherefore leaving my cat upon the ground, I looked up to heaven, and was as if I had, with the eyes of my understanding, seen the Lord Jesus looking down upon me, as being very hotly displeased with me, and as if he did severely threaten me with some grievous punishment for these and other my ungodly practices.

'I had no sooner thus conceived in my mind, but, suddenly, this conclusion was fastened on my spirit, for the former hint did set my sins again before my face, that I had been a great and grevious sinner, and that it was now too late for me to look after heaven; for Christ would not forgive me, nor pardon my transgressions. Then I fell to musing upon this also; and while I was thinking on it, and fearing lest it should be so, I felt my heart sink in despair, concluding it was too late; and therefore I resolved in my mind I would go on in sin: for, thought I, if the case be thus, my state is surely miserable; miserable if I leave my sins, and but miserable if I follow them; I can but be damned, and if I must be so, I had as good be damned for many sins, as he damned for few.

'Thus I stood in the midst of my play, before all that then were present: but yet I told them nothing. But I say, I having made this conclusion, I returned desperately to my sport again; and I well remember, that presently this kind of despair did so possess my soul, that I was persuaded I could never attain to other comfort than what I should get in sin; for heaven was gone already; so that on that I must not think.'[1]

How difficult is it, when immorality has been encouraged by royal authority, to turn the tide or to stem the torrent. For at least four years, an Act of Parliament had prohibited these Sunday sports. Still the supineness of the justices, and the connivance of the clergy, allowed the rabble youth to congregate on the Green at Elstow, summoned by the church bells to celebrate their sports and pastimes, as they had been in the habit of doing on the Lord's-day.[2]

This solemn warning, received in the midst of his sport, was one of a series of convictions, by which the hardened sinner was to be fitted to receive the messages of mercy and love. In the midst of his companions and of the spectators, Bunyan was struck with a sense of guilt. How rapid were his thoughts—'Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven, or have thy sins and go to hell?' With the eye of his understanding he saw the Lord Jesus as 'hotly displeased.' The tempter suggests it is 'too, too late' to seek for pardon, and with a desperate resolution which must have cost his heart the severest pangs, he continued his game. Still the impression remained indelibly fixed upon his mind.

The next blow which fell upon his hardened spirit was still more deeply felt, because it was given by one from whom he could the least have expected it. He was standing at a neighbour's shop-window, 'belching out oaths like the madman that Solomon speaks of, who scatters abroad firebrands, arrows, and death'[3] 'after his wonted manner.' He exemplified the character drawn by the Psalmist. 'As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment: so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.' Here was a disease that set all human skill at defiance, but the great, the Almighty Physician, cured it with strange physic. Had any professor reproved him, it might have been passed by as a matter of course; but it was so ordered that a woman who was notoriously 'a very loose and ungodly wretch,' protested that she trembled to hear him swear and curse at that most fearful rate; that he was the ungodliest fellow she had ever heard, and that he was able to spoil all the youth in a whole town.'[4] Public reproof from the lips of such a woman was an arrow that pierced his inmost soul; it effected a reformation marvellous to all his companions, and bordering upon the miraculous. The walls of a fortified city were once thrown down by a shout and the tiny blast of rams'-horns, Jos. vi. 20; and in this instance, the foundations of Heart Castle, fortified by Satan, are shaken by the voice of one of his own emissaries. Mortified and convicted, the foul-mouthed blasphemer swore no more; an outward reformation in words and conduct took place, but without inward spiritual life. Thus was he making vows to God and breaking them, repenting and promising to do better next time; so, to use his own homely phrase, he was 'feeding God with chapters, and prayers, and promises, and vows, and a great many more such dainty dishes, and thinks that he serveth God as well as any man in England can, while he has only got into a cleaner way to hell than the rest of his neighbours are in.'[5]

[1] Vol. i., p. 8, 9.

[2] The game of cat, tipcat, or "sly," so called by Wilson, in his life of Bunyan,* is an ancient game well known in many parts of the kingdom. A number of holes are made in the ground, at equal distances, in a circular direction; a player is stationed at each hole; the opposite party stand around; one of them throws the cat to the batsman nearest to him; every time the cat is struck, the batsmen run from one hole to the next, and score as many as they change positions; but if the cat is thrown between them before reaching the hole, that batsman is out.† Such was the childish game played by men on the Lord's-day.

* Wilson's Edition of *Works*, vol. i., fol. 1736.

† Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, 8vo., p. 110.

[3] Life by C. Doe, 1698.

[4] Vol. i., p. 9.

[5] *Saved by Grace*, vol. i., p. 351.

Such a conversion, as he himself calls it, was 'from prodigious profaneness to something like a moral life.'[1] 'Now I was, as they said, become godly, and their words pleased me well, though as yet I was nothing but a poor painted hypocrite.' These are hard words, but, in the most important sense, they were true. He was pointed out as a miracle of mercy—*the* great convert—a wonder to the world. He could now suffer opprobrium and cavils—play with errors—entangle himself and drink in flattery. No one can suppose that this outward reform was put on hypocritically, as a disguise to attain some sinister object; it was real, but it arose from a desire to shine before his neighbours, from shame and from the fear of future punishment, and not from that love to God which leads the Christian to the fear of offending him. It did not arise from a change of heart; the secret springs of action remained polluted; it was outside show, and therefore he called himself a painted hypocrite. He became less a despiser of religion, but more awfully a destroyer of his own soul.

A new source of uneasiness now presented itself in his practice of bell-ringing, an occupation requiring severe labour, usually performed on the Lord's-day; and, judging from the general character of bell-ringers, it has a most injurious effect, both with regard to morals and religion. A circumstance had recently taken place which was doubtless interpreted as an instance of Divine judgment upon Sabbath-breaking. Clark, in his *Looking-Glass for Saints and Sinners*, 1657, published the narrative: —'Not long since, in Bedfordshire, a match at football being appointed on the Sabbath, in the afternoon whilst two were in the belfry, tolling of a bell to call the company together, there was suddenly heard a clap of thunder, and a flash of lightning was seen by some that sat in the church-porch coming through a dark lane, and flashing in their faces, which much terrified them, and, passing through the porch into the belfry, it tripped up his heels that was tolling the bell, and struck him stark dead; and the other that was with him was so sorely blasted therewith, that shortly after he died also.'[2] Thus we find that the church bells ministered to the *Book of Sports*, to call the company to Sabbath-breaking. The bell-ringers might come within the same class as those upon whom the tower at Siloam fell, still it was a most solemn warning, and accounts for the timidity of so resolute a man as Bunyan. Although he thought it did not become his newly-assumed religious character, yet his old propensity drew him to the church tower. At first he ventured in, but took care to stand under a main beam, lest the bell should fall and crush him; afterwards he would stand in the door; then he feared the steeple might fall; and the terrors of an untimely death,

Belfry Porch, Elstow.

and his newly-acquired garb of religion, eventually deterred him from this mode of Sabbath-breaking. His next sacrifice made at the shrine of self-righteousness was dancing: this took him one whole year to accomplish, and then he bade farewell to these sports for the rest of his life.[3] We are not to conclude from the example of a man who in after-life proved so great and excellent a character, that, under all circumstances, bell-ringing and dancing are immoral. In those days, such sports and pastimes usually took place on the Lord's-day; and however the Church of England might then sanction it, and proclaim by royal authority, in all her churches, the lawfulness of sports on that sacred day, yet it is now universally admitted that it was commanding a desecration of the Sabbath, and letting loose a flood of vice and profaneness. In themselves, on days proper for recreation, such sports may be innocent: but if they engender an unholy thought, or occupy time needed for self-examination and devotion, they ought to be avoided as sinful hinderances to a spiritual life.

Bunyan was now dressed in the garb of a religious professor, and had become a brisk talker in the matters of religion, when, by Divine mercy, he was stripped of all his good opinion of himself;

[1] Vol. i., p. 9; No. 32.

[2] Folio edition, pp. 595–6.

[3] In the Engraving, p. 1, vol. i., is a view of part of the village green, Elstow, with the ancient building now used as a school-house, as seen from the church-yard. This building is older than the time of Bunyan, and was the scene of village meetings at the period in which he lived, and doubtless associated with his dancing and thoughtless amusements, as the green itself was the scene of the game of cat. A view looking towards the church is given in Vignette to vol. i. of the Works.

his want of holiness, and his unchanged heart, were revealed to his surprise and wonder, by means simple and efficacious, but which no human forethought could have devised. Being engaged in his trade at Bedford, he overheard the conversation of some poor pious women, and it humbled and alarmed him. 'I heard, but I understood not; for they were far above, out of my reach. Their talk was about a new birth, the work of God on their hearts, also how they were convinced of their miserable state by nature; how God had visited their souls with his love in the Lord Jesus, and with what words and promises they had been refreshed, comforted, and supported against the temptations of the devil. Moreover, they reasoned of the suggestions and temptations of Satan in particular; and told to each other by which they had been afflicted, and how they were borne up under his assaults. They also discoursed of their own wretchedness of heart, of their unbelief; and did contemn, slight, and abhor their own righteousness, as filthy and insufficient to do them any good. And methought they spake as if joy did make them speak; they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture language, and with such appearance of grace in all they said, that they were to me as if they had found a new world; as if they were people that dwelt alone, and were not to be reckoned among their neighbours. Nu. xxiii. 9.

'At this I felt my own heart began to shake, as mistrusting my condition to be nought; for I saw that in all my thoughts about religion and salvation, the new birth did never enter into my mind; neither knew I the comfort of the Word and promise, nor the deceitfulness and treachery of my own wicked heart. As for secret thoughts, I took no notice of them; neither did I understand what Satan's temptations were, nor how they were to be withstood, and resisted.

Thus, therefore, when I heard and considered what they said, I left them, and went about my employment again, but their talk and discourse went with me; also my heart would tarry with them, for I was greatly affected with their words, both because by them I was convinced that I wanted the true tokens of a truly godly man, and also because by them I was convinced of the happy and blessed condition of him that was such a one.'[1]

The brisk talker or 'talkative,' was confounded —he heard pious godly women mourning over their worthlessness instead of vaunting of their attainments. They exhibited, doubtless to his great surprise, that self-distrust and humility are the beginnings of wisdom.

These humble disciples could have had no conception that the Holy Spirit was blessing their Christian communion to the mind of the tinker, standing near them, pursuing his occupation. The recollection of the converse of these poor women led to solemn heart-searching and the most painful anxiety; again and again he sought their company, and his convictions became more deep, his solicitude more intense. This was the commencement of an internal struggle, the most remarkable of any upon record, excepting that of the psalmist David.

It was the work of the Holy Spirit in regenerating and preparing an ignorant and rebellious man for extraordinary submission to the sacred Scriptures, and for most extensive usefulness. To those who never experienced in any degree such feelings, they appear to indicate religious insanity. It was so marvellous and so mysterious, as to be mistaken by a poet laureate, who profanely calls it a being 'shaken continually by the hot and cold fits of a spiritual ague:' 'reveries:' or one of the 'frequent and contagious disorders of the human mind,'[2] instead of considering it as wholesome but bitter medicine for the soul, administered by the heavenly Physician. At times he felt, like David, 'a sword in his bones,' 'tears his meat.' God's waves and billows overwhelmed him, Ps. xlii. Then came glimmerings of hope—precious promises saving him from despair—followed by the shadow of death overspreading his soul, and involving him in midnight darkness. He could complain in the bitterness of his anguish, 'Thy fierce wrath goeth over me.' Bound in affliction and iron, his 'soul was melted because of trouble.' 'Now Satan assaults the soul with darkness, fears, frightful thoughts of apparitions; now they sweat, pant, and struggle for life. The angels now come (Ps. cvii.) down to behold the sight, and rejoice to see a bit of dust and ashes to overcome principalities, and powers, and might, and dominion.'[3] His mind was fixed on eternity, and out of the abundance of his heart he spoke to one of his former companions; his language was that of reproof—'Harry, why do you swear and curse thus? what will become of you if you die in this condition?'[4] His sermon, probably the first he had preached, was like throwing pearls before swine —'He answered in a great chafe, what would the devil do for company, if it were not for such as I am.'[5]

By this time he had recovered the art of reading, and its use a little perplexed him, for he became much puzzled with the opinions of the Ranters, as set forth in their books. It is extremely difficult to delineate their sentiments; they were despised by all the sects which had been

[1] Vol. i., p. 10.

[2] Southey's *Life*, pp. xxv., xxxii.

[3] Vol. i., p. 80.

[4] Vol. i., p. 11.

[5] Vol. iii., p. 607.

connected with the government, because, with the Quakers and Baptists, they denied any magisterial or state authority over conscience, and refused maintenance to ministers; but from the testimony of Bunyan, and that of the early Quakers, they appear to have been practical Antinomians, or at least very nearly allied to the new sect called Mormonites. Ross, who copied from Pagitt, describes them with much bitterness—'The Ranters are unclean beasts—their maxim is that there is nothing sin but what a man thinks to be so—they reject the Bible—they are the merriest of all devils—they deny all obedience to magistrates."[1]

This temptation must have been severe. The Ranters were like the black man with the white robe, named Flatterer, who led the pilgrims into a net,[2] under the pretence of showing them the way to the celestial city; or like Adam the first, who offered Faithful his three daughters to wife[3]—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life—if he would dwell with him in the town of Deceit. 'These temptations,' he says, 'were suitable to my flesh,'[4] I being but a young man, and my nature in its prime; and, with his characteristic humility, he adds, 'God, who had, as I hope, designed me for better things, kept me in the fear of his name, and did not suffer me to accept such cursed principles.' Prayer opened the door of escape; it led him to the fountain of truth. 'I began to look into the Bible with new eyes. Prayer preserved me from Ranting errors. The Bible was precious to me in those days.'[5] His study of the Holy Oracles now became a daily habit, and that with intense earnestness and prayer. In the midst of the multitude of sects with which he was on all sides surrounded, he felt the need of a standard for the opinions which were each of them eagerly followed by votaries, who proclaimed them to be THE TRUTH, the way, and the life. He was like a man, feeling that if he erred in the way, it would be attended with misery, and, but for Divine interference, with unutterable ruin—possessed of a correct map, but surrounded with those who, by flattery, or threats, or deceit, and armed with all human eloquence, strove to mislead him. With an enemy within to urge him to accept their wily guidance, that they might lead him to perdition—inspired by Divine grace, like Christian in his *Pilgrim*, he 'put his fingers in his ears, and ran on, crying Life, life, eternal life.' He felt utter dependence upon Divine guidance, leading him to most earnest prayer, and an implicit obedience to Holy Writ, which followed him all through the remainder of his pilgrimage. 'The Bible' he calls 'the scaffold, or stage, that God has builded for hope to play his part upon in this world.'[6] Hence the Word was precious in his eyes; and with so immense a loss, or so magnificent a gain, the throne of grace was all his hope, that he might be guided by that counsel that cannot err, and that should eventually insure his reception to eternal glory.

While in this inquiring state, he experienced much doubt and uncertainty arising from the apparent confidence of many professors. In his own esteem he appeared to be thoroughly humbled; and when he lighted on that passage—'To one is given by the spirit the word of wisdom, to another, knowledge, and to another, faith,' 1 Co. xii. 8, 9, his solemn inquiry was, how it happened that he possessed so little of any of these gifts of wisdom, knowledge, or faith—more especially of faith, that being essential to the pleasing of God. He had read Matt. xxi. 21, 'If ye have faith and doubt not, ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; it shall be done;' and Lu. xvii. 6, 'If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say to this sycamore tree, Be thou plucked up by the root, and be thou planted in the sea, and it shall obey you;' and 1 Co. xiii. 2, 'Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains.' The poor tinker, considering these passages in their literal import, imagined they were meant as tests to try whether the believer possessed faith or not. He was a stranger to the rules of Hebrew rhetoric; nor did he consider that they were addressed to the apostles, who had the power to work miracles. He had no idea that the removing a mountain, or planting a sycamore tree in the sea, were figures of speech conveying to us the fact that, aided by faith, mountainous difficulties might and would be overcome. Anxious for some ocular demonstration that he had faith, he almost determined to attempt to work a miracle—not to convert or confirm the faith of others, but to satisfy his own mind as to his possessing faith. He had no such magnificent idea as the removal of a mountain, for there were none in his neighbourhood, nor to plant a tree in the sea, for Bedfordshire is an inland county; but it was of the humblest kind—that some puddles on the road between Elstow and Bedford should change places with the dry ground. When he had thought of praying for ability, his natural good sense led him to abandon the experiment.[7] This he calls 'being in my plunge about faith, tossed betwixt the devil and my own ignorance.'[8] All this shows the intensity of his feelings and his earnest inquiries.

[1] *Heresiography*. 4to. 1654. p. 143.
[2] Vol. iii., p. 151.
[3] Vol. iii., p. 118.
[4] Vol. i., p. 11.
[5] Vol. i., p. 11.
[6] Vol. i., p. 591.
[7] The Rev. H. J. Rose, in his *Biographical Dictionary*, distorts this singular affair into, 'he laid claim to a faith of such magnitude as to work miracles!'
[8] Vol. i., p. 12.

It may occasion surprise to some, that a young man of such extraordinary powers of mind, should have indulged the thought of working a miracle to settle or confirm his doubts; but we must take into account, that when a boy he had no opportunity of acquiring scriptural knowledge; no Sunday schools, no Bible class excited his inquiries as to the meaning of the sacred language. The Bible had been to him a sealed book until, in a state of mental agony, he cried, What must I do to be saved? The plain text was all his guide; and it would not have been surprising, had he been called to bottle a cask of new wine, if he had refused to use old wine bottles; or had he cast a loaf into the neighbouring river Ouse, expecting to find it after many days. The astonishing fact is, that one so unlettered should, by intense thought, by earnest prayer, and by comparing one passage with another, arrive eventually at so clear a view both of the external and internal meaning of the whole Bible. The results of his researches were more deeply impressed upon his mind by the mistakes which he had made; and his intense study, both of the Old and New Testaments, furnished him with an inexhaustible store of things new and old —those vivid images and burning thoughts, those bright and striking illustrations of Divine truth, which so shine and sparkle in all his works. What can be more clear than his illustration of saving faith which worketh by love, when in after-life he wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Hopeful was in a similar state of inquiry whether he had faith. 'Then I said, But, Lord, what is believing?' And then I saw from that saying, He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst, that believing and coming was all one, and that he that came, that is, ran out in his heart and affections after salvation by Christ, he indeed believed in Christ. Jn. vi. 25.[1]

In addition to his want of scriptural education, it must be remembered that, when he thought of miraculous power being an evidence of faith, his mind was in a most excited state—doubts spread over him like huge masses of thick black clouds, hiding the Sun of Righteousness from his sight. Not only is he to be pardoned for his error, but admired for the humility which prompted him to record so singular a trial, and his escape from 'this delusion of the tempter.' While 'thus he was tossed betwixt the devil and his own ignorance,'[2] the happiness of the poor women whose conversation he had heard at Bedford, was brought to his recollection by a remarkable reverie or day dream:—

'About this time, the state and happiness of these poor people at Bedford was thus, in a dream or vision, represented to me. I saw as if they were set on the sunny side of some high mountain, there refreshing themselves with the pleasant beams of the sun, while I was shivering and shrinking in the cold, afflicted with frost, snow, and dark clouds. Methought also, betwixt me and them, I saw a wall that did compass about this mountain; now through this wall my soul did greatly desire to pass, concluding that if I could, I would go even into the very midst of them, and there also comfort myself with the heat of their sun.

'About this wall I thought myself to go again and again, still prying, as I went, to see if I could find some way or passage, by which I might enter therein; but none could I find for some time. At the last I saw, as it were, a narrow gap, like a little doorway in the wall, through which I attempted to pass; but the passage being very strait and narrow, I made many efforts to get in, but all in vain, even until I was well nigh quite beat out, by striving to get in; at last, with great striving, methought I at first did get in my head, and after that, by a sidling striving, my shoulders, and my whole body; then I was exceeding glad, and went and sat down in the midst of them, and so was comforted with the light and heat of their sun.

'Now this mountain, and wall, was thus made out to me: The mountain signified the church of the living God; the sun that shone thereon, the comfortable shining of his merciful face on them that were therein; the wall I thought was the Word, that did make separation between the Christians and the world; and the gap which was in this wall, I thought, was Jesus Christ, who is the way to God the Father. John xiv. 6; Mat. vii. 14. But forasmuch as the passage was wonderful narrow, even so narrow that I could not, but with great difficulty, enter in thereat, it showed me, that none could enter into life, but those that were in downright earnest, and unless also they left this wicked world behind them; for here was only room for body and soul, but not for body and soul and sin.[3]

'This resemblance abode upon my spirit many days; all which time I saw myself in a forlorn and sad condition, but yet was provoked to a vehement hunger and desire to be one of that number that did sit in the sunshine. Now also I should pray wherever I was; whether at home or abroad, in house or field, and should also often, with lifting up of heart, sing that of the fifty-first Psalm, "O Lord, consider my distress."'[4]

In this striking reverie we discover the budding forth of that great genius which produced most beautiful flowers and delicious fruit, when it became fully developed in his allegories.

While this trial clouded his spirits, he was called to endure temptations which are common to most, if not all, inquiring souls, and which frequently produce much anxiety. He plunged into the university problems of predestination, before he had completed his lower grammar-school exercises on faith and repentance. Am I one of the elect? or has the day of grace been suffered to pass by never to return? 'Although he was in a flame to find the way to heaven and glory,' these questions afflicted and disquieted him, so that the very strength of his body was taken away by the force and power thereof. 'Lord, thought I, what if I should not

[1] Vol. iii., pp. 155, 156.

[2] Vol. i., p. 12.

[3] It is as easy for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, as for a man to pass through this door with the world on his back.

[4] Vol. i., p. 13.

be elected! It may be you are not, said the tempter; it may be so, indeed thought I. Why then, said Satan, you had as good leave off, and strive no farther; for if indeed you should not be elected and chosen of God, there is no talk of your being saved; "for *it is* neither of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."

'By these things I was driven to my wit's end, not knowing what to say, or how to answer these temptations. Indeed, I little thought that Satan had thus assaulted me, but that rather it was my own prudence thus to start the question: for that the elect only obtained eternal life; that I without scruple did heartily close withal; but that myself was one of them, there lay all the question.'[1]

Thus was he for many weeks oppressed and cast down, and near to 'giving up the ghost of all his hopes of ever attaining life,' when a sentence fell with weight upon his spirit—'Look at the generations of old and see; did ever any trust in the Lord and was confounded,' Ecclesiasticus ii. 10. This encouraged him to a diligent search from Genesis to Revelation, which lasted for above a year, and although he could not find that sentence, yet he was amply rewarded for this diligent examination of the Holy Oracles, and thus he obtained 'yet more experience of the love and kindness of God.' At length he found it in the Apocrypha, and, although not the language of inspiration, yet as it contained the sum and substance of the promises, he took the comfort of it, and it shone before his face for years. The fear that the day of grace had passed pressed heavily upon him; he was humbled, and bemoaned the time that he had wasted. Now he was confronted with that 'grim-faced one, the Captain Past-hope, with his terrible standard,' carried by Ensign Despair, red colours, with a hot iron and a hard heart, and exhibited at Eye-gate.[2] At length these words broke in upon his mind, 'compel them to come in, that my house may be filled—and yet there is room.' This Scripture powerfully affected him with hope, that there was room in the bosom and in the house of Jesus for his afflicted soul.

His next temptation was to return to the world. This was that terrible battle with Apollyon, depicted in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and it is also described at some length in the *Jerusalem Sinner Saved*. Among many very graphic and varied pictures of his own experience, he introduces the following dialogue with the tempter, probably alluding to the trials he was now passing through. Satan is loath to part with a great sinner. 'This day is usually attended with much evil towards them that are asking the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward. Now the devil has lost a sinner; there is a captive has broke prison, and one run away from his master. Now hell seems to be awakened from sleep, the devils are come out. They roar, and roaring they seek to recover their runaway. Now tempt him, threaten him, flatter him, stigmatize him, throw dust into his eyes, poison him with error, spoil him while he is upon the potter's wheel, anything to keep him from coming to Christ.'[3] 'What, my true servant,' quoth he, 'my old servant, wilt thou forsake me now? Having so often sold thyself to me to work wickedness, wilt thou forsake me now? Thou horrible wretch, dost not know, that thou hast sinned thyself beyond the reach of grace, and dost thou think to find mercy now? Art not thou a murderer, a thief, a harlot, a witch, a sinner of the greatest size, and dost thou look for mercy now? Dost thou think that Christ will foul his fingers with thee? It is enough to make angels *blush*, saith Satan, to see so vile a one knock at heaven-gates for mercy, and wilt thou be so abominably bold to do it?' Thus Satan dealt with me, says the great sinner, when at first I came to Jesus Christ. And what did you reply? saith the tempted. Why, I granted the whole charge to be true, says the other. And what, did you despair, or how? No, saith he, I said, I am Magdalene, I am Zaccheus, I am the thief, I am the harlot, I am the publican, I am the prodigal, and one of Christ's murderers; yea, worse than any of these; and yet God was so far off from rejecting of me, as I found afterwards, that there was music and dancing in his house for me, and for joy that I was come home unto him. O blessed be God for grace (says the other), for then I hope there is favour for me. Yea, as I told you, such a one is a continual spectacle in the church, for every one by to behold God's grace and wonder by.[4] These are the 'things the angels desire to look into,' 1 Pe. i. 12, or as Bunyan quaintly says, this is the music which causes 'them that dwell in the higher orbs to open their windows, put out their heads, and look down to see the cause of that glory.' Lc. xv. 7, 10.[5]

As he became less agitated with fear, and drew consolation more frequently from the promises, with a timid hope of salvation, he began to exhibit singular powers of conception in spiritualizing temporal things. His first essay was to find the hidden meaning in the division of God's creatures into clean and unclean. Chewing the cud, and parting the hoof, he conceived to be emblematical of our feeding upon the Word of God, and parting, if we would be saved, with the ways of ungodly men.'[6] It is not sufficient to chew the cud like the hare—

[1] Vol. i., p. 13.
[2] *Holy War*, vol. iii., p. 342, 346.
[3] Bunyan on the *Throne of Grace*, vol. i., p. 677.
[4] Vol. i., p. 80.
[5] *Holy War*, vol. iii., p. 297.
[6] Vol. i., p. 14.

nor to part the hoof like the swine—we must do both; that is, possess the word of faith, and that be evidenced by parting with our outward pollutions. This spiritual meaning of part of the Mosaic dispensation is admirably introduced into the *Pilgrim's Progress*, when Christian and Faithful analyse the character of Talkative.[1] This is the germ of that singular talent which flourished in after-life, of exhibiting a spiritual meaning drawn from every part of the Mosaic dispensation, and which leads one of our most admired writers[2] to suggest, that if Bunyan had lived and written during the early days of Christianity, he would have been the greatest of the fathers.

Although he had received that portion of comfort which enabled him to indulge in religious speculations, still his mind was unsettled, and full of fears. He now became alarmed lest he had not been effectually called to inherit the kingdom of heaven.[3] He felt still more humbled at the weakness of human nature, and at the poverty of wealth. Could this call have been gotten for money, and 'could I have given it; had I a whole world, it had all gone ten thousand times over for this.' In this he was sincere, and so he was when he said, I would not lose one promise, or have it struck out of the Bible, if in return I could have as much gold as would reach from London to York, piled up to the heavens. In proportion to his soul's salvation, honour was a worthless phantom, and gold but glittering dust. His earnest desire was to hear his Saviour's voice calling him to his service. Like many young disciples, he regretted not having been born when Christ was manifest in the flesh. 'Would I had been Peter or John!' their privations, sufferings, martyrdom, was nothing in comparison to their being with, and hearing the voice of the Son of God calling them to his service. Strange, but general delusion! as if Christ were not the same yesterday, to day, and for ever. Groaning for a sense of pardon, he was comforted by Joel—'I will cleanse their blood that I have not cleansed, for the Lord dwelleth in Zion,' Joel iii. 21, and he was led to seek advice and assistance from a neighbouring minister, and from pious persons.

The poor women in Bedford, whose conversation had been blessed to his thorough awakening, were sought for, and to them he unfolded his sorrows. They were members of a Baptist church, under the pastoral care of John Gifford, a godly, painstaking, and most intelligent minister, whose history is very remarkable. In early life he had been, like Bunyan, a thoroughly depraved character; like him had entered the army, and had been promoted to the rank of a major in the royal forces. Having made an abortive attempt to raise a rebellion in his native county of Kent,[4] he and eleven others were made prisoners, tried by martial law, and condemned to the gallows. On the night previous to the day appointed for his execution, his sister found access to the prison. The guards were asleep, and his companions drowned in intoxication. She embraced the favourable moment, and set him at liberty. He lay concealed in a ditch for three days, till the heat of the search was over, and in disguise escaped to London, and thence to Bedford, where, aided by some great people who favoured the royal cause, he commenced business as a doctor. Here his evil habits followed him, notwithstanding his merciful deliverance. Swearing, drunkenness, gambling, and other immoral practices, rendered him a curse to others, especially to the Puritans, whom he bitterly persecuted. One night he lost fifteen pounds at play, and, becoming outrageous, he cast angry reproaches upon God. In this state he took up a book by R. Bolton—he read, and his conscience was terror-stricken. Distress, under conviction of sin, followed him. He searched his Bible, and found pardon and acceptance. He now sought acquaintance with those whom before he had persecuted, but, like Paul, when in similar circumstances, 'they were all afraid of him.' His sincerity soon became apparent; and, uniting with eleven others, they formed a church. These men had thrown off the fetters of education, and were, unbiassed by any sectarian feeling, being guided solely by their prayerful researches into divine truth as revealed in the Bible. Their whole object was to enjoy Christian communion—to extend the reign of grace—to live to the honour of Christ—and they formed a new, and at that time unheard-of, community. Water-baptism was to be left to individual conviction; they were to love each other equally, whether they advocated baptism in infancy, or in riper years. The only thing essential to church-fellowship, in Mr. Gifford's opinion, was—'UNION WITH CHRIST; this is the foundation of all saints' communion, and not any judgment about externals.' To the honour of the Baptists, these peaceable principles appear to have commenced with two or three of their ministers, and for the last two centuries they have been, like heavenly leaven, extending their delightful influence over all bodies of Christians.

Such was the man to whom Bunyan was introduced for religious advice and consolation; and he assisted in forming those enlarged and non-sectarian principles which made his ministry blessed, and will render his Works equally acceptable to all evangelical Christians in every age

[1] Vol. iii., p. 123. [2] Addison. [3] Vol. i., p. 14.

[4] April 1645. About 300 discontented persons got together in Kent, and took Sir Percival Hart's house; Colonel Blunt attacked and dispersed them with horse and foot, regained the house, and made the chief of them prisoners. Whitelock, folio 137.

of the church. Introduced to such a minister, and attending social meetings for prayer and Christian converse, he felt still more painfully his own ignorance, and the inward wretchedness of his own heart. 'His corruptions put themselves forth, and his desires for heaven seemed to fail.' In fact, while he compared himself with his former self, he was a religious giant; in comparison with these pious, long-standing Christians, he dwindled into a pigmy; and in the presence of Christ he became, in his own view, less than nothing, and vanity. He thus describes his feelings:—'I began to sink—my heart laid me low as hell. I was driven as with a tempest—my heart would be unclean—the Canaanites would dwell in the land.'[1] He was like the child which the father brought to Christ, who, while he was coming to Him, was thrown down by the devil, and so rent and torn that he lay and wallowed, foaming. His heart felt so hard, that with many a bitter sigh he cried, 'Good Lord! break it open. Lord, break these gates of brass, and cut these bars of iron asunder,' Ps. cvii. 16. Little did he then think that his bitterness of spirit was a direct answer to such prayers. Breaking the heart was attended with anguish in proportion as it had been hardened. During this time he was tender and sensitive as to the least sin; 'now I durst not take a pin or a stick, my conscience would smart at every touch.' 'O, how gingerly did I then go in all I said or did!'[2] 'Still sin would as naturally bubble out of my heart as water would bubble out of a fountain.' He felt surprised when he saw professors much troubled at their losses, even at the death of the dearest relative. His whole concern was for his salvation. He imagined that he could bear these *small* afflictions with patience; but 'a wounded spirit who can bear?'

In the midst of all these miseries, and at times regretting that he had been endowed with an immortal spirit, liable to eternal ruin, he was jealous of receiving comfort, lest it might be based upon any false foundation. Still as his only hope he was constant in his attendance upon the means of grace, and 'when comforting time was come,' he heard one preach upon two words of a verse, which conveyed strong consolation to his weary spirit; the words were, 'my love,' Song iv. 1. From these words the minister drew the following conclusions:—1. That the church, and so every saved soul, is Christ's love, even when loveless; 2. Christ's love is without a cause; 3. They are Christ's love when hated of the world; 4. Christ's love when under temptation and under desertion; 5. Christ's love from first to last.[3] Now was his heart filled with comfort and hope. 'I could believe that my sins should be forgiven me;' and, in a state of rapture, he thought that his trials were over, and that the savour of it would go with him through life. Alas! his enjoyment was but for a season—the preparation of his soul for future usefulness was not yet finished. In a short time the words of our Lord to Peter came powerfully into his mind—'Satan hath desired *to have* you;' and so strong was the impression they made, that he thought some man addressed them to him; he even turned his head to see who it was that thus spoke to him. This was the forerunner of a cloud and a storm that was coming upon him. It was the gathering up of Satan's mighty strength, to have, if possible, overwhelmed him. His narrative of this internal tempest in his soul—this last great struggle with the powers of darkness—is very striking.

'About the space of a month after, a very great storm came down upon me, which handled me twenty times worse than all I had met with before; it came stealing upon me, now by one piece, then by another. First, all my comfort was taken from me; then darkness seized upon me; after which, whole floods of blasphemies, both against God, Christ, and the Scriptures, were poured upon my spirit, to my great confusion and astonishment. These blasphemous thoughts were such as also stirred up questions in me against the very being of God, and of his only beloved Son. As, whether there were in truth a God or Christ, or no? And whether the Holy Scriptures were not rather a fable, and cunning story, than the holy and pure Word of God.

'These suggestions, with many others, which at this time I may not, dare not utter, neither by word nor pen, did make such a seizure upon my spirit, and did so overweigh my heart, both with their number, continuance, and fiery force, that I felt as if there were nothing else but these from morning to night within me, and as though indeed there could be room for nothing else; and also concluded, that God had, in very wrath to my soul, given me up unto them, to be carried away with them as with a mighty whirlwind.

'Only by the distaste that they gave unto my spirit, I felt there was something in me that refused to embrace them.'[4]

Here are the facts which are allegorized in the history of Christian, passing through the Valley of Humiliation, and fighting with the Prince of the power of the air. 'Then Apollyon, espying his opportunity, began to gather up close to Christian, and wrestling with him, gave him a dreadful fall; and with that Christian's sword flew out of his hand.' This was the effect of his doubts of the inspiration of the Scriptures—the sword of the Spirit. 'I am sure of thee now, said Apollyon; and with that he had almost pressed him to death, so that Christian began to despair of life; but as God would have it, while Apollyon was fetching of his last blow, Christian nimbly stretched out his hand for his sword, and caught it, saying, "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy, when I fall I shall arise," Mi. vii. 8; and with that gave him a deadly

[1] Vol. i., p. 15. [2] Vol. i., p. 15; No. 82.
[3] Vol. i., p. 16.
[4] Vol. i., p. 17, 18.

thrust, which made him give back as one that had received his mortal wound. Christian perceiving that, made at him again, saying, "Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us;" and with that Apollyon spread forth his dragon wings, and sped him away.'[1] What an awful moment, when he fell unarmed before his ferocious enemy! 'Faith now has but little time to speak to the conscience—it is now struggling for life—it is now fighting with angels—with infernals—all it can do now is to cry, groan, sweat, fear, fight, and gasp for life.'[2] How desperate the conflict—the mouth of hell yawning to swallow him—man cannot aid the poor warrior, all his help is in God. Is it not a wonder to see a poor creature, who in himself is weaker than the moth, to stand against and overcome all devils—all the world—all his lusts and corruptions; or, if he fall, is it not a wonder to see him, when devils and guilt are upon him, to rise again, stand upon his legs, walk with God again, and persevere in faith and holiness?'[3]

This severe conflict lasted for about a year. He describes his feelings at times as resembling the frightful pangs of one broken on the wheel. The sources of his misery were fears that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost; and that through his hardness of heart and impatience in prayer—he should not persevere to the end. During all this time, occasional visits of mercy kept him from despair; and at some intervals filled him with transports of joy. At one time so delightfully was his burden removed that he could not tell how to contain himself. 'I thought I could have spoken of his love and of his mercy to me, even to the very crows that sat upon the ploughed lands before me, *had they been capable to have understood me.*[4] Thus his feelings were controlled by reason, very different to the poor madman who, in olden time, is represented as preaching to the fish. With Bunyan it was a hallowed joy—a gush of holy gladness, in which he wished all creation to participate. His heart was baptized in hope. 'I know that my Redeemer liveth;' and with holy Job, he wished to perpetuate his joy by a memorial not in rock, but in a book of remembrance. 'I would I had a pen and ink here to write it down.' This is the first desire that he expressed to proclaim or publish to others the great Saviour he had found: but he was not yet prepared; he must pass through deeper depths, and possess a living knowledge of Divine truth, burnt into his soul by satanic fires.

Very soon after this, he was harassed with fear lest he should part with Christ. The tempter, as he did with Christian in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, suggested blasphemies to him, which he thought had proceeded from his own mind. 'Satan troubled him with his stinking breath. How many strange, hideous, and amazing blasphemies have some that are coming to Christ had injected upon their spirits against him.'[5] 'The devil is indeed very busy at work during the darkness of a soul. He throws in his fiery darts to amazement, when we are encompassed with the terrors of a dismal night; he is bold and undaunted in his assaults, and injects with a quick and sudden malice a thousand monstrous and abominable thoughts of God, which seem to be the motions of our own minds, and terribly grieve and trouble us.'[6]

What makes these arrows more penetrating and distressing is, that Satan, with subtle art, tips them with sentences of Scripture. 'No place for repentance;' 'rejected;' 'hath never forgiveness,' and other passages which, by the malignant ingenuity of the fiend, are formed by his skill as the cutting and barbed points of his shafts. At one time Bunyan concluded that he was possessed of the devil; then he was tempted to speak and sin against the Holy Ghost. He thought himself alone in such a tempest, and that no one had ever felt such misery as he did. When in prayer, his mind was distracted with the thought that Satan was pulling his clothes; he was even tempted to fall down and worship him. Then he would cry after God, in awful fear that eventually Satan would overcome him. During all this time he was struggling against the tempter; and, at length, the day-spring visited him in these words, 'I am persuaded that nothing shall separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus.' Again he was cast down with a recollection of his former blasphemies. What reason can I have to hope for an inheritance in eternal life? The question was answered with that portion of Scripture, 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' These were visits which, like Peter's sheet, of a sudden were caught up to

[1] Vol. iii., p. 113.
[2] Bunyan's *Saints' Privilege and Profit*, vol. i., p. 661.
[3] Bunyan's *Saved by Grace*, vol. i., p. 340.
[4] Vol. i., p. 17.

[5] Bunyan's *Christ a Complete Saviour*, vol. i., p. 210.
[6] Rogers on *Trouble of Mind*. Preface. Thus temptations are suited to the state of the inquiring soul; the learned man who studies Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas, is filled with doubts arising from 'philosophy and vain deceit, profane and vain babblings;" the unlettered mechanic is tried not by logic, but by infernal artillery; the threatenings of God's Word are made to obscure the promises. It is a struggle which, to one possessing a vivid imagination, is attended with almost intolerable agonies—unbelief seals up the door of mercy.

Bunyan agreed with his learned contemporary, Milton, in the invisible agency of good and bad spirits.

> 'Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
> Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep!'

The malignant demons watch their opportunity to harass the pilgrim with evil thoughts, injected when least expected.

heaven again.[1] At length the Sun of Righteousness arose, and shone upon him with healing influence. 'He hath made peace through the blood of his cross,' came with power to his mind, followed by the consoling words of the apostle, 'Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage,' He. ii. 14, 15. This was the key that opened every lock in Doubting Castle. The prisoner escaped to breathe the air of hope, and joy, and peace. 'This,' said he, 'was a good day to me, I hope I shall not forget it.' 'I thought that the glory of those words was then so weighty on me, that I was, both once and twice, ready to swoon as I sat, not with grief and trouble, but with solid joy and peace.'

His mind was now in a fit state to seek for church fellowship, as a further means of advance in his knowledge of Divine love. To effect this object, he was naturally led to the Baptist church at Bedford, to which those pious women belonged whose Christian communion had been blessed to him. I sat under the ministry of holy Mr. Gifford, whose doctrine, by God's grace, was much for my stability.'[2] Although his soul was led from truth to truth, his trials were not over—he passed through many severe exercises before he was received into communion with the church.[3]

At length he determined to become identified with a body of professed Christians, who were treated with great scorn by other sects because they denied infant baptism, and he became engaged in the religious controversies which were fashionable in those days. We have noticed his encounter with the Ranters, and he soon had to give battle to persons called Quakers. Before the Society of Friends was formed, and their rules of discipline were published, many Ranters and others, some of whom were bad characters and held the wildest opinions, passed under the name of Quakers. Some of these denied that the Bible was the Word of God; and asserted that the death of Christ was not a full atonement for sin—that there is no future resurrection, and other gross errors. The Quakers, who were afterwards united to form the Society of Friends, from the first denied all those errors. Their earliest apologist, Barclay, in his theses on the Scriptures, says, 'They are the doctrines of Christ, held forth in precious declarations, spoken and written by the movings of God's Spirit.' Whoever it was that asserted the heresies, to Bunyan the investigation of them, in the light of Divine truth, was attended with great advantages. It was through 'this narrow search of the Scriptures that he was not only enlightened, but greatly confirmed and comforted in the truth.[4]

He longed to compare his experience with that of some old and eminent convert, and 'God did cast into his hand' Luther *On the Galatians*, 'so old that it was ready to fall piece from piece, if I did but turn it over.'[5] The commentary of this enlightened man was a counterpart to his own feelings. 'I found,' says Bunyan, 'my condition, in his experience so largely and profoundly handled, as if his book had been written out of my own heart. I prefer the book before all others as most fit for a wounded conscience.' This was the 'voice of a man' that Christian 'heard as going before him in the Valley of the Shadow of Death,' and was glad that some who feared God were in this valley as well as himself, who could say, 'I will fear no evil for thou art with me.'[6] In many things Luther and Bunyan were men of similar temperament. Like Emmanuel's captains, in the *Holy War*, they were 'very stout rough-hewn men; men that were fit to break the ice, and to make their way by dint of sword.'[7] They were animated by the same principles, and fought with the same weapons; and although Luther resided in a castle protected by princes, was furnished with profound scholastic learning, and became a terror to Popery; yet the voice of the unlettered tinker, issuing from a dreary prison, bids fair to be far more extensively heard and blessed than that of this most illustrious reformer.[8]

[1] Vol. i., p. 19. [2] Vol. i., p. 20.

[3] The anxiety of this pious teacher was to press upon his hearers 'to take special heed,' not to receive any truth upon trust from any man, but to pray over it and search 'the Holy Word.' This, Mr. Southey designates, 'doctrine of a most perilous kind.' How happy would it be for society if every religious teacher pressed this perilous doctrine upon their hearers, that it might bring forth the same fruit universally, as it did specially in Bunyan. Compare *Grace Abounding*, No. 117, and *Southey's Life*, p. 27, 28.

[4] Vol. i., p. 21. [5] Vol. i., p. 22.

[6] Vol. iii., p. 115. [7] Vol. iii., p. 270.

[8] Luther fell into the same mistake as to the Baptists, that Bunyan did as to the Quakers. Both were keenly alive to the honour of Christianity, and were equally misled by the loose conduct of some unworthy professors. Luther charges the Baptists as being 'devils possessed with worse devils.'* 'It is all one whether he be called a Frank, a Turk, a Jew, or an Anabaptist.'† 'Possessed with the devil, seditious, and bloody men.'‡ Even a few days before his death, he wrote to his wife, 'Dearest Kate, we reached Halle at eight o'clock, but could not get on to Eisleben, for there met us a great Anabaptist, with waves and lumps of ice, which threatened us with a second baptism.' Bunyan, in the same spirit, calls the Quakers 'a company of loose ranters, light notionists, shaking in their principles!'§ Denying the Scriptures and the resurrection.‖ These two great men went through the same furnace of the regeneration; and Bunyan, notwithstanding Luther's prejudices against the Baptists, most affectionately recommended his *Comment on the Galatians*, as an invaluable work for binding up the broken-hearted.

* Preface to Galatians. † *Com. Gal.* iv. 8, 9. ‡ Gal. v. 19.
§ Vol. ii., p. 133, 9, 21. ‖ *Com. Gal.* iv. 29.

Bunyan's happiness was now very great; his soul, with all its affections, clave unto Christ: but lest spiritual pride should exalt him beyond measure, and lest he should be scared to renounce his Saviour, by the threat of transportation and death, his heart was again wounded, and quickly after this his 'love was tried to purpose.'

The tempter came in upon him with a most grievous and dreadful temptation; it was to part with Christ, to exchange him for the things of this life; he was perpetually tormented with the words 'sell Christ.' At length, he thought that his spirit gave way to the temptation, and a dreadful and profound state of despair overpowered him for the dreary space of more than two years.[1] This is the most extraordinary part of this wonderful narrative, that he, without apparent cause, should thus be tempted, and feel the bitterness of a supposed parting with Christ. There was, doubtless, a cause for every pang; his heavenly Father afflicted him for his profit. We shall soon have to follow him through fiery trials. Before the justices, allured by their arguments, and particularly by the sophistry of their clerk, Mr. Cobb, and then dragged from a beloved wife and from children to whom he was most fondly attached—all these fiery trials might be avoided, if he would but 'sell Christ.' A cold damp dungeon was to incarcerate his body for twelve tedious years of the prime of his life, unless he would 'sell Christ.' His ministering brother and friend, John Child, a Bedford man, who had joined in recommending Bunyan's *Vindication of Gospel Truths*,[2] fell under this temptation, and fearing temporal ruin and imprisonment for life, conformed, and then fell into the most awful state of despair, suffering such agonies of conscience, that, to get rid of present trouble, he hurried himself into eternity. Probably Bunyan alludes to this awful instance of fell despair in his *Publican and Pharisee:* 'Sin, when appearing in its monstrous shape and hue, frighteth all mortals out of their wits, away from God; and if he stops them not, also out of the world.'[3] To arm Bunyan against being overcome by a fear of the lions in the way to the house Beautiful—against giving way, under persecution—he was visited with terrors lest he should sell or part with Christ. During these sad years he was not wholly sunk in despair, but had at times some glimmerings of mercy. In comparing his supposed sin with that of Judas, he was constrained to find a difference between a deliberate intention to sell Christ and a sudden temptation.[4] Through all these searchings of heart and inquiries at the Word, he became fixed in the doctrine of the final perseverance of God's saints.

'O what love, what care, what kindness and mercy did I now see mixing itself with the most severe and dreadful of all God's ways to his people; he never let them fall into sin unpardonable.' 'But these thoughts added grief and horror to me; I thought that all things wrought for my eternal overthrow.' So ready is the tender heart to write bitter things against itself, and as ready is the tempter to whisper despairing thoughts. In the midst of this distress he 'saw a glory in walking with God,' although a dismal cloud enveloped him.

This misery was aggravated by reading the fearful estate of Francis Spira, who had been persuaded to return to a profession of Popery, and died in a state of awful despair.[5] 'This book' was to his troubled spirit like salt rubbed into a fresh wound.

Bunyan now felt his body and mind shaking and tottering under the sense of the dreadful judgment of God; and he thought his sin—of a momentary and unwilling consent to give up Christ—was a greater sin than all the sins of David, Solomon, Manasseh, and even than all the sins that had been committed by all God's redeemed ones. Was there ever a man in the world so capable of describing the miseries of Doubting Castle, or of the Slough of Despond, as poor John Bunyan?

He would have run from God in utter desperation; 'but, blessed be his grace, that Scripture, in these flying sins, would call, as running after me, "I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and, as a cloud, thy sins: return unto me, for I have redeemed thee,"' Is. xliv. 22. Still he was haunted by that scripture, 'You know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the blessing, he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.' Thus was he tossed and buffeted, involved in cloudy darkness, with now and then a faint gleam of hope to save him from despair. 'In all these,' he says, 'I was but as those that justle against the rocks; more broken, scattered, and rent. Oh! the unthought-of imaginations, frights, fears, and terrors, that are effected by a thorough application of guilt.'[6] 'Methought I saw as if the sun that shineth in the heavens did grudge to give light, and as if the very stones in the street, and tiles upon the houses, did bend themselves against me.'[7] Here we find him in that doleful valley, where Christian was surrounded by enemies that 'cared not for his sword,' he put it up, and places his dependence upon the more penetrating weapon, 'All Prayer.' Depending upon this last resource, he prayed, even when in this great darkness and distress. To whom could he go? his case was beyond the power of men or angels. His refuge, from a fear of having committed the unpardonable sin, was that he had

[1] Vol. i., p. 23.
[2] Vol. ii., p. 181.
[3] Vol. ii., p. 260.
[4] Vol. i., p. 25; No. 158.
[5] See note in vol i., p. 26.
[6] Vol. i., p. 29.
[7] Vol. i., p. 30.

never refused to be justified by the blood of Christ, but ardently wished it; this, in the midst of the storm, caused a temporary calm. At length, he was led to look prayerfully upon those scriptures that had tormented him, and to examine their scope and tendency, and then he 'found their visage changed, for they looked not so grimly on him as before he thought they did.'[1] Still, after such a tempest, the sea did not at once become a calm. Like one that had been seared with fire, every voice was fire, fire; every little touch hurt his tender conscience.[2]

All this instructive history is pictured by a few words in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. At the Interpreter's house the pilgrim is shown 'a fire burning against a wall, and one standing by it, always casting much water upon it, to quench it; yet did the fire burn higher and hotter.'[3] As Esau beat him down, Christ raised him again. The threatening and the promise were like glittering swords clashing together, but the promise must prevail.

His entire relief at last was sudden, while meditating in the field upon the words, 'Thy righteousness is in heaven.' Hence he drew the conclusion, that his righteousness was in Christ, at God's right hand, ever before him, secure from all the powers of sin and Satan. Now his chains fell off; he was loosed from his affliction and irons; his temptation fled away. His present supply of grace he compared to the cracked groats and fourpence half-pennies,[4] which rich men carry in their pockets, while their treasure is safe in their trunks at home, as his was in the storehouse of heaven.

This dreary night of awful conflict lasted more than two years; but when the day-spring from on high visited him, the promises spangled in his eyes, and he broke out into a song, 'Praise ye the Lord. Praise God in his sanctuary: praise him in the firmament of his power. Praise him for his mighty acts: praise him according to his excellent greatness.'[5]

Bunyan's opinion as to the cause of this bitter suffering, was his want of watchfulness, his not coming boldly to the throne of grace, and that he had tempted God. The advantages he considered that he had gained by it were, that it confirmed his knowledge of the existence of God, so that he lost all his temptations to unbelief, blasphemy, and hardness of heart. Doubts as to the truth of the Word, and certainty of the world to come, were gone for ever.

He found no difficulty as to the keys of the kingdom of heaven. 'Now I saw the apostles to be the elders of the city of refuge, those that they were to receive in, were received to life, but those that they were to shut out, were to be slain by the avenger of blood.' Those were to enter who, with Peter, confessed to Jesus, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' Mat. xvi. 16. This is simply an authority to proclaim salvation or condemnation to those who receive or reject the Saviour. It is upon his shoulder the key of the house is laid, Is. xxii. 22. Christ only has the key, no MAN openeth or shutteth, Re. i. 18; iii. 7. All that man can do, as to binding or loosening, is to warn the hardened and to invite the contrite.

By these trials, the promises became more clear and invaluable than ever. He never saw those heights and depths in grace, and love, and mercy, as he saw them after this severe trial—'great sins drew out great grace;' and the more terrible and fierce guilt was, the more high and mighty did the mercy of God in Christ appear. These are Bunyan's own reflections; but may we not add to them, that while he was in God's school of trial, every groan, every bitter pang of anguish, and every gleam of hope, were intended to fit him for his future work as a preacher and writer? Weighed in the balances of the sanctuary, there was not a jot too little, or an iota too much. Every important subject which embarrasses the convert, was most minutely investigated, especially faith, the sin against the Holy Ghost, the divinity of Christ, and such essential truths. He well knew every dirty lane, and nook, and corner of Mansoul, in which the Diabolonians found shelter, and well he knew the frightful sound of Diabolus's drum.[6] Well did his pastor, John Burton, say of him, 'He hath through grace taken these three heavenly degrees, to wit, union with Christ, the anointing of the Spirit, and experience of the temptations of Satan, which do more fit a man for that mighty work of preaching the gospel, than all the university learning and degrees that can be had.'[7]

Preserved in Christ Jesus, and called—selected

[1] The study of those scriptures, in order that the solemn question might be safely resolved, 'Can such a fallen sinner rise again?' was like the investigation of the title to an estate upon which a whole livelihood depended. Every apparent flaw must be critically examined. Tremblingly alive to the importance of a right decision, his prayers were most earnest; and at length, to his unspeakable delight, the word of the law and wrath gave place to that of life and grace.

[2] Vol. i., p. 35. [3] Vol. iii., p. 100.

[4] Irish sixpences, which passed for fourpence-halfpenny. See the note on vol. i., p. 36. Since writing that note I have discovered another proof of the contempt with which that coin was treated:—'Christian, the wife of Robert Green, of Brexham, Somersetshire, in 1663, is said to have made a covenant with the devil; he pricked the fourth finger of her right hand, between the middle and upper joints, and took two drops of her blood on his finger, giving her a *fourpence-half-penny*. Then he spake in private with Catharine her sister, and vanished, leaving a smell of brimstone behind!'—Turner's *Remarkable Providences*, folio, 1667, p. 28.

[5] Vol. i., p. 36. [6] *Holy War*. [7] Vol. ii., p. 141.

from his associates in sin, he was taken into this school, and underwent the strictest religious education. It was here alone that his rare talent could be cultivated, to enable him, in two immortal allegories, to narrate the internal discipline he underwent. It was here he attained that habitual access to the throne of grace, and that insight into the inspired volume, which filled his writings with those solemn realities of the world to come; while it enabled him to reveal the mysteries of communion with the Father of spirits, as he so wondrously does in his treatise on prayer. To use the language of Milton—'These are works that could not be composed by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and send out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases, without reference to station, birth, or education.' The tent-maker and tinker, the fisherman and publican, and even a friar or monk,[1] became the honoured instruments of his choice.

Throughout all Bunyan's writings, he never murmurs at his want of education, although it is often a source of humble apology. He honoured the learned godly as Christians, but preferred the Bible before the library of the two universities.[2] He saw, what every pious man must see and lament, that there is much idolatry in human learning, and that it was frequently applied to confuse and impede the gospel. Thus he addresses the reader of his treatise on *The Law and Grace*—'If thou find this book empty of fantastical expressions, and without light, vain, whimsical, scholar-like terms, it is because I never went to school, to Aristotle or Plato, but was brought up at my father's house, in a very mean condition, among a company of poor countrymen. But if thou do find a parcel of plain, yet sound, true, and home sayings, attribute that to the Lord Jesus his gifts and abilities, which he hath bestowed upon such a poor creature as I am and have been.'[3] His maxim was—'Words easy to be understood do often hit the mark, when high and learned ones do only pierce the air. He also that speaks to the weakest may make the learned understand him; when he that *striveth* to be high, is not only of the most part understood but of a sort, but also many times is neither understood by them nor by himself!'[4] This is one of Bunyan's maxims, well worthy the consideration of the most profoundly learned writers, and also of the most eloquent preachers and public speakers.

Bunyan was one of those pioneers who are far in advance of the age in which they live, and the narrative of his birth and education adds to the innumerable contradictions which the history of man opposes to the system of Mr. Owen and the Socialists, and to every scheme for making the offspring of the poor follow in leading-strings the course of their parents, or for rendering them blindly submissive to the dictates of the rich, the learned, or the influential. It incontestibly proves the gospel doctrine of individuality, and, that native talent will rise superior to all impediments. Our forefathers struggled for the right of private judgment in matters of faith and worship—their descendants will insist upon it, as essential to salvation, personally to examine every doctrine relative to the sacred objects of religion, limited only by Holy Writ. This must be done with rigorous impartiality, throwing aside all the prejudices of education, and be followed by prompt obedience to Divine truth, at any risk of offending parents, or laws, or resisting institutions, or ceremonies which he discovers to be of human invention. All this, as we have seen in Bunyan, was attended with great mental sufferings, with painstaking labour, with a simple reliance upon the Word of God, and with earnest prayer. If man impiously dares to submit his conscience to his fellow-man, or to any body of men called a church, what perplexity must he experience ere he can make up his mind which to choose! Instead of relying upon the ONE standard which God has given him in his Word; should he build his hope upon a human system he could be certain only that man is fallible and subject to err. How striking an instance have we, in our day, of the result of education, when the mind does not implicitly follow the guidance of the revealed Word of God. Two brothers, named Newman, educated at the same school, trained in the same university, brought up under the same religious system—all human arts exhausted to mould their minds into strict uniformity, yet gradually receding from the same point in opposite directions, but in equally downward roads; one to embrace the most puerile legends of the middle ages, the other to open infidelity. Not so with those who follow the teachings of the Word of God, by which, and not by any church, they are to be individually judged at the great day: no pontiff, no priest, no minister, can intervene or mediate for them at the bar of God. There it will be said, 'I know you, by your prayers for Divine guidance and your submission to my revealed will;' or, 'I know you not,' for you preferred the guidance of frail, fallible men, to me, and to my Word—a solemn consideration, which, as it proved a source of solid happiness and extensive usefulness to Bunyan in his pilgrimage, so it insured to him, as it will to

[1] Luther and Tyndale.
[2] Vol. iii., p. 308.
[3] Vol. i., p. 495.
[4] Vol. iii., p. 398.

all who follow his course, a solid foundation on which to stand at the great and terrible day, and thus enable them to live as well as die in the sure and certain hope of a triumphant entry into the celestial city.

THE THIRD PERIOD.

BUNYAN IS BAPTIZED, AND ENTERS INTO COMMUNION WITH A CHRISTIAN CHURCH AT BEDFORD—IS SET APART TO FILL THE DEACON'S OFFICE, AND SENT OUT AS AN ITINERANT PREACHER IN THE NEIGHBOURING VILLAGES.

Man is naturally led to seek the society of his fellow-men. His personal progress, and the great interests of civilization, depend upon the nature of his friendly intercourse and his proper associations. So is it with the Christian, but in a much higher degree. Not only does he require companions with whom he can enjoy Christian communion—of sufferings and of pleasures—in seasons of depressing trials, and in holy elevations—but with whom he may also form plans to spread the genial influence of Christianity, which has blessed and so boundlessly enriched his own soul. Christian fellowship and communion has received the broad seal of heaven. 'The Lord hearkened,' when they that feared him spake often to one another, 'and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord,' Mal. iii. 16.

Bunyan possessed a soul with faculties capable of the highest enjoyment of the communion of saints in church order. His ideas of mutual forbearance—that 'in lowliness of mind should each esteem others better than themselves'—he enforces with very peculiar power, and, at the same time, with delicate sensibility. After the pilgrims had been washed by Innocence in the Interpreter's bath, he sealed them, which 'greatly added to their beauty,' and then arrayed them in white raiment of fine linen; and 'when the women were thus adorned, they seemed to be a terror one to the other, for that they could not see that glory each one on herself which they could see in each other. Now, therefore, they began to esteem each other better than themselves.'[1] 'The Interpreter led them into his garden, where was great variety of flowers. Then said he, Behold, the flowers are divers in stature, in quality and colour, and smell and virtue, and some are better than some; also, where the gardener hath set them, there they stand, and quarrel not with one another.'[2] 'When Christians stand every one in their places, and do their relative work, then they are like the flowers in the garden that grow where the gardener hath planted them, and both honour the gardener and the garden in which they are planted.'[3] In the same treatise on *Christian Behaviour*, similar sentiments are expressed in language extremely striking and beautiful. 'The doctrine of the gospel is like the dew and the small rain that distilleth upon the tender grass, wherewith it doth flourish and is kept green. Deut. xxxii. 2. Christians are like the several flowers in a garden that have upon each of them the dew of heaven, which, being shaken with the wind, they let fall their dew at each other's roots, whereby they are jointly nourished, and become nourishers of one another. For Christians to commune savourly of God's matters one with another, it is as if they opened to each other's nostrils boxes of perfume.'[4] Similar peaceful, heavenly principles, flow through Bunyan's *Discourse of the Building, &c., of the House of God* and its inmates;[5] and blessed would it be if in all our churches every believer was baptized into such motives of forbearance and brotherly love. These sentiments do honour to the head and heart of the prince of allegorists, and should be presented in letters of gold to every candidate for church fellowship. A young man entertaining such opinions as these, however rude his former conduct, being born again to spiritual enjoyments, would become a treasure to the Christian society with which he might be connected.

In ordinary cases, the minister or people who have been useful to a young convert, lead him in his first choice of Christian associates; but here we have no ordinary man. Bunyan, in all things pertaining to religion, followed no human authority, but submitted himself to the guidance of the inspired volume. Possessing a humble hope of salvation, he would read with deep interest that 'the Lord added to the church such as should be saved.' The question which has so much puzzled the learned, as to *a* church or *the* church, would be solved without difficulty by one who was as learned in the Scriptures as he was ignorant of the subtle distinctions and niceties of the schools. He found that there was one church at Jerusalem (Acts viii. 1), another at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 2), seven in Asia (Rev. i. 4), and others distributed over the world; that 'the visible church of Christ is a (or every) congregation of faithful men.'[6] He well knew that uniformity is a fool's paradise; that though man was made in the image of God, it derogates not from the beauty of that image that no two men are alike. The stars show forth God's handy work, yet 'one star differeth from another star in glory' (1 Cor. xv. 41). Uniformity is opposed to every law of nature, for no two leaves upon a majestic tree are alike. Who but an idiot or a maniac would attempt to reduce the mental powers of all men to uniformity? Every church may have its

[1] Vol. iii., p. 190. [2] Vol. iii., p. 186.
[3] Bunyan on *Christian Behaviour*, vol. ii., p. 550.
[4] Vol. ii., p. 570. [5] Vol. ii., p. 555.
[6] The Nineteenth Article.

own order of public worship while the Scriptures form the standard of truth and morals. Where differences of opinion occur, as they most certainly will, as to the observance of days or abstinence from meats—whether to stand, or sit, or kneel, in prayer—whether to stand while listening to some pages of the inspired volume, and to sit while others are publicly read—whether to call Jude a saint, and refuse the title to Isaiah—are questions which should bring into active exercise all the graces of Christian charity; and, in obedience to the apostolic injunction, they must agree to differ. 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind' (Rom. xiv. 5). Human arts have been exhausted to prevent that mental exercise or self-persuasion which is essential to a Christian profession. The great object of Satan has ever been to foster indifference, that deadly lethargy, by leading man to any source of information rather than prayerful researches into the Bible. Bunyan's severe discipline in Christ's school would lead him to form a judgment for himself; he was surrounded by a host of sects, and, with such a Bible-loving man, it is an interesting inquiry what party he would join.

He lived in times of extraordinary excitement. England was in a transition state. A long chain of events brought on a crisis which involved the kingdom in tribulation. It was the struggle between the unbridled despotism of Episcopacy, and the sturdy liberty of Puritanism. For although the immediate cause of the civil wars was gross misgovernment—arbitrary taxation without the intervention of Parliament, monopolies and patents, to the ruin of trade; in fact, every abuse of the royal power—still, without the additional spur of religious persecution, the spirit of the people would never have proved invincible and overpowering. The efforts of Archbishop Laud, aided by the queen and her popish confessor, Panzani, to subjugate Britain to the galling yoke of Rome, signally failed, involving in the ruin the life of the king and his archbishop, and all the desolating calamities of intestine wars, strangely called 'civil.' In this strife many of the clergy and most of the bishops took a very active part, aiding and abetting the king's party in their war against the parliament—and they thus brought upon themselves great pains and penalties. The people became suddenly released from mental bondage; and if the man who had been born blind, when he first received the blessing of sight, 'saw men as trees walking,' we cannot be surprised that religious speculations were indulged in, some of which proved to be crude and wild, requiring much vigorous persuasive pruning before they produced good fruit. Bunyan was surrounded by all these parties; for although the rights of conscience were not recognized—the Papists and Episcopalians, the Baptists and Unitarians, with the Jews, being proscribed—yet the hand of persecution was comparatively light. Had Bunyan chosen to associate with the Episcopalians, he would not have passed through those severe sufferings on which are founded his lasting honours. The Presbyterians and Independents received the patronage of the state under the Commonwealth, and the great mass of the clergy conformed to the directory, many of them reciting the prayers they had formerly read; while a considerable number, whose conscience could not submit to the system then enforced by law, did, to their honour, resign their livings, and suffer the privations and odium of being Dissenters. Among these were necessarily included the bishops.[1]

Of all sects that of the Baptists had been the most bitterly written against and persecuted. Even their first cousins, the Quakers, attacked them in language that would, in our peaceful days, be considered outrageous. 'The Baptists used to meet in garrets, cheese-lofts, coal-holes, and such like mice walks,'—'these tumultuous, blood-thirsty, covenant-breaking, government-destroying Anabaptists.'[2] The offence that called forth these epithets was, that in addressing Charles II. on his restoration, they stated that "they were no abettors of the Quakers." Had royal authority possessed the slightest influence over Bunyan's religious opinions, the question as to his joining the Baptists would have been settled without investigation. Among other infatuations of Charles I., had been his hatred of any sect that professed the right and duty of man to think for himself in choosing his way to heaven. In 1639 he published his 'Declaration concerning the tumults in Scotland,' when violence was resorted to against the introduction of the Common Prayer in which he denounced voluntary obedience because it was not of constraint, and called it 'damnable;' he calls the principles of the Anabaptists, in not submitting their consciences to human laws, 'furious frenzies,' and 'madness;' all Protestants are 'to detest and persecute them;' 'these Anabaptists raged most in their madness;' 'the scandall of their frenzies;' 'we are amazed at, and aggrieved at their horrible impudence;' 'we do abhor and detest

[1] The sufferings of the Episcopalians were severe; they drank the bitter cup which they had shortly before administered to the Puritans. Under suspicion of disloyalty to the Commonwealth, they were most unjustly compelled to swallow the Covenant as a religious test, or leave preaching and teaching. Their miseries were not to be compared with those of the Puritans. Laud was beheaded for treason, but none were put to death for nonconformity. It was an age when religious liberty was almost unknown. These sufferings were repaid by an awful retaliation and revenge, when Royalty and Episcopacy were restored.

[2] Penn's *Christian Quaker*.

them all as rebellious and treasonable.'[1] This whole volume is amusingly assuming. The king claims his subjects as personal chattels, with whose bodies and minds he had a right to do as he pleased. Bunyan owed no spiritual submission to man, 'whose breath is in his nostrils;' and risking all hazards, he became one of the denounced and despised sect of Baptists. To use the language of his pilgrim, he passed the lions, braving all the dangers of an open profession of faith in Christ, and entered the house called Beautiful, which 'was built by the Lord of the hill, on purpose to entertain such pilgrims in.'[2] He first gains permission of the watchman, or minister, and then of the inmates, or church members. This interesting event is said to have taken place about the year 1653.[3] Mr. Doe, in *The Struggler*, thus refers to it, Bunyan 'took all advantages to ripen his understanding in religion, and so he lit on the dissenting congregation of Christians at Bedford, and was, upon confession of faith, baptized about the year 1653,'[4] when he was in the twenty-fifth year of his age. No minutes of the proceedings of this church, prior to the death of Mr. Gifford in 1656,[5] are extant, or they would identify the exact period when Bunyan's baptism and admission to the church took place. The spot where he was baptized is a creek by the river Ouse, at the end of Duck Mill Lane. It is a natural baptistery, a proper width and depth of water constantly fresh; pleasantly situated; sheltered from the public highway near the High Street. The Lord's Supper was celebrated in a large room in which the disciples met, the worship consecrating the place.[6]

Religious feelings and conduct have at all times a tendency to promote the comfort, and elevate the character of the poor. How often have we seen them thus blessed; the ragged family comfortably clothed, the hungry fed, and the inmates of a dirty miserable cottage or hovel become a pattern of cleanly happiness. One of Bunyan's biographers, who was an eye-witness, bears this testimony. 'By this time his family was increased, and as that increased God increased his stores, so that he lived now in great credit among his neighbours.' He soon became a respectable member of civil as well as religious society; for, by the time that he joined the church, his Christian character was so fully established, that, notwithstanding the meanness of his origin and employment, he was considered worthy of uniting in a memorial to the Lord Protector. It was to recommend two gentlemen to form part of the council, after Cromwell had dissolved the Long Parliament. It is a curious document, very little known, and illustrative of the peculiar style of these eventful times.

Letter from the people of Bedfordshire to the Lord Generall Cromwell, and the Councell of the army.

May 13*th*, 1653.

May it please your Lordship, and the rest of the councill of the army. We (we trust) servants of Jesus Christ, inhabitants in the county of Bedford, haveing fresh upon our hearts the late oppressions we have (a longe while) groan'd under from the late parlyament, and now eyeing and owneing (through grace) the good hand of God in this great turne of providence, being persuaded that it is from the Lord that you should be instrument in his hand at such a time as this, for the electing of such persons whoe may goe in and out before his people in righteousnesse, and governe these nations in judgment, we haveing sought the Lord for yow, and hopeing that God will still doe greate things by yow, understanding that it is in your hearte through the Lord's assistance, to establish an authority consisting of men able, loveing truth, feareing God, and hateing covetousness; and we haveing had some experience of men with us, we have judged it our duty to God, to yow, and to the rest of his people, humbly to preseut two men, viz., Nathaniell Taylor, and John Croke, now Justices of Peace in our County, whom we judge in the Lord qualified to manage a trust in the ensuing government. All which we humbly referre to your serious considerations, and subscribe our names this 13th day of May, 1653—

John Eston,	Clement Berridge,	Isaac Freeman,
John Grewe,	John Bunyan,	William Dell,
John Gifford,	William Baker, junr.,	William Wheelar,
Ja. Rush,	Anth. Harrington,	John Gibbs,
Tho. Varrse,	Richard Spensley,	John Donne,
Michael Cooke,	Edward Covinson,	Tho. Gibbs,
John Ramsay,	John Hogge,	Edward White,
Robert English,	John Jeffard,	John Browne,
John Edridge,	John Ivory,	John White,
George Gee,	Daniell Groome,	Charles Peirse,
Ambrose Gregory,	Luke Parratt,	Thomas Cooke,
William Page,	Thomas Knott,	Thomas Honnor.

These to the Lord Generall Cromwell, and the rest of the councell of the army, present.[7]

Bunyan's daughter Elizabeth was born at Elstow, April 14, 1654, and a singular proof of his having changed his principles on baptism appears in the church register. His daughter Mary was *baptized* in 1650, but his Elizabeth in 1654 is registered as *born*, but no mention is made of baptism.

The poor harassed pilgrim having been admitted into communion with a Christian church, enjoyed fully, for a short season, his new privileges. He thus expresses his feelings:—'After

[1] Folio, p. 417.

[2] Vol. iii., p. 107.

[3] Vol. iii., p. 765. The author of *Bunyan's Life*, published in 1690, dates his baptism 'about the year 1653.'

[4] *Life from his Cradle to his Grave*, 1700.

[5] September 21.

[6] In the same year, and about the same period, Oliver Cromwell was made Lord Protector. Upon this coincidence, Mr. Carlisle uses the following remarkable language:—'Two common men thus elevated, putting their hats upon their heads, might exclaim, "God enable me to be king of what lies under this! For eternities lie under it, and infinities, and heaven also and hell! and it is as big as the universe, this kingdom; and I am to conquer it, or be for ever conquered by it. Now, WHILE IT IS CALLED TO-DAY!'"

[7] In possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

I had propounded to the church that my desire was to walk in the order and ordinances of Christ with them, and was also admitted by them: while I thought of that blessed ordinance of Christ, which was his last supper with his disciples before his death, that scripture, "This do in remembrance of me," was made a very precious word unto me; for by it the Lord came down upon my conscience with the discovery of his death for my sins: and as I then felt, did as if he plunged me in the virtue of the same.'[1]

In this language we have an expression which furnishes a good sample of his energetic feelings. He had been immersed in water at his baptism, and doubtless believed it to be a figure of his death to sin and resurrection to holiness; and when he sat at the Lord's table he felt that he was baptized into the virtue of his Lord's death; he is *plunged* into it, and feels the holy influence covering his soul with all its powers.

His pastor, John Gifford, was a remarkably pious and sensible man, exactly fitted to assist in maturing the mind of his young member. Bunyan had, for a considerable time, sat under his ministry, and had cultivated acquaintance with the members of his church; and so prayerfully had he made up his mind as to this important choice of a church, with which he might enter into fellowship, that, although tempted by the most alluring prospects of greater usefulness, popularity, and emolument, he continued his church fellowship with these poor people through persecution and distress, imprisonment and the threats of transportation, or an ignominious death, until he crossed the river 'which has no bridge,' and ascended to the celestial city, a period of nearly forty years. Of the labours of his first pastor, John Gifford, but little is known, except that he founded the church of Christ at Bedford, probably the first, in modern times, which allowed to every individual freedom of judgment as to water baptism; receiving all those who decidedly appeared to have put on Christ, and had been received by him; but avoiding, with godly jealousy, any mixture of the world with the church. Mr. Gifford's race was short, consistent, and successful. Bunyan calls him by an appellation, very probably common in his neighbourhood and among his flock, 'holy Mr. Gifford;'[2] a title infinitely superior to all the honours of nobility, or of royalty. He was a miracle of mercy and grace, for a very few years before he had borne the character of an impure and licentious man—an open enemy to the saints of God. His pastoral letter, left upon record in the church-book, written when drawing near the end of his pilgrimage, is most admirable; it contains an allusion to his successors, Burton or Bunyan, and must have had a tendency in forming their views of a gospel church. Even Mr. Southey praises this puritanic epistle as exemplifying 'a wise and tolerant and truly Christian spirit:' and as it has not been published in any life of Bunyan, I venture to introduce it without abridgement:—

To the Church over which God made me an overseer when I was in the world.

I beseech you, brethren beloved, let these following words (wrote in my love to you, and care over you, when our heavenly Father was removing me to the kingdom of his dear Son), be read in your church-gatherings together. I shall not now, dearly beloved, write unto you about that which is the first, and without which all other things are as nothing in the sight of God, viz., the keeping the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience; I shall not, I say, write of these things, though the greatest, having spent my labours among you, to root you and build you up in Christ through the grace you have received; and to press you to all manner of holiness in your conversations, that you may be found of the Lord, without spot, and blameless, at His coming. But the things I shall speak to you of, are about your CHURCH AFFAIRS, which I fear have been little considered by most of you; which things, if not mended aright, and submitted unto, according to the will of God, will by degrees bring you under divisions, distractions, and at last, to confusion of that gospel order and fellowship which now, through grace, you enjoy. Therefore, my brethren, in the first place, I would not have any of you ignorant of this, that every one of you are as much bound now to walk with the church in all love; and in the ordinances of Jesus Christ our Lord, as when I was present among you: neither have any of you liberty to join yourselves to any other society, because your pastor is removed from you; for you were not joined to the ministry, but to Christ, and the church; and this is and was the will of God in Christ to all the churches of the saints, read Acts ii. 42; and compare it with Acts i. 14, 15. And I charge you before the Lord, as you will answer it at the coming of our Lord Jesus, that none of you be found guilty herein.

Secondly. Be constant in your church assemblies. Let all the work which concerns the church be done faithfully among you; as admission of members, exercising of gifts, election of officers, as need requires, and all other things as if named, which the Scriptures being searched, will lead you into, through the Spirit; which things, if you do, the Lord will be with you, and you will convince others that Christ is your head, and your dependency is not upon man; but if you do the work of the Lord negligently, if you mind your own things and not the things of Christ, if you grow of indifferent spirits, whether you mind the work of the Lord in his church or no, I fear the Lord by degrees will suffer the comfort of your communion to be dried up, and the candlestick which is yet standing to be broken in pieces; which God forbid.

Now, concerning your admission of members, I shall leave you to the Lord for counsel, who hath hitherto been with you; only thus much I think expedient to stir up your remembrance in; that after you are satisfied in the work of grace in the party you are to join with, the said party do solemnly declare (before some of the church at least), That Union with Christ is the foundation of all saints' communion; and not any ordinances of Christ, or any judgment or opinion about externals; and the said party ought to declare, whether a brother or sister, that through grace they will walk in love with the church, though there should happen any difference in judgment about other things. Concerning

[1] Vol. i., p. 39.

[2] Vol. i., p. 20.

separation from the church about baptism, laying on of hands, anointing with oil, psalms, or any externals, I charge every one of you respectively, as you will give an account for it to our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge both quick and dead at his coming, that none of you be found guilty of this great evil; which, while some have committed, and that through a zeal for God, yet not according to knowledge, they have erred from the law of the love of Christ, and have made a rent from the true church, which is but one. I exhort you, brethren, in your comings together, Let all things be done decently, and in order, according to the Scriptures. Let all things be done among you without strife and envy, without self-seeking and vain-glory. Be clothed with humility, and submit to one another in love. Let the gifts of the church be exercised according to order. Let no gift be concealed which is for edification; yet let those gifts be chiefly exercised which are most for the perfecting of the saints. Let your discourses be to build up one another in your most holy faith, and to provoke one another to love and good works: if this be not well-minded, much time may be spent and the church reap little or no advantage. Let there be strong meat for the strong, and milk for babes. In your assemblies avoid all disputes which gender to strifes, as questions about externals, and all doubtful disputations. If any come among you who will be contentious in these things, let it be declared that you have no such order, nor any of the churches of God. If any come among you with any doctrine contrary to the doctrine of Christ, you must not treat with such an one as with a brother, or enter into dispute of the things of faith with reasonings (for this is contrary to the Scriptures); but let such of the brethren who are the fullest of the Spirit, and the word of Christ, oppose such an one steadfastly face to face, and lay open his folly to the church, from the Scriptures. If a brother through weakness speak anything contrary to any known truth of God (though not intended by him), some other brother of the church must in love clear up the truth, lest many of the church be laid under temptation. Let no respect of persons be in your comings-together; when you are met as a church there's neither rich nor poor, bond nor free in Christ Jesus. 'Tis not a good practice to be offering places or seats when those who are rich come in; especially it is a great evil to take notice of such in time of prayer, or the word; then are bowings and civil observances at such times not of God. Private wrongs are not presently to be brought unto the church. If any of the brethren are troubled about externals, let some of the church (let it not be a church business) pray for and with such parties.

None ought to withdraw from the church if any brother should walk disorderly, but he that walketh disorderly must bear his own burden, according to the Scriptures. If any brother should walk disorderly, he cannot be shut out from any ordinance before church censure. Study among yourselves what is the nature of fellowship, as the word,[1] prayer, and breaking of bread; which, whilst few, I judge, seriously consider, there is much falling short of duty in the churches of Christ. You that are most eminent in profession, set a pattern to all the rest of the church. Let your faith, love, and zeal, be very eminent; if any of you cast a dim light, you will do much hurt in the church. Let there be kept up among you solemn days of prayer and thanksgiving; and let some time be set apart, to seek God for your seeds, which thing hath hitherto been omitted. Let your deacons have a constant stock by them, to supply the necessity of those who are in want. Truly, brethren, there is utterly a fault among you that are rich, especially in this thing, 'tis not that little which comes from you on the first day of the week that will excuse you. I beseech you, be not found guilty of this sin any longer. He that sows sparingly will reap sparingly. Be not backward in your gatherings-together; let none of you willingly stay till part of the meeting be come,[2] especially such who should be examples to the flock. One or two things are omitted about your comings-together, which I shall here add. I beseech you, forbear sitting in prayer, except parties be any way disabled; 'tis not a posture which suits with the majesty of such an ordinance. Would you serve your prince so? In prayer, let all self-affected expressions be avoided, and all vain repetitions. God hath not gifted, I judge, every brother to be a mouth to the church. Let such as have most of the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, shut up all your comings-together, that ye may go away with your hearts comforted and quickened.

Come together in time, and leave off orderly; for God is a God of order among his saints. Let none of you give offence to his brethren in indifferent things, but be subject to one another in love. Be very careful what gifts you approve of by consent for public service.

Spend much time before the Lord, about choosing a pastor, for though I suppose he is before you,[3] whom the Lord hath appointed, yet it will be no disadvantage to you, I hope, if you walk a year or two as you are before election; and then, if you be all agreed, let him be set apart, according to the Scriptures. Salute the brethren who walk not in fellowship with you, with the same love and name of brother or sister as those who do.

Let the promises made to be accomplished in the latter days, be often urged before the Lord in your comings-together; and forget not your brethren in bonds. Love him much for the work's sake, who labours over you in the word and doctrine. Let no man despise his youth.[4] Muzzle not the mouth of the ox that treads out the corn to you. Search the Scriptures; let some of them be read to you about this thing. If your teacher at any time be laid aside, you ought to meet together as a church, and build up one another. If the members at such a time will go to a public ministry, it must first be approved of by the church. Farewell; exhort, counsel, support, reprove one another in love.

Finally, brethren, be all of one mind, walk in love one to another, even as Christ Jesus hath loved you, and given himself for you. Search the Scriptures for a supply of those things wherein I am wanting. Now the God of peace, who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, multiply his peace upon you, and preserve you to his everlasting kingdom by Jesus Christ. Stand fast: the Lord is at hand.

That this was written by me, I have set my name to it, in the presence of two of the brethren of the church.

John Gifford.[5]

Bunyan was now settled under the happiest circumstances, and doubtless looked forward to much religious enjoyment. A pious wife—peace in his

[1] Reading and Preaching.

[2] Not to wait for one another, each one to come in good time.

[3] Alluding to Bunyan, or his co-pastor, Burton, or to both of them.

[4] Bunyan was about twenty-seven years of age.

[5] This letter was copied into the church records at the time: the original cannot be found. It was published with Ryland's Funeral Sermon on Symonds, 1788, and in Jukes' very interesting account of Bunyan's church, in 1849. The signature is copied from an original in the *Milton State Papers*, library of the Antiquarian Society.

soul—a most excellent pastor, and in full communion with a Christian church. Alas! his enjoyments were soon interrupted; again a tempest was to agitate his mind, that he might be more deeply humbled and prepared to become a Barnabas or son of consolation to the spiritually distressed.

It is a remarkable fact, that upon the baptism of our Lord, after that sublime declaration of Jehovah—'this is my beloved Son,' 'Jesus was led into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil.' As it was with their leader, so it frequently happens to his followers. After having partaken, for the first time, of the holy enjoyments of the Lord's table—tending to exalt and elevate them, they are often abased and humbled in their own esteem, by the assaults of Satan and his temptations, aided by an evil heart of unbelief. Thus Christian having been cherished in the house called Beautiful, and armed for the conflict, descended into the Valley of Humiliation, encountered Apollyon in deadly combat, and walked through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. 'For three quarters of a year, fierce and sad temptations did beset me to blasphemy, that I could never have rest nor ease. But at last the Lord came in upon my soul with that same scripture, by which my soul was visited before; and after that, I have been usually very well and comfortable in the partaking of that blessed ordinance; and have, I trust, therein discerned the Lord's body, as broken for my sins, and that his precious blood hath been shed for my transgressions.'[1] This is what Bunyan calls, 'the soul killing to itself its sins, its righteousness, wisdom, resolutions, and the things which it trusted in by nature;' and then receiving 'a most glorious, perfect, and never-fading life.' The life of Christ in all its purity and perfections imputed to me—'Sometimes I bless the Lord my soul hath had this life not only imputed to me, but the very glory of it upon my soul—the Son of God himself in his own person, now at the right hand of his Father representing me complete before the mercy-seat in his ownself.' 'There was my righteousness just before the eyes of Divine glory.'[2]

About this period his robust hardy frame gave way under the attack of disease, and we have to witness his feelings when the king of terrors appeared to be beginning his deadly work. Whether the fiery trials, the mental tempest through which he had passed, were too severe for his bodily frame, is not recorded. His narrative is, that, 'Upon a time I was somewhat inclining to a consumption, wherewith, about the spring I was suddenly and violently seized, with much weakness in my outward man; insomuch that I thought I could not live.'[3] This is slightly varied in his account of this illness in his *Law and Grace*. He there says, 'having contracted guilt upon my soul, and having some distemper of body upon me, I supposed that death might now so seize upon, as to take me away from among men.'[4] These serious considerations led to a solemn investigation of his hopes. His having been baptized, his union to a church, the good opinion of his fellow-men, are not in the slightest degree relied upon as evidences of the new birth, or of a death to sin and resurrection to holiness.' 'Now began I afresh to give myself up to a serious examination after my state and condition for the future, and of my evidences for that blessed world to come: for it hath, I bless the name of God, been my usual course, as always, so especially in the day of affliction, to endeavour to keep my interest in the life to come, clear before my eye.

'But I had no sooner began to recall to mind my former experience of the goodness of God to my soul, but there came flocking into my mind an innumerable company of my sins and transgressions: amongst which these were at this time most to my affliction, namely, my deadness, dulness, and coldness in holy duties; my wanderings of heart, my wearisomeness in all good things, my want of love to God, his ways and people, with this at the end of all, "Are these the fruits of Christianity? Are these the tokens of a blessed man?"

'At the apprehension of these things my sickness was doubled upon me, for now was I sick in my inward man, my soul was clogged with guilt; now also was my former experience of God's goodness to me quite taken out of my mind, and hid as if it had never been, nor seen. Now was my soul greatly pinched between these two considerations, "Live I must not, die I dare not." Now I sunk and fell in my spirit, and was giving up all for lost; but as I was walking up and down in my house, as a man in a most woeful state, that word of God took hold of my heart, Ye are "justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ" (Rom. iii. 24). But O! what a turn it made upon me!

'Now was I as one awakened out of some troublesome sleep and dream; and listening to this heavenly sentence, I was as if I had heard it thus expounded to me:—"Sinner, thou thinkest, that because of thy sins and infirmities, I cannot save thy soul; but behold my Son is by me, and upon him I look, and not on thee, and will deal with thee according as I am pleased with him." At this I was greatly lightened in my mind, and made to understand, that God could justify a sinner at any time; it was but his looking upon Christ, and

[1] Vol. i., p. 39. [2] Vol. i., p. 545.
[3] *Grace Abounding*, No. 255, vol. i., p. 39.
[4] Vol. i., p. 545.

imputing of his benefits to us, and the work was forthwith done.'[1]

'Now was I got on high, I saw myself within the arms of grace and mercy; and though I was before afraid to think of a dying hour, yet now I cried, Let me die. Now death was lovely and beautiful in my sight, for I saw that we shall never live indeed, till we be gone to the other world. I saw more in those words, "Heirs of God" (Ro. viii. 17), than ever I shall be able to express. "Heirs of God," God himself is the portion of his saints.'[2]

As his mental agitation subsided into this delicious calm, his bodily health was restored; to use his own figure, Captain Consumption, with all his men of death, were[3] routed, and his strong bodily health triumphed over disease; or, to use the more proper language of an eminent Puritan, 'When overwhelmed with the deepest sorrows, and that for many doleful months, he who is Lord of nature healed my body, and he who is the Father of mercies and God of all grace has proclaimed liberty to the captive, and given rest to my weary soul.'[4] Here we have a key to the most eventful picture in the *Pilgrim's Progress*—The Valley of the Shadow of Death—which is placed in the midst of the journey. When in the prime of life, death looked at him and withdrew for a season. It was the *shadow* of death that came over his spirit.

The church at Bedford having increased, Bunyan was chosen to fill the honourable office of a deacon. No man could have been better fitted for that office than Bunyan was. He was honesty itself, had suffered severe privations, so as to feel for those who were pinched with want; he had great powers of discrimination, to distinguish between the poverty of idleness, and that distress which arises from circumstances over which human foresight has no control, so as to relieve with propriety the pressure of want, without encouraging the degrading and debasing habit of depending upon alms, instead of labouring to provide the necessaries of life. He had no fine clothes to be spoiled by trudging down the filthiest lanes, and entering the meanest hovels to relieve suffering humanity. The poor—and that is the great class to whom the gospel is preached, and by whom it is received—would hail him as a brother. Gifted in prayer, full of sound and wholesome counsel drawn from holy writ, he must have been a peculiar blessing to the distressed, and to all the members who stood in need of advice and assistance. Such were the men intended by the apostles, 'men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom' (Ac. vi. 3), whom the church were to select, to relieve the apostles from the duties of ministration to the wants of the afflicted members, in the discharge of which they had given offence.

While thus actively employed, he was again visited with a severe illness, and again was subject to a most searching and solemn investigation as to his fitness to appear before the judgment-seat of God. 'All that time the tempter did beset me strongly, labouring to hide from me my former experience of God's goodness; setting before me the terrors of death, and the judgment of God, insomuch that at this time, through my fear of miscarrying for ever, should I now die, I was as one dead before death came; I thought that there was no way but to hell I must.'[5]

'A wounded spirit who can bear.' Well might the apostle say, 'If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable' (1 Co. xv. 19). Bunyan had enjoyed holy emotions full of glory, and now the devil was threatening him, not only with the loss of heaven, but the terrors of hell. The Puritan, Rogers, describes religious melancholy as 'the worst of all distempers, and those sinking and guilty fears which it brings along with it are inexpressibly dreadful; what anguish, what desolation! I dare not look to heaven; there I see the greatness of God, who is against me. I dare not look into his Word; for there I see all his threats, as so many barbed arrows to strike me to the heart. I dare not look into the grave; because thence I am like to have a doleful resurrection; in this doleful night the soul hath no evidence at all of its former grace.'[6] Bunyan's experience reminds us of the impressive language of Job—a book full of powerful imagery and magnificent ideas, in which Bunyan delighted, calling it 'that blessed book.'[7] Job goes on, from step to step, describing his mental wretchedness, until he rises to a climax, God 'runneth upon me like a giant' (xvi. 7–22). 'Thou huntest me as a fierce lion' (x. 16). 'The arrows of the Almighty are within me; they drink up my spirit: the terrors of God do set themselves in array against me' (vi. 4). Poor Bunyan, in the depth of his distress, cried unto God, and was heard and relieved from these soul troubles. He recollected the joyful ascent of Lazarus from the extreme of human misery to the height of celestial enjoyments. His spirit was sweetly revived, and he was enabled, with delight, to hope yet in God, when that word fell with great weight upon his mind, 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' 'At this he became both well in body and mind at once; his sickness did presently vanish, and he again walked comfortably in his work for God.'[8] The words, 'by grace are

[1] *Grace Abounding*, No. 255–259, vol. i., p. 39.
[2] Vol. i., p. 40.
[3] Vol. iii., p. 655.
[4] Rogers on *Trouble of Mind*.
[5] *Grace Abounding*, No. 260.
[6] 1st edition, p. 355.
[7] Vol. ii., p. 425.
[8] Vol. i., p. 40.

ye saved,' followed him through the rest of his pilgrimage. His consolation was, that 'a little true grace will go a great way; yea, and do more wonders than we are aware of. If we have but grace enough to keep us groaning after God, it is not all the world that can destroy us.'[1] He had now become deeply instructed in the school of Christ, and was richly furnished with the weapons of spiritual warfare; 'a scribe instructed into the kingdom of heaven, like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old' (Mat. xiii. 52). Or, as 'the man of God, perfected, thoroughly furnished unto all good works' (2 Tim. iii. 17). It was powerfully impressed upon his mind that all his inward conflicts were to be made use of in preparing him to instruct others. All the events of his Saviour's life passed before his mind as if he had stood by as a witness to his birth—his walking with his disciples; his wondrous parables and stupendous miracles; his mental and bodily sufferings; his sacrifice, burial, ascension, intercession, and final judgment; all passed in vivid review before the eye of his mind; and then, he says, 'as I was musing with myself what these things should mean, methought I heard such a word in my heart as this, "I have set thee down on purpose, for I have something more than ordinary for thee to do;" which made me the more to marvel, saying, "What, my Lord, such a poor wretch as I?"'[2] Such was his inward call to the ministry; and it being attended with the three requisites usually insisted on among Dissenters—ability, inclination, and opportunity—he was sent out as an itinerant preacher in the surrounding villages in 1655, and laid the foundation of many churches, which now flourish to the praise of the glory of Divine grace. In some of these villages the gospel had never before been preached; they were strongholds of Satan. These were fit places for the full display of his intrepid energy.

After thus preaching and much suffering, for fifteen years, he was appointed to the pastoral office, or eldership.[3] Can a man enter upon the work of the ministry from a better school than this? Deeply versed in scriptural knowledge; thoroughly humbled by the assaults of sin and Satan; aware of his devices; with a keen perception of the value of the soul; its greatness; and, if lost, the causes and the unspeakable extent of its loss. Solemnly devout and fluent in prayer; ready in conversation upon heavenly things; speaking the truth without fear of consequences, yet avoiding unnecessary offence; first speaking in the church-meeting, and then more extensively in barns, or woods, or dells, to avoid the informers.[4] Such was his training; and the result was, that, when permitted to proclaim the gospel publicly, thousands hung upon his words with intense feeling; numerous converts were by his means added to the church; the proud

[1] Vol. i., p. 769. [2] Vol. i., p. 549. [3] *Church Book*, 1671.

[4] This secrecy became needful after the Restoration, as noticed more fully afterwards, p. lix. During those years of persecution, a frequent place of resort was a dell in Wain-wood, about three miles from Hitchin. Of this locality the following notice will be acceptable:—On the 19th of May, 1853, a splendidly hot day, my pilgrimage to the shrines of Bunyan was continued at Hitchin and its vicinity, in company with S. B. Geard, Esq. Here it was my honour to shake hands with honest Edward Foster, whose grandfather often entertained and sheltered John Bunyan. So singular a case I had never met with, that three lives should connect, in a direct line, evidence of transactions which occurred at a distance of 190 years. His grandfather was born in 1642, and for many years was a friend and companion of the illustrious dreamer. In 1706, when he was sixty-four years of age, his youngest son was born, and in 1777, when that son was seventy-one years of age, his youngest son was born, and in 1853 he has the perfect use of limbs and faculties, and properly executes the important office of assistant overseer to his extensive parish. With such direct testimony, we visited the very romantic dell, where, in the still hours of midnight, the saints of God were wont to meet and unite in Divine worship. It is a most romantic dell, in Wain-wood, which crowns a hill about three miles from Hitchin. We had some difficulty in making our way through the underwood—crushing the beautiful hyacinths and primroses which covered the ground in the richest profusion, and near the top of the hill came suddenly upon this singular dell—a natural little eminence formed the pulpit, while the dell would hold under its shade at least a thousand people—and now I must give you the countryman's eloquent description of the meetings of his ancestors. "Here, under the canopy of heaven, with the rigour of winter's nipping frost, while the clouds, obscuring the moon, have discharged their flaky treasures, they often assembled while the highly-gifted and heavenly-minded Bunyan has broken to them the bread of life. The word of the Lord was precious in those days. And here over his devoted head, while uncovered in prayer, the pious matrons warded off the driving hail and snow, by holding a shawl over him by its four corners. In this devoted dell these plain unpolished husbandmen, like the ancient Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont, proved themselves firm defenders of the faith in its primitive purity, and of Divine worship in its primitive style."

Their horses on which they rode, from various parts, were sheltered in neighbouring friendly farms, while they, to avoid suspicion, ascended the hill by scarcely visible footpaths. Could fine weather be insured, it would form a lovely spot for a meeting to celebrate the third jubilee of religious toleration—there listen to a Bunyan of our age, and devise measures for religious equality. Then we might close the service by solemnly objuring every system which gave power to tyrannise over the rights of conscience. Here, as in other places where Bunyan founded churches, the cause of Christ hath spread. At Hitchin, in 1681, about thirty-five Christians united in the following covenant:—

'We who, through the mercy of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, have obtained grace to give ourselves to the Lord, and one to another by the will of God, to have communion with one another, as saints in one gospel fellowship:—Do, before God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy angels, agree and promise to walk together in this one gospel communion and fellowship as a church of Jesus Christ, in love to the Lord and one to another, and endeavour to yield sincere and hearty obedience to the laws, ordinances, and appointments of our Lord and Lawgiver in his church. And also do agree and promise, the Lord assisting, to follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another, that so living and walking in love and peace, the God of love and peace may be with us. Amen.'

This was probably drawn by Bunyan, and so simple and comprehensive has it proved, that the church has flourished, and lately a spacious and handsome place of worship has been erected, to accommodate a thousand worshippers, at a cost of

became broken-hearted, and the lowly were raised, and blessings abounded; the drunkards were made sober; thieves and covetous were reclaimed; the blasphemers were made to sing the praises of God; the desert bid fair to blossom and bring forth fruit as a garden. But, alas! his early labours were contrary to acts of parliament; the spirit of intolerance and persecution soon troubled, and eventually consigned him to a prison.

Before we bid a final farewell to Bunyan's extraordinary mental struggles with unbelief, it may be well to indulge in a few sober reflections. Are the narratives of these mighty tempests in his spirit plain matters of fact? No one can read the works of Bunyan and doubt for a moment his truthfulness. His language is that of the heart, fervent but not exaggerated, strong but a plain tale of real feelings. He says, and he believed it, 'My sins have appeared so big to me, that I thought one of my sins have been as big as all the sins of all the men in the nation; ay and of other nations too, reader; these things be not fancies, for I have smarted for this experience. It is true that Satan has the art of making the uttermost of every sin; he can blow it up, make it swell, make every hair of its head as big as a cedar;[1] but yet the least stream of the heart blood of Jesus hath vanished all away and hath made it to fly, to the astonishment of such a poor sinner, and hath delivered me up into sweet and heavenly peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.'[2] Some have supposed the narrative to be exaggerated, while others have attributed the disturbed state of his mind to disease; my humble belief is that the whole is a plain unvarnished account of facts; that those facts occurred while he was in full possession of all the faculties of his mind. To ascribe such powers to the invisible world by which we are constantly surrounded, does not agree with the doctrines of modern philosophers. Those holy or unholy suggestions suddenly injected, would by the world be set down as the hallucinations of a distempered imagination. Carnal relations attributed Christian's alarm to 'some frenzy distemper got into his head,' and Southey, following their example, ascribes Bunyan's hallowed feelings to his want of 'sober judgment,' 'his brutality and extreme ignorance,' a 'stage of burning enthusiasm,' and to 'an age in which hypocrisy was regnant, and fanaticism rampant throughout the land.'[3] What a display of reigning hypocrisy and rampant fanaticism was it to see the game at cat openly played by men on Sunday, the church bells calling them to their sport!!! Had Southey been poet-laureate to Charles II., he might with equal truth have concealed the sensuality, open profaneness, and debauchery of that profligate monarch and his court of concubines, and have praised him as 'the Lord's anointed.' Bunyan was an eye-witness of the state of the times in which he lived, and he associated with numbers of the poor in Bedfordshire and the adjoining counties. So truthful a man's testimony is of great value, and he proves that no miraculous reformation of manners had taken place; no regnant hypocrisy nor rampant fanaticism. In 1655, that being the brightest period of the Commonwealth, he thus 'sighs' over the state of his country:—'There are but a few places in the Bible but there are threatenings against one sinner or another; against drunkards, swearers, liars, proud persons, strumpets, whoremongers, covetous, railers, extortioners, thieves, lazy persons. In a word, all manner of sins are reproved, and there is a sore punishment to be executed on the committers of them; and all this made mention of in the Scriptures. But for all this, how thick, and by heaps, do these wretches walk up and down our streets? Do but go into the ale-houses, and you shall see almost every room besprinkled with them, so foaming out their own shame that it is enough to make the heart of a saint to tremble.'[4] This was a true character of the great masses of the labouring and trading portions of the commonwealth. Let us hear his testimony also as to the most sacred profession, the clergy, in 1654:—

'A reason why delusions do so easily take place in the hearts of the ignorant, is, because those that pretend to be their teachers, do behave themselves so basely among them. And indeed I may say of these, as our Lord said of the Pharisees in another case, the blood of the ignorant shall be laid to their charge. They that pretend they are sent of the Lord, and come, saying, Thus saith the Lord; we are the servants of the Lord, our commission is from the Lord by succession; I say, these pretending themselves to be the preachers of truth, but are not, do, by their loose conversation, render the doctrine of God, and his Son Jesus Christ, by whom the saints are saved, contemptible, and do give the adversary mighty encouragement, to cry out against the truths of our Lord Jesus Christ, because of their wicked walking. For the most part of them, they are the men that at this day do so harden their hearers in their sins by giving them such ill examples, that none goeth beyond them for impiety. As, for example, would a parishioner learn to be proud, he or she

£3000, all paid for, with a surplus fund in hand for contingencies, of £500. In addition, there are also large and commodious chapels for the Independents, Wesleyans, and Quakers.

[1] *Christ a Complete Saviour*, vol. i., p. 210.

[2] *Law and Grace*, vol. i., pp. 549, 550.

[3] *Life of Bunyan*, p. xiv.

[4] *Sighs*, vol. iii., p. 712.

need look no farther than to the priest, his wife, and family; for there is a notable pattern before them. Would the people learn to be wanton? they may also see a pattern among their teachers. Would they learn to be drunkards? they may also have that from some of their ministers; for indeed they are ministers in this, to minister ill example to their congregations. Again, would the people learn to be covetous? they need but look to their minister, and they shall have a lively, or rather a deadly resemblance set before them, in both riding and running after great benefices, and parsonages by night and by day. Nay, they among themselves will scramble for the same. I have seen, that so soon as a man hath but departed from his benefice as he calls it, either by death or out of covetousness of a bigger, we have had one priest from this town, and another from that, so run, for these tithe-cocks and handfuls of barley, as if it were their proper trade, and calling, to hunt after the same. O wonderful impiety and ungodliness! are you not ashamed of your doings? Read Ro. i. towards the end. As it was with them, so, it is to be feared, it is with many of you, who knowing the judgments of God, that they who do such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure also in them that do them. And now you that pretend to be the teachers of the people in verity and truth, though we know that some of you are not, is it a small thing with you to set them such an example as this? Were ever the Pharisees so profane; to whom Christ said, Ye vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Doth not the ground groan under you? surely, it will favour you no more than it favoured your fore-runners. Certainly the wrath of God lies heavy at your doors, it is but a very little while, and your recompense shall be upon your own head. And as for you that are indeed of God among them, though not of them, separate yourselves. Why should the righteous partake of the same plagues with the wicked? O ye children of the harlot! I cannot well tell how to have done with you, your stain is so odious, and you are so senseless, as appears by your practices."[1]

Eze. xiii.; read that whole chapter, and you will find it as it was a looking glass by which thou mayest notablyseethem with their marks and discoveries.

The testimony of George Fox as to England's fashions in 1654, is very pointed and extremely droll:—"Men and women are carried away with fooleries and vanities; gold and silver upon their backs,[2] store of ribbands hanging about the waist, knees, and feet—red or white, black or yellow; women with their gold; their spots on their faces, noses, cheeks, foreheads; rings on their fingers, cuffs double, like a butcher's white sleeves; ribbands about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their clothes; men dressed like fiddlers' boys or stage players; see them playing at bowls, or at tables, or at shovel-board, or each one decking his horse with bunches of ribbands on his head, as the rider hath on his own. These are gentlemen, and brave fellows, that say pleasures are lawful, and in their sports they shout like wild asses. This is the generation carried away with pride, arrogancy, lust, gluttony, and uncleanness; who eat and drink and rise up to play, their eyes full of adultery, and their bodies of the devil's adorning.[3] Such quotations from the writings of men of undoubted veracity, and who lived during that period, might be multiplied to fill a volume.

Is this the regnant hypocrisy and rampant fanaticism which prevailed in England, and which Southey supposes to have influenced Bunyan and deranged his sober judgment? It is true that the Protector and his council discountenanced vice and folly, and that there was more piety and virtue in the kingdom at that time than it had ever before witnessed. But it would have been the greatest of miracles, had the people been suddenly moralized, after having been baptized in brutality for ages. Not a century had elapsed since the *autos da fé* had blazed throughout the country, burning the most pious, moral, and enlightened of her citizens. A century of misery to the professors of religion had passed, in which the persecutions of Papists and Puritans, hanging, transporting, murdering by frightful imprisonments all those who dared to dissent from the church of England. All this must have produced a debasing effect upon public morals. Even among professors Bunyan discovered pride, covetousness, impiety, and uncleanness.[4]

Bunyan's religious impressions did not, as Southey states, arise from his ignorance, brutal manners, low station, nor from the fanaticism of the age in which he lived. Did the similar feeling of Job or David spring from these polluted fountains? He is a stranger to Christ's school that confounds its discipline with mental drunkenness, or with the other depraved sources alluded to by Southey. The luxurious imagination which ruled over him, must be curbed and brought into subjection to Christ. He must be weaned from a reliance upon sudden impulses to rely upon Divine truth. The discovery of errors by scriptural investigation was putting on armour of proof. Self-confidence was gradually swallowed up by dependence upon the word—the result of the severest

[1] *Gospel Truths*, vol. ii., p. 178.

[2] Like the Beef-eaters, or yeomen of the guard at the present day.

[3] *Journal*, folio, 1694, p. 144. Is it surprising that the Quakers, at such a time, assumed their peculiar neatness of dress?

[4] Vol. ii., p. 178, 566.

spiritual training. Those painful exercises produced a life of holiness and usefulness. Can the thistle produce grapes, or the noxious weeds corn? Never! His experience came from heaven, in mercy to his soul, and to make him a blessing to millions of his race. By this he was made truly wise, civilized, enlightened, and elevated. Every painful feeling was measured by Divine rule—weighed in the sanctuary balance—not one iota too much or too little to form his noble character. He has been compared with Lord Byron, one of our most impassioned thinkers and writers; but the noble poet's heart-griefs were on the wrong side. Judging of his own feelings by those painted on his heroes:—they fight for freedom only to gratify lust, pride, and ambition, while the future appeared in dark, dreary uncertainty. But Bunyan strives to be released from the slavery of sin and Satan, that he might enjoy the *liberty* of being a *servant* of Christ, whose service is perfect freedom, with a glorious vista of eternity occasionally breaking in upon his soul.

Well may it be said of him:—Simple, enchanting man! what does not the world owe to thee and to the great Being who could produce such as thee? Teacher alike of the infant and of the aged; who canst direct the first thought and remove the last doubt of man; property alike of the peasant and the prince; welcomed by the ignorant and honoured by the wise; thou hast translated Christianity into a new language, and that a universal one! Thou art the prose poet of all time!

THE FOURTH PERIOD.

BUNYAN ENTERS INTO CONTROVERSY—BECOMES AN AUTHOR—OFFENDS A PERSECUTING MAGISTRACY, AND IS PROCEEDED AGAINST AT THE SESSIONS UNDER AN ACT OF THE COMMONWEALTH—IS ACCUSED OF REPORTING A STRANGE CHARGE OF WITCHCRAFT—PUBLICLY DISPUTES WITH THE QUAKERS.

In proportion as a man becomes a public character, especially if eminent for talent and usefulness in the church, so will his enemies increase. The envy of some and the malice of others will invent slanders, or, what is worse, put an evil construction upon the most innocent conduct, in the hope of throwing a shade over that brightness which reveals their own defects. In this they are aided by all the craft, and cunning, and power of Satan, the arch-enemy of man. The purity of gospel truth carries with it the blessed fruits of the highest order of civilization; the atmosphere in which it lives is 'good will to man.' Salvation is a free gift, direct from God to the penitent sinner. It cannot be obtained by human aid, nor for all the gold in the universe. It cannot possibly be traded in, bought, or sold, but is bestowed without money or price. Hence the opposition of Antichrist. The cry or groan of the contrite enters heaven and brings down blessings, while the most elegant and elaborately-composed prayer, not springing from the heart, is read or recited in vain. Human monarchs must be approached by petitions drawn up in form, and which may be accepted, although the perfection of insincerity and hypocrisy. The King of kings accepts no forms; he knows the heart, and requires the approach of those who worship him to be in sincerity and in truth; the heart may plead without words, God accepteth the groans and sighs of those that fear him. These were the notions that Bunyan had drawn from the Holy Oracles, and his conversation soon made him a favourite with the Puritans, while it excited feelings of great hostility among the neighbouring clergy and magistrates.

Bunyan's conversion from being a pest to the neighbourhood to becoming a pious man, might have been pardoned had he conformed to the Directory; but for him to appear as a Dissenter and a public teacher, without going through the usual course of education and ordination, was an unpardonable offence. The opinions of man gave him no concern; all his anxiety was to have the approbation of his God, and then to walk accordingly, braving all the dangers, the obloquy, and contempt that might arise from his conscientious discharge of duties, for the performance of which he knew that he alone must give a solemn account at the great day.

He entered upon the serious work of the ministry with fear and trembling, with much heart-searching, earnest prayer, and the advice of the church to which he was united, not with any pledge to abide by their decision contrary to his own conviction, but to aid him in his determination. His own account of these important inquiries is very striking:—'After I had been about five or six years awakened, and helped myself to see both the want and worth of Jesus Christ our Lord, and also enabled to venture my soul upon him, some of the most able among the saints with us, for judgment and holiness of life, as they conceived, did perceive that God had counted me worthy to understand something of his will in His holy and blessed Word, and had given me utterance, in some measure, to express what I saw to others for edification; therefore they desired me, and that with much earnestness, that I would be willing at some times to take in hand, in one of the meetings, to speak a word of exhortation unto them. The which, though at the first it did much dash and abash my spirit, yet being still by them desired and entreated, I consented to their request, and did twice, at two several assemblies in private, though with much weakness and infirmity, discover my gift amongst them; at which they did solemnly protest, as in the sight of the

great God, they were both affected and comforted, and gave thanks to the Father of mercies for the grace bestowed on me.

'After this, sometimes, when some of them did go into the country to teach, they would also that I should go with them; where, though as yet I did not, nor durst not, make use of my gift in an open way, yet more privately, as I came amongst the good people in those places, I did sometimes speak a word of admonition unto them also, the which they, as the other, received with rejoicing at the mercy of God to me-ward, professing their souls were edified thereby.

'Wherefore at last, being still desired by the church, after some solemn prayer to the Lord, with fasting, I was more particularly called forth, and appointed to a more ordinary and public preaching of the Word, not only to and amongst them that believed, but also to offer the gospel to those who had not yet received the faith thereof.'[1]

The ministry of Bunyan's pastor, whom he affectionately called holy Mr. Gifford, must have been wonderfully blessed. In 1650 only twelve pious men and women were formed into a Christian church, and, although subject to fierce persecution, they had so increased that in 1672 ten members had been solemnly set apart for the work of the ministry, and they became a blessing to the country round Bedford. The benighted state of the villages was a cause of earnest prayer that men might be sent out, apt to teach, and willing to sacrifice liberty, and even life, to promote the peaceful reign of the Redeemer. The names of the men who were thus set apart were—John Bunyan, Samuel Fenn, Joseph Whiteman, John Fenn, Oliver Scott, Luke Ashwood, Thomas Cooper, Edward Dent, Edward Isaac, and Nehemiah Coxe.[2] Four of these were permitted to fulfil their course without notoriety; the others were severely persecuted, fined, and imprisoned, but not forsaken.

Encouraged by the opinion of the church which had been so prayerfully formed, that it was his duty to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation, Bunyan entered upon his important work, and was soon encouraged by a hope that his labours were useful to his fellow-men. 'About this time,' he narrates, 'I did evidently find in my mind a secret pricking forward thereto, though, I bless God, not for desire of vain glory, for at that time I was most sorely afflicted with the fiery darts of the devil concerning my eternal state. But yet I could not be content unless I was found in the exercise of my gift; unto which also I was greatly animated, not only by the continual desires of the godly, but also by that saying of Paul to the Corinthians, "I beseech you, brethren (ye know the household of Stephanas, that it is the first-fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints), that ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us, and laboureth" (1 Cor. xvi. 15, 16).

'By this text I was made to see that the Holy Ghost never intended that men, who have gifts and abilities, should bury them in the earth, but rather did command and stir up such to the exercise of their gift, and also did commend those that were apt and ready so to do.

'Wherefore, though of myself, of all the saints the most unworthy, yet I, but with great fear and trembling at the sight of my own weakness, did set upon the work, and did according to my gift, and the proportion of my faith, preach that blessed gospel that God had showed me in the holy Word of truth; which, when the country understood, they came in to hear the Word by hundreds, and that from all parts. And I thank God he gave unto me some measure of bowels and pity for their souls, which did put me forward to labour with great diligence and earnestness, to find out such a word as might, if God would bless it, lay hold of and awaken the conscience, in which also the

[1] *Grace Abounding*, vol. i., p. 41.

[2] Nehemiah Coxe is said to have been a descendant from Dr. Richard Coxe, preceptor to Edward VI., and Dean of Oxford. He fled from persecution under Mary, was a troubler of his brother refugees by his turbulent temper, and his attachment to superstitious ceremonies. On his return, he was made Bishop of Ely, and became a bitter persecutor. Benjamin Coxe, A.M., probably a son of the furious bishop, was as ardently fond of rites and ceremonies. He was cited to appear before Laud for denying the *jure divino* of bishops, and the poor bishop said, "God did so bless me that I gave him satisfaction." Mr. Coxe soon after came out as a Baptist, and having preached at Bedford, he settled in Coventry. Here he disputed with Mr. Baxter and the Presbyterians; and the Independents had him imprisoned for defending adult baptism (Crosby, *History of Baptists*, i. 354), a very short mode of settling the controversy. Probably Nehemiah Coxe was his son, settled at Bedford as a shoemaker. He was a learned man, and, when tried at Bedford assizes for preaching the gospel, he was indicted in the usual Norman-French, or Latin; and pleaded first in Greek, which the prosecutors not understanding, he pleaded in Hebrew, arguing, that as his indictment was in a foreign tongue, he was entitled to plead in any of the learned languages. The counsel being ignorant of those languages, and the judge glad to get rid of a vexatious indictment, dismissed him, saying to the counsellors, 'Well, this cordwainer hath wound you all up, gentlemen.' This anecdote is handed down in a funeral sermon by T. Sutcliff, on the death of Symonds, one of the pastors of the church at Bedford.

Another of this little band that was set apart with Bunyan, became so useful a preacher as to have been honoured with a record in the annals of persecution in the reign of Charles II. John Fenn was on Lord's-day, May 15, 1670, committed to prison for preaching in his own house; and on Tuesday, all his goods and stock in trade were seized and carted away, leaving his family in the most desolate condition.

In the following week, Edward Isaac, a blacksmith, another of this little band, having been fined, had all his stock in trade, and even the anvil upon which he worked, seized and carted away.

Such were the severe trials which these excellent citizens were, with their families, called to pass through, by the tyranny of the church; but they were light, indeed, in comparison with those that awaited the amiable and pious Bunyan.

good Lord had respect to the desire of his servant; for I had not preached long before some began to be touched, and be greatly afflicted in their minds at the apprehension of the greatness of their sin, and of their need of Jesus Christ.

'But I at first could not believe that God should speak by me to the heart of any man, still counting myself unworthy; yet those who were thus touched would love me, and have a particular respect for me; and though I did put it from me that they should be awakened by me, still they would confess it, and affirm it before the saints of God. They would also bless God for me, unworthy wretch that I am! and count me God's instrument that showed to them the way of salvation.

'Wherefore, seeing them in both their words and deeds to be so constant, and also in their hearts so carnestly pressing after the knowledge of Jesus Christ, rejoicing that ever God did send me where they were; then I began to conclude that it might be so, that God had owned in his work such a foolish one as I; and then came that word of God to my heart with much sweet refreshment, "The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy" (Job xxix. 13).

'At this therefore I rejoiced; yea, the tears of those whom God did awaken by my preaching would be both solace and encouragement to me. I thought on those sayings, "Who is he that maketh me glad, but the same that is made sorry by me" (2 Cor. ii. 2). And again, "Though I be not an apostle to others, yet doubtless I am unto you: for the seal of my apostleship are ye in the Lord" (1 Cor. ix. 2). These things, therefore, were as an another argument unto me, that God had called me to, and stood by me in this work.

'In my preaching of the Word I took special notice of this one thing, namely, that the Lord did lead me to begin where his Word begins with sinners; that is, to condemn all flesh, and to open and allege, that the curse of God by the law doth belong to, and lay hold on all men as they come into the world, because of sin. Now this part of my work I fulfilled with great feeling, for the terrors of the law, and guilt for my transgressions, lay heavy on my own conscience. I preached what I felt, what I smartingly did feel, even that under which my poor soul did groan and tremble to astonishment. Indeed, I have been as one sent to them from the dead; I went myself in chains to preach to them in chains; and carried that fire in my own conscience that I persuaded them to beware of.[1] I can truly say, that when I have been to preach, I have gone full of guilt and terror even to the pulpit-door, and there it hath been taken off, and I have been at liberty in my mind until I have done my work, and then, immediately, even before I could get down the pulpit stairs, I have been as bad as I was before: yet God carried me on with a strong hand, for neither guilt nor hell could take me off my work. Thus I went on for the space of two years, crying out against men's sins, and their fearful state because of them.'[2]

A man so much in earnest soon became a most acceptable and popular preacher. He studied his sermons carefully, and wrote such memorandums and notes as might refresh his memory before going into the pulpit, although his intensity of feeling, his ready utterance, and natural eloquence which charmed his hearers, and his extensive usefulness as a preacher, render it quite improbable that he restricted himself to notes while publicly engaged in sacred services. They must have aided him when he did not enjoy liberty of utterance. 'At times when I have begun to speak the Word with much liberty, I have been presently so straitened in speech that I scarcely knew what I was about, or as if my head had been in a bag.'[3] They were valuable, also, as a proof that all he said had its exclusive reference to the world to come, without the mixture of politics, which might have given offence to the Government. Thus, when he was apprehended for neglecting to attend the church service and for preaching the gospel, in his conversation with Mr. Cobb, the magistrate's clerk, he said 'that, to cut off all occasions of suspicion from any, as touching the harmlessness of my doctrine, in private I would willingly take the pains to give any one *the notes of all my sermons*, for I do sincerely desire to live quietly in my country, and to submit to the present authority.'[4] In such troublesome times these would afford abundant proof that he was desirous of submitting to all the political institutions of his country, while he dared not conform to human laws affecting his faith or his mode of worshipping God, for which he alone was to stand answerable at the great day.

[1] If Christians recollected with what anxiety their teachers prepared and delivered their sermons, how constant and prayerful would be their attendance on the means of grace.

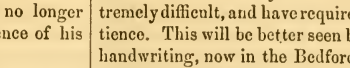
[2] *Grace Abounding*, vol. i., p. 42. The taunts and revilings of a poet laureate upon Bunyan's preaching and sufferings need only a passing notice. No words could be more vile and slanderous than those of Mr. Southey. He says, 'Peace might be on his lips, and zeal for the salvation of others in his heart, but he was certainly, at that time, no preacher of good will, nor of christian charity.' How can we judge of a preacher's good will, but by 'peace on his lips?' and what is the criterion of Christian charity, except it be 'zeal for the salvation of others in his heart?'

[3] *Grace Abounding*, No. 293, vol. i., p. 44.

[4] Vol. i., p. 59. Eben. Chandler thus describes Bunyan: 'His wit was sharp and quick, his memory tenacious; it being customary with him to commit his sermons to writing after he had preached them.'—Chandler and Wilson's *Preface to Bunyan's Works*, folio. 1692. All these autographs have unaccountably disappeared.

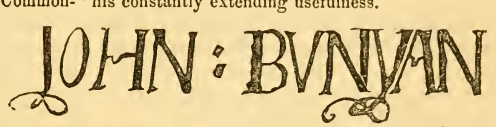
The employment of his time in earning a maintenance for his family, and his constant engagements to preach, interfered with the proper fulfilment of his duties as a deacon of the church. His resignation of this important office is thus recorded in the minutes of the church—'At a meeting held on the 27th of the 6th month, 1657, the deacon's office was transferred from John Bunyan to John Pernie, because he could no longer discharge its duties aright, in consequence of his being so much employed in preaching.'

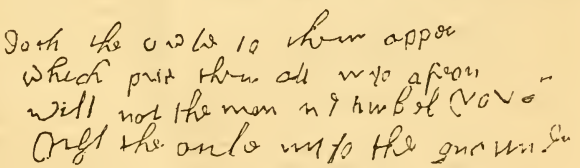
We cannot wonder that his time was incessantly employed. His was no ordinary case. He had to recover and improve upon the little education he had received, and lost again by dissipated habits. He must have made every effort, by his diligent study of the Bible, to gain that spiritual knowledge which alone could enable him to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ, and that profound internal converse with the throne of God which appears in all his writings. In addition to all this, he was engaged in continual controversy with a variety of sects, which, in his sober judgment, opposed the simplicity of the gospel. Among these the Ranters, or Sweet Singers, were very conspicuous. It is difficult to discover what were their opinions, but they appear to have been nearly like the Dutch Adamites; they were severely persecuted, by public authority, under the Commonwealth, for blasphemy. George Fox found some of them in prison at Coventry in 1649, and held a short disputation with them. They claimed each one to be God, founding their notion on such passages as 1 Cor. xiv. 25, 'God is in you of a truth.' Fox quaintly asked them whether it would rain the next day; and upon their answering that they could not tell, 'Then said I unto them, God can tell.'[1] Strange as it may appear, the Ranters had many followers, while numerous pious people were troubled by their impudence and perversion of Scripture, but more especially by their being a persecuted people. Taking advantage of the inquiries that were excited by these strange doctrines, Bunyan determined to become an author, that he might set forth more extensively than he could do by preaching, the truths of the gospel in their native purity, simplicity, and beauty, as an antidote to fanaticism. The learned and eloquent looked with contempt upon the follies of the Ranters, Familists, and some loose Quakers, 'and only deigned to abuse them with raillery, while the poor unlettered tinker wrote against them.' To indite a work would be to him a pleasant recreation, but *writing* a book must have been extremely difficult, and have required extraordinary patience. This will be better seen by a specimen of his handwriting, now in the Bedford Library, found in Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, the three volumes of which beguiled many of his tedious hours when in prison.



To write a volume, containing about twenty-five thousand words, must have been a serious task to such a scribe.

It is interesting to trace his improvement in caligraphy while recovering his lost education, and advancing in proficiency in an art so essential to his constantly extending usefulness.





'Doth the owle to them apper
Which put them all into a fear

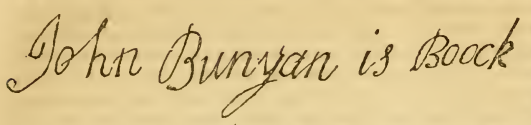
Will not the man in treble crown
Fright the owle unto the ground.'

The above signatures in Fox's *Book of Martyrs* (one of his first acquisitions in book-collecting), are remarkably rude and laboured; a great effort to produce his name *handsomely* such as a young scribe would contemplate with no small degree of satisfaction. On a page of that book, under the engraving of an owl appearing at a council held by Pope John at Rome, he had written the above four lines.

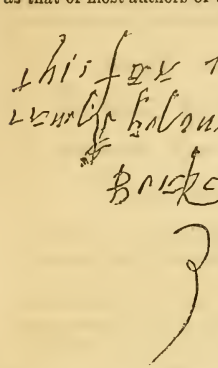
The next is a more useful running hand, however defective in orthography and grammar; it is

[1] Noticed in the life annexed to *Pilgrim*, Part III.

from the first page of a copy of Bishop Andrews' sermons[1]—

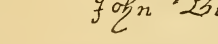


The inscription in a copy of his *Holy City*, 1665, in Dr. Williams' or the Dissenters' Library, Red Cross Street, is in a still more useful hand, as good as that of most authors of that day—



The autograph in Powell's *Concordance*, in the library of the Baptist Academy, Bristol, is in a fair hand—

His autograph is in possession of the Society of Antiquaries. The document to which it is subscribed is written in a remarkably neat hand, addressed to the Lord Protector. The signatures appear to be written as if in the writer's best style.[2]



Signature to the deed of gift[3]—

In addition to the motives which have been noticed as inducing him to become an author, it appears, that in the course of his itinerating labours, he was much grieved with the general depravity which had overspread all classes of society. Evil communications had corrupted the great mass, and occasioned an aversion to hear the gospel, which plunged the people into carnal security. When roused by his preaching they too often found refuge in despair, or in vain attempts to impose upon God their unholy self-righteousness, endeavouring 'to earn heaven with their fingers' ends;'[4] anything rather than submit to receive salvation as the free gift of God, and thus be led to consecrate all their powers to his glory and the comfort of society. A few who appeared to have thought on this solemn subject, without any change of conduct, are called by Bunyan 'light notionists, with here and there a legalist,'[5] or those who relied upon a creed without the fruits of righteousness, and some of these imbibed notions of the strangest kind—that the light within was all-sufficient, without any written revelation of the will of God—that the account of Christ's personal appearance on earth was a myth, to represent his residence in the persons of believers, in whom he suffers, is crucified, buried, and raised again to spiritual life—that such persons might do whatever their inclinations led them to, without incurring guilt or sin; in short, many sinned that grace might abound!! Some of them professed to be the Almighty God manifest in the flesh. All this took place in what was called a Christian country, upon which millions of treasure had been spent to teach religion by systems, which had persecuted the honest, pious professors of vital Christianity to bonds, imprisonment, and death. This had naturally involved the kingdom in impiety and gross immorality. The discovery of the awful state of his country, while he was engaged in preaching in the villages round Bedford induced him, in the humble hope of doing good, to become an author, and with trembling anxiety he issued to the world the first production of his pen, in 1656, under the title of *Some Gospel Truths Opened according to the Scriptures*; and, as we shall presently find, it met with a rough reception, plunging him into controversy, which in those days was conducted with bitter acrimony.

Before it was published, he sought the approbation and protection of Mr. John Burton, who had been united with Mr. Gifford in the pastoral charge of the church to which Bunyan belonged. The testimony that he gives is very interesting:—

[1] In the editor's library, folio, 1635. Orthography was little cared for in those days. On the beautiful portrait of Andrews, is the autograph of Annie Brokett hir Book!

[2] This document is copied on page xxvi.

[3] See page lxxii.

[4] Vol. ii., p. 132.

[5] Vol. ii., p. 133.

'Here thou hast things certain and necessary to be believed, which thou canst not too much study. Therefore pray that thou mayest receive it, so it is according to the Scriptures, in faith and love, not as the word of man but as the word of God, and be not offended, because Christ holds forth the glorious treasure of the gospel to thee in a poor earthen vessel, by one who hath neither the greatness nor the wisdom of this world to commend him to thee; for as the Scripture saith, Christ, who was low and contemptible in the world himself, ordinarily chooseth such for himself and for the doing of his work. "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world." This man [Bunyan] is not chosen out of an earthly, but out of the heavenly university, the church of Christ, furnished with the Spirit, gifts, and graces of Christ - - out of which, to the end of the world, the word of the Lord and all true gospel ministers must proceed. And, though this man hath not the learning or wisdom of man; yet, through grace, he hath received the teaching of God, and the learning of the Spirit of Christ. He hath taken these three heavenly degrees—union with Christ, the anointing of the Spirit, and experience of the temptations of Satan—which do more fit a man for the mighty work of preaching the gospel, than all the university learning and degrees that can be had. I have had experience with many other saints of this man's (Bunyan's) soundness in the faith, his godly conversation, and his ability to preach the gospel, not by human art, but by the Spirit of Christ, and that with much success in the conversion of sinners. I thought it my duty to bear witness with my brother to these glorious truths of the Lord Jesus Christ.'[1]

Bunyan was twenty-eight years of age when he published this work, and as he attacked the follies of his times, and what he deemed to be heresies, were exposed to Scripture light and condemned without mercy, it very naturally involved him in controversy. This brought forth the remarkable resources of his mind, which was stored with the Scriptures—his fearlessness—ready wit and keen retort, much sanctified by an earnest desire for the salvation of his opponents. An extraordinary man, younger than himself, full of energy and enthusiasm, entered the lists with him; and in Edward Burrough, very properly called a son of thunder and of consolation, Bunyan found an able disputant. He was talented, pious, and fearless in his Master's work, and became eminently useful in laying the foundation of the Society of Friends. Soon after this he was numbered with the noble army of martyrs at the age of twenty-eight, being sacrificed in Newgate, at the shrine of religious intolerance.

At this time the Quakers were not united as a body, and consequently there was no test of character nor rules of discipline for those who assumed that name. They were very dissimilar men to their quiet and unobtrusive descendants. The markets, fairs, and every public concourse were attended by them, denouncing false weights and measures, drunkenness and villany, with the curses of the Almighty, calling upon the people, frequently with furious and fearful energy and powerful eloquence, to repent, and cry unto God, that his mercy might be extended to the salvation of their immortal souls. Their zeal led them to many breaches of good manners. They would enter churches, and after the service, when the quiet folks were thinking of gratifying their bodies with a substantial dinner, they were arrested by the violent declamation of a man or woman, frequently denouncing the priest as being the blind leading the blind. This naturally led to a scene of riot and confusion, in which the Quakers were in many cases handled with great barbarity. Among these disturbers were mingled persons of bad character. The violence of sectarian feeling in the churches thus disturbed, made no discrimination between bad and good; they were equally subjected to the roughest treatment. Bunyan attacked those who denied that Christ had appeared in the world as Emmanuel, God with us 'in fashion as a man,' that by the infinite merits of his life and death imputed to believers, they might be made holy. His attack was also directed against those who refused obedience to the written Word, or who relied upon inward light in contradistinction and preference to the Bible. The title to Burrough's answer is a strange contrast to the violence of his language—*The Gospel of Peace contended for in the Spirit of Meekness and Love.* In this spirit of meekness he calls his opponents 'crafty fowlers preying upon the innocent;' and lovingly exclaims, 'How long shall the righteous be a prey to your teeth, ye subtle foxes; your dens are in darkness, and your mischief is hatched upon your beds of secret whoredoms.' The unhallowed spirit of the age mistook abuse for argument, and harsh epithets for faithful dealing.[2]

Bunyan replied in *A Vindication of Gospel Truths*, to the great satisfaction of all his friends; and although Burrough answered this tract also, Bunyan very wisely allowed his railing opponent to have the last word, and applied his great powers to more important labours than cavilling with one who in reality did not differ with him. The Quaker had been seriously misled by supposing that the Baptist was a hireling preacher; and we must be pleased that he was so falsely charged, because it elicited a crushing reply. Burrough,

[1] Vol. ii., pp. 140, 141.

[2] The American authors of a recent life of Burrough, (*William and Thomas Evans, Philadelphia, republished by Gilpin, London*, 1851), have given an unfair account of his controversy with Bunyan, drawn from Burrough's works in the shape of a supposed dialogue. Such a disputation can only be understood by reading both sides of the question. We unite with them in admiring the character of that young but noble martyr. They are, however, wrong in their conclusion that 'the meekness and gentleness of Christ softened and adorned *his whole* character.' He was one of those that are called in the *Holy War*, 'rough hewn men fit to break the ice.' Vol. iii. p. 270.

in reply to an imputation made by Bunyan, that the Quakers were the false prophets alluded to in Scripture, observed that 'in those days there was not a Quaker heard of.' 'Friend,' replied Bunyan, 'thou hast rightly said, there was not a Quaker heard of indeed, though there were many Christians heard of then. Again, to defend thyself thou throwest the dirt in my face, saying, If we should diligently trace thee, we should find thee in the steps of the false prophets, through fancied words, through covetousness, making merchandise of souls, loving the wages of unrighteousness. To which Bunyan replied; 'Friend, dost thou speak this as from thy own knowledge, or did any other tell thee so? However, that spirit that led thee out this way, is a lying spirit; for though I be poor, and of no repute in the world as to outward things, yet through grace I have learned, by the example of the apostle, to preach the truth, and also to work with my hands, both for mine own living, and for those that are with me, when I have opportunity. And I trust that the Lord Jesus, who hath helped me to reject the wages of unrighteousness hitherto, will also help me still, so that I shall distribute that which God hath given me freely, and not for filthy lucre sake.'[1] Thus had he learned of the apostle to 'make the gospel of Christ without charge' (1 Co. ix. 18); and upon this subject they strangely agreed. The same agreement existed between them upon the necessity of inward light from the Holy Spirit; without which they both considered the Bible to be a dead letter. The peculiar principle which separates the Quaker from every other Christian community, has nothing to do with the light within. Upon that subject all evangelical sects are agreed. The substantial difference is whether our Lord intended the work of the ministry to be exclusively a work of benevolence, charity, and love, binding all who are capable of using the talent intrusted to them, to do it without worldly reward. Surely every man may be satisfied in his own mind upon such a subject, without quarrelling with, or anathematizing each other. Bunyan and Burrough agreed, without knowing it, in the sentiments of their illustrious and learned cotemporary, John Milton, as to the ministry being without charge; and had they, when offended, followed their Master's rule, 'If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone' (Mat. xviii. 15), had they met, and on their knees before the throne of grace, sought from heaven wisdom and charity in defending Divine truth, we can easily imagine that the approbation of God would have been manifested, by sending them on their important work in peaceful unity. They had been immersed in the same deep and solemn regeneration, and their ardent object was the same—to spread the influence of the kingdom of Christ.

When Christians of various denominations meet in prayer, how it melts down their sectarian bitterness. In this controversy, mention is made of a total abstinence movement in the time of the commonwealth, a germ which has put forth its mighty efforts in our more peaceful and happy times. A cloud now hovered over Bunyan, and threatened him with troubles of a very different kind to those of religious controversy. It will startle many of our readers to hear that, under the government of Cromwell, Bunyan was persecuted for his religious opinions and practices. Mr. Jukes, in his interesting *History of Bunyan's Church*, thus refers to it: 'Soon after he had resigned the office of deacon in 1657, the hand of persecution was raised against him; for at a meeting of the church, held on the 25th day of the twelfth month, in the same year (Feb. 1658), it was agreed that the 3d day of the next month be set apart to seek God in the behalf of our brother Wheeler, who hath been long ill in body, whereby his ministry hath been hindered; and also about the church affairs, and the affairs of the nation; and for our brother Whitbread, who has long been ill; and also for counsel what to do with respect to the indictment of brother Bunyan at the assizes, for preaching at Eaton.'[2]

Although persecution for religious opinions assumed a milder form under the Commonwealth, the great principles of religious freedom and equality were neither known nor practised. The savage barbarities perpetrated upon Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, Leighton, and others, by Charles I. and his archbishop, Laud, were calculated to open the eyes of the nation to the wickedness and inutility of sanguinary or even any laws to govern the conscience, or interfere with Divine worship. Alas! even those who suffered and survived became, in their turn, persecutors. The great object of persecution was the book of Common Prayer, the use of which was rigorously prohibited. The clergy were placed in an extremely awkward predicament. No sooner was the Act of Parliament passed ordering the Directory to be used and the Prayer-book to be laid aside, than the king, by his royal proclamation, issued from Oxford, November 13, 1645, ordered the Directory to be set aside, and the Common Prayer to be used in all the churches and chapels. Both these orders were under very severe penalties.

The Act against atheistical opinions, which passed August 9, 1650, illustrates the extraordinary state of the times. The preamble states that, 'Divers men and women have lately discovered

[1] Vol. ii., p. 201.

[2] P. 16.

themselves to be most monstrous in their opinions, and loose in all wicked and abominable practices.' It then enacts that—'Any one, *not being mad*, who pretends to be God Almighty, or who declares that unrighteousness, uncleanness, swearing, drunkenness, and the like filthiness and brutishness, or denying the existence of God, or who shall profess that murder, adultery, incest, fornication, uncleanness, filthy or lascivious speaking, are not wicked, sinful, impious, abominable, and detestable, shall be imprisoned, and, for a second offence, be transported.'[1]

One of the Acts that affected Bunyan was passed April 26, 1645, cap. 52—'None may preach but ordained ministers, except such as, intending the ministry, shall, for trial of their gifts, be allowed by such as be appointed by both houses of Parliament.' This was amended by 'an ordinance appointing commissioners for approbation of public preachers,' March, 1653. In this Dr. Owen, Goodwin, Caryl, and many others are named, who were to judge of the candidate's fitness to preach.[2] The Act which more seriously touched Bunyan was that of May 2, 1648, which enacts that any person saying, 'that man is bound to believe no more than by his reason he can comprehend, or that the baptizing of infants is unlawful, or such baptism is void, and that such persons ought to be baptized again, and, in pursuance thereof, shall baptize any person formerly baptized, shall be imprisoned until he gives security that he will not publish or maintain the said error any more.'[3]

It was these intolerant proceedings that led Milton to publish a poem *On the New Forcers of Conscience*, beginning with these lines—

> 'Dare ye, for this, adjure the civil sword,
> To force our consciences that Christ set free.'

This last-mentioned ungracious and uncalled-for Act against the Baptists, led some violent spirits to print a paper, entitled, 'The Second Part of England's new Chains Discovered,' this was read in many Baptist meeting-houses, and the congregations called upon to subscribe it: fortunately, they were peaceably disposed, and denounced it to the House of Commons in a petition, dated April 2, 1649. Mr. Kiffin and the others were called in, when the Speaker returned them this answer—'The House doth take notice of the good affection to the Parliament and public you have expressed, both in this petition and otherways. They have received satisfaction thereby, concerning your disclaiming that pamphlet, which gave such just offence to the Parliament, and also concerning your disposition to live peaceably, and in submission to the civil magistracy; your expressions whereof they account very Christian and seasonable. That for yourselves and other Christians, walking answerable to such professions as in this petition you make, they do assure you of liberty and protection, so far as God shall enable them, in all things consistent with godliness, honesty, and civil peace.'[4] Whether it was in consequence of this good understanding having remained between the Baptists and the Parliament, or from some application to the Protector, or from some unknown cause, the persecution was stayed;[5] for the indictment does not appear to have been tried, and Bunyan is found to have been present, and to have taken a part in the affairs of the church, until the 25th day of the 2d Month, 1660 (April), when 'it was ordered, according to our agreement, that our brother, John Bunyan, do prepare to speak a word at the next church meeting; and

[1] It is difficult to describe the state of those times. James Naylor rode into Bristol, a multitude accompanying him, strewing their scarfs, handkerchiefs, and garments on the ground for his horse to tread on, and singing, Hosanna in the highest; holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Israel. He was addressed as the everlasting son of righteousness, and prince of peace. His brain was bewildered with adulation. Women kissed his feet, and called him Jesus the Son of God. To stop the tumult, he was apprehended, and had he been simply subjected to the discipline of a mad-house, like Mr. Brothers of a later period, his blood would soon have recovered from its agitation. Instead of this, a grand parade was made by trying him before a Committee of the House of Commons, and, upon a report of the whole house, he was convicted of 'horrid blasphemy,' and it was by the small majority of fourteen that his life was spared. His cruel sentence was whipping, pillory, his tongue bored through with a red hot iron, a large letter B burnt into his forehead, and to be imprisoned during the pleasure of Parliament. By his followers he was considered a martyr; but the infatuation soon subsided. After his release, he was mercifully restored to his senses, and became a useful Quaker.

[2] These commissioners were called 'triers,' and, being high Calvinists, were nick-named Dr. Absolute, chairman, Mr. Fatality, Mr. Fri-babe, Mr. Dam-man, Mr. Narrow-grace, Mr. Indefectible, Mr. Dubious, and others. They turned out of their livings those clergymen who were proved to be immoral in their conduct, and others who did not come up to the orthodox standard. Of these, Mr. Walker, in his account of the sufferings of the clergy, gives a long list.

[3] This Act or ordinance of Parliament involved some of our excellent ancestors in trouble. Hansard Knollys, Wm. Kiffin, Mr. Lamb, and many others, were imprisoned for short periods; Edward Barbour for eleven months. To avoid the informers, adult baptism was performed at midnight; for this Henry Denne suffered imprisonment. That gracious and valuable minister, Vavasor Powel also suffered a short imprisonment during the Protectorate; his life was afterwards sacrificed by a tedious imprisonment in the following reign. He was taken, with his flock, at a midnight meeting; and for safe custody they were locked up in the parish church, and there he preached without molestation. When conveyed to the justice's house, while waiting his worship's leisure, he again preached. When this magistrate arrived, he was violently enraged that his house should have been turned into a conventicle. He would have committed them at once to prison; but two of his daughters were so affected with the sermon, that, at their intercession, after severe threatenings, the preacher and his friends were set at liberty.

[4] From the original, in the editor's possession.

[5] Cotton Mather says that these laws were never carried to extremity, and were soon laid entirely by. *Hist. of America.*

that our brother Whiteman fail not to speak to him of it.'[1]

This invitation was very probably intended to introduce him to the congregation, with a view to his becoming an assistant pastor, but before it took place, he again appeared before the public as an author. The second production of his pen is a solemn and most searching work, founded upon the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, under the title of *A few Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of a Damned Soul; by that poor and contemptible Servant of Jesus Christ, John Bunyan*, 1658. His humility led him to seek the patronage of his pastor; and Mr. Gifford, under the initials of J. G., wrote a preface of thirty-eight pages, but he dying before it reached the second edition, that preface was discontinued, and the title somewhat altered. The only copy of this first edition yet discovered is in the royal library at the British Museum. It appears to have belonged to Charles II., who, with more wit than decorum, has bound it up, as a supplement, to an extremely licentious book, as if it was intended to say, 'Her house is the way to hell, going down to the chamber of death;' or that a licentious life endeth in 'sighs from hell.'

Mr. Gifford, in this preface, after strongly recommending the work, speaks of the author in the most respectful and affectionate terms, showing that his zeal, and energy, and great usefulness had excited the envy of many who ought to have encouraged him as one taught by the Spirit, and used in his hand to do souls good—'divers have felt the power of the Word delivered by him; and I doubt not but that many more may, if the Lord continues him in his work;' and he gives this as a reason 'why the archers have shot so sorely at him;' and then scripturally proves that no objection should be made to his valuable services from his want of human learning. As the whole of this interesting preface is accurately reprinted with the book, the reader is referred to it without further extracts.[2] The Editor's introduction to these *Sighs* was written under very solemn feelings, produced by reading this searching treatise. The rich man is intended to personify those who, neglecting salvation, die in their sins, while Lazarus personates all those who humbly receive salvation as the gift of God; who, however they may suffer in this world, retain their integrity to death. In this parable, a voice is heard from the place of torment—the cry is a 'drop of water,' the slightest relief to unutterable woes; and that a messenger may be sent to warn his relatives, lest they should be plunged into the same torment. The impassable gulf defies the vain request, while the despised Christian reposes in everlasting and indescribable enjoyment. This little volume was very popular; nine editions were printed and sold in the author's lifetime, besides pirated copies. Bunyan's feelings and mode of preaching are well described in the *Grace Abounding*,[3] and will be felt by every attentive reader of his *Sighs from Hell*:—'When I have been preaching, I thank God, my heart hath often, with great earnestness, cried to God that he would make the Word effectual to the salvation of the soul. Wherefore I did labour so to speak the Word, as that thereby, if it were possible, the sin and person guilty might be particularized by it.'

'And when I have done the exercise, it hath gone to my heart, to think the Word should now fall as rain on stony places; still wishing from my heart, O! that they who have heard me speak this day, did but see as I do, what sin, death, hell, and the curse of God is; and also what the grace, and love, and mercy of God is, through Christ, to men in such a case as they are who are yet estranged from him.

'For I have been in my preaching, especially when I have been engaged in the doctrine of life by Christ, without works, as if an angel of God had stood by at my back to encourage me.'

Such feelings are not limited to Bunyan, but are most anxiously felt by all our pious ministers. How fervently ought their hearers to unite in approaches to the mercy-seat, that the Divine blessing may make the Word fruitful.

In those days it was not an uncommon thing for the hearers, at the close of the sermon, to put questions to the preacher, sometimes to elicit truth, or to express a cordial union of sentiments, or to contradict what the minister had said. Upon one occasion, Mr. Bunyan, after his sermon, had a singular dispute with a scholar. It is narrated by Mr. C. Doe, who was a personal friend and great admirer of our author, and who probably heard it from his own mouth, and will be found in the *Struggler*, inserted vol. iii., p. 767.

It is the common taunt of the scorner, and sometimes a stone of stumbling to the inquirer, that, while the Christian believes in the intensity of the Saviour's sufferings, and that God was made flesh that he might offer himself as an atonement to redeem mankind, yet few are saved, in comparison with those who are lost—broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many walk therein, while few attempt the narrow way to life; that four sorts of hearers are described by the Saviour, only one receiving the truth; as if the doleful realms of darkness and misery would be more thickly peopled than those of light and hap-

[1] Jukes' *History of Bunyan's Church*, p. 16.
[2] Works, vol. iii., p. 667; especially pp. 672, 673.
[3] No. 280–317, vol. i., p. 42–46.

piness, and Satan prove stronger than Christ. Such cavillers forget that the far greater portion of mankind die in infancy, purified by the Saviour's sufferings, and enter heaven in the perfection of manhood. As Mr. Toplady justly observes, what a vista does this open to the believer through the dreary gloom of the infidel! They forget, also, that all those who gain the narrow path, once helped to throng the road to destruction; and that the hearers, whose hardened deceitful hearts rejected the gospel under one sermon, may, by mercy, have them opened to receive it under another. And who dares to limit the Almighty? The power that prepared the spirit of the thief, when upon the cross, even in his last moments, for the pure enjoyments of heaven, still exists. Is the arm of the Lord shortened that he cannot save? The myriads of heaven will be found countless as are the sands upon the sea-shore, and the harmony of their worship shall swell like the voice of many waters and mighty thunderings, saying, 'Alleluja, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.' What! Satan stronger than the Almighty Redeemer? Perish the thought. Still how common is the question, which one of the disciples put to his master, 'Lord, are there few that be saved?' How striking the answer! 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate' (Lk. xiii. 23). Encumber not thy mind with such needless inquiries, but look to thine own salvation.

Another very singular anecdote is related, which proves that the use of the churches was not then limited to any one sect. 'Being to preach in a church in a country village (before the restoration of king Charles) in Cambridgeshire, and the people being gathered together in the church-yard, a Cambridge scholar, and none of the soberest of 'em neither, enquired what the meaning of that concourse of people was, it being upon the week day, and being told, That one Bunyan, a tinker, was to preach there, he gave a boy twopence to hold his horse, saying, He was resolved to hear the tinker prate; and so went into the church to hear him. But God met with him there by his ministry, so that he came out much changed, and would, by his good will, hear none but the tinker for a long time after, he himself becoming a very eminent preacher in that county afterwards. This story I know to be true, having many a time discoursed with the man, and, therefore, I could not but set it down as a singular instance of the power of God that accompanied his ministry.'[1]

Bunyan's veneration for the Scriptures, as the *only* source and standard of religious knowledge, led him into frequent controversies. In common with the Christian world, he wholly depended upon the enlightening influence of the Holy Spirit to impress the Divine truths of revelation upon the mind, and also to illustrate, open, and apply the sacred writings to the heart of man. Unable to read the Bible in the original languages in which it was written, he wisely made use of every aid that might enable him to study its contents with the greatest advantage. It was his habit to examine the two translations then in common use. The present authorized version, first published in 1611, is that to which he usually refers; comparing it with the favourite Puritan version made by the refugees at Geneva, and first printed in 1560. He sometimes quotes the Genevan, and so familiar were the two translations, that in several instances he mixes them in referring from memory to passages of holy writ.

Upon one of his journeys, being upon the road near Cambridge, he was overtaken by a scholar, who concluded that he was an itinerant preacher, whether from having heard him, or observing his serious deportment, or his Bible reading, does not appear, although the latter was probably the reason. But the student determined to have a brush with him, and said, 'How dare you preach from the Bible, seeing you have not the original, being not a scholar?' Then said Mr. Bunyan, 'Have you the original?' 'Yes, said the scholar.' 'Nay, but,' said Mr. Bunyan, 'have you the very self-same original copies that were written by the penmen of the Scriptures, prophets and apostles?' 'No,' said the scholar, 'but we have the true copies of these originals.' 'How do you know that?' said Mr. Bunyan. 'How?' said the scholar. 'Why, we believe what we have is a true copy of the original.' 'Then,' said Mr. Bunyan, 'so do I believe our English Bible is a true copy of the original.' Then away rid the scholar.'[2] As neither persecution nor railing, nor temptations, nor the assaults of Satan, produced any effect upon Bunyan to prevent his preaching, but rather excited his zeal and energy, means of a more deadly nature were resorted to, to injure or prevent his usefulness. As Mr. Gifford said, 'The archers shot sorely at him' by the most infamous and unfounded slanders, which he thus narrates:—

'When Satan perceived that his thus tempting and assaulting of me would not answer his design, to wit, to overthrow my ministry, and make it ineffectual, as to the ends thereof: then he tried another way, which was to stir up the minds of the ignorant and malicious to load me with slanders and reproaches. Now, therefore, I may say, that what the devil could devise, and his instruments invent, was whirled up and down the country against me, thinking, as I said, that by that means they should make my ministry to be abandoned. It began, therefore, to be rumoured up and down

[1] *Life and Death of Mr. J. Bunyan*, 1700, p. 27.

[2] Vol. iii., p. 767.

among the people, that I was a witch, a jesuit, a highwayman, and the like. To all which, I shall only say, God knows that I am innocent. But as for mine accusers, let them provide themselves to meet me before the tribunal of the Son of God, there to answer for all these things, with all the rest of their iniquities, unless God shall give them repentance for them, for the which I pray with all my heart.

'But that which was reported with the boldest confidence, was, that I had my misses, yea, two wives at once, and the like. Now these slanders, with the others, I glory in, because but slanders, foolish, or knavish lies, and falsehoods cast upon me by the devil and his seed; and should I not be dealt with thus wickedly by the world, I should want one sign of a saint, and a child of God. "Blessed are ye (said the Lord Jesus) when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great *is* your reward in heaven, for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

'These things therefore, upon mine own account, trouble me not. No, though they were twenty times more than they are, I have a good conscience; and whereas they speak evil of me, they shall be ashamed that falsely accuse my good conversation in Christ. Therefore I bind these lies and slanders to me as an ornament, it belongs to my christian profession to be vilified, slandered, reproached, and reviled. I rejoice in reproaches for Christ's sake. My foes have missed their mark in this their shooting at me. I am not the man. If all the fornicators and adulterers in England were hanged by the neck till they be dead, John Bunyan, the object of their envy, would be still alive and well. I know not whether there be such a thing as a woman breathing under the copes of the whole heaven, but by their apparel, their children, or by common fame, except my wife.

'And in this I admire the wisdom of God, that he made me shy of women from my first conversion until now. When I have seen good men salute those women that they have visited, I have made my objection against it; and when they have answered, that it was but a piece of civility, I have told them, it is not a comely sight. Some indeed have urged the holy kiss; but then I have asked why they made baulks, why they did salute the most handsome, and let the ill-favoured go. Not that I have been thus kept, because of any goodness in me, more than any other, but God has been merciful to me, and has kept me, to whom I pray that he will keep me still, not only from this, but every evil way and work, and preserve me to his heavenly kingdom. Amen.'[1]

[1] *Grace Abounding*, vol. i., p. 46.

Notwithstanding all Mr. Bunyan's care to avoid the slightest appearance of evil, yet being overpersuaded to an act of humanity and civility to one of his female members, he was most unjustly calumniated. The circumstances which gave rise to this slander are narrated in James' *Abstract of God's dealings with Mrs. Agnes Beaumont*, of which an abridged account will be found in a note to the *Grace Abounding*.[2] It exhibits in a remarkable manner how easily such reports are raised against the holiest men.

Another still more extraordinary and unnatural charge was made against Bunyan. He lived at a period when witchcraft, witches, and wizards were in the height of fashion. Any poor woman who had outlived or had become a burden to her natural protectors, and whose temper was soured by infirmities, especially if her language was vulgar and her appearance repulsive, ran the risk of being defamed as a witch. If in her neighbourhood a murrain seized the cattle, or a disease entered a family which baffled the little knowledge of the country practitioners—such as epilepsy, St. Vitus's dance, or St. Anthony's fire—it was ascribed to witchcraft, and vengeance was wreaked upon any reputed witch. In many parts of England she was tried by a kind of Lynch law, in a very summary manner. Her hands and feet being bound together, she was thrown into deep water; if she sank, and was drowned, she was declared innocent; if she swam, it was a proof of guilt, and a little form of law condemned her to the stake or halter. In Scotland, they were treated with greater barbarity; they were awfully tortured—thumb-screws, the boots to crush their knees, pricking them with needles or awls night and day, to prevent a moment's rest, were persevered in—until a confession was extorted, to be followed by a frightful death. The ignorance that prevailed may account for the faith of the vulgar in witchcraft; but that learned divines, and even the enlightened Judge Hale, should fall into the delusion, is most surprising. The charge against Bunyan was, that he had circulated some paper libelling a most respectable widow, a Quakeress, as a witch. This paper cannot now be discovered; but the story is so perfectly ridiculous as to render it quite improbable that Bunyan had any knowledge of it. The account is contained in a rare pamphlet of four leaves, preserved in the very curious library of the Society of Friends at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate. It is entitled, 'A lying wonder discovered, and the strange and terrible news from Cambridge proved false; which false news is published in a libel, concerning a wicked slander cast upon a Quaker; but the author of the said libel was ashamed to subscribe his name to it. Also, this

[2] See Note, vol. i., p. 45.

contains an answer to John Bunion's paper, touching the said imagined witchcraft, which he hath given forth to your wonderment, as he saith; but it is also proved a lie and a slander by many credible witnesses hereafter mentioned.'[1] It narrates that Margaret Pryor, of Long Stanton, indicted, on the 28th July, 1659, the widow Morlin, a Quaker lady, for having, on the 20th November, 1657, took her out of bed from her husband in the night, put a bridle in her mouth, and transformed her into a bay mare, and with a Quaker, William Allen, rode upon her to Maddenly House, a distance of four miles; that they made her fast to the latch of the door, while she saw them partake of a feast of mutton, rabbits, and lamb [lamb in November!!]; that they shone like angels, and talked of doctrine, and that she knew some of the guests; that her feet were a little sore, but not her hands, nor was she dirty. In examining her, the judge elicited that she made no mention of the story for a year and three-quarters, and that her deposition then was that some evil spirit changed her into a bay-horse; that her hands and feet were lamentably bruised, and changed as black as a coal; that she had her chemise on, which was all bloody, from her sides being rent and torn with the spurs. All this was unknown to her husband; nor had she accounted for her chemise so strangely fitting a horse or mare. It was proved that the complainant had received money for bringing the charge, and pretended to have burnt some of her hair with elder-bark, as a counter-charm to prevent it happening again. The judge summed up with observing that it was a mere dream or phantasy, and that the complainant was the sorceress, by practising incantations in burning her hair and bark. The jury found a verdict of—not guilty; and thus two innocent persons were saved by an enlightened judge from an ignominious death. It is almost incredible that, even after the trial, priests and magistrates who had promoted the prosecution professed to believe that the charge was true. This singular narrative, in defence of the poor persecuted Quakeress, is signed James Blackley, an alderman, George Whitehead, and three others. No one can believe that John Bunyan gave credit to such a tale, or mentioned it to the injury of the parties accused. His reply was, that these slanders were devised by the devil and his instruments—'God knows that I am innocent.' The probability is, that the pamphlet called *Strange News from Cambridge* had been sent to him, and that he gave it to some Quaker to answer.

Considering the almost universal belief in witchcraft in those days—that Baxter, Cotton Mather, Clarke, and many of our most eminent divines, believed in it—and that Bunyan received the Scriptures in our authorized translation with the deepest reverence, it becomes an interesting inquiry how far he believed in witchcraft, possessions, incantations, and charms. He was persuaded that Satan could appear to mankind in the shape of animals, and in the human form. Had any one doubted the possibility of these appearances, he would at that time have been called an atheist and an unbeliever in the existence of God and of separate spirits. Thus he argues, that 'If sin can make one who was sometimes a glorious angel in heaven now so to abuse himself as to become, *to appearance*, as a filthy frog, a toad, a rat, a cat, a fly, a mouse, or a dog, to serve its ends upon a poor mortal, that it might gull them of everlasting life, no marvel if the soul is so beguiled as to sell itself from God and all good for so poor a nothing as a momentary pleasure.'[2] When speaking of the impropriety of excluding a pious person from the Lord's table, because of a difference of opinion as to water baptism, he says, 'Do you more to the openly profane—yea, to all wizards and witches in the land?'[3] In quoting Isaiah xiii., he, taught by the Puritan version, puts the key in the margin—'Wild beasts of the desert shall be there and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures. And owls shall dwell there, and satyrs* shall dance there.'[4] He gave no credence to the appearance of departed spirits, except in the hour of death; and then, while between time and eternity, he thought that in some rare cases spiritual sight was given to see objects otherwise invisible.[5]

* That is, the hobgoblins, or devils.

He fully believed in the power of Satan to suggest evil thoughts to the pious Christian, and to terrify and punish the wicked, even in this life; but never hints, through all his works, at any power of Satan to communicate to man any ability to injure his fellows. What a contrast is there between the *Pilgrim of Loretto*, with its witch and devil story, mentioned in the introduction to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Bunyan's great allegorical work! Conjurors and fortune-tellers, or witches and wizards, were vagabonds deserving for their fraudulent pretensions,[6] punishment by a few months' imprisonment to hard labour, but not a frightful death. In all these things this great man was vastly in advance of his age. He had studied nature from personal observation and the book of revelation. In proportion as the laws of nature are understood, the crafty pretensions of conjurors and witches become exposed to contempt. Bunyan never believed that

[1] 4to. London, 1659. A MS. copy is in the editor's possession.

[2] Vol. i., p. 683.
[3] Vol. ii. 635.
[4] Vol. iii., p. 445.
[5] Vol. iii., p. 680.
[6] Vol. iii., p. 48.

the great and unchangeable principles which the Creator has ordained to govern nature could be disturbed by the freaks of poor old crazy women, for purposes trifling and insignificant. No, such a man could never have circulated a report that a woman was turned into a bay mare, and her chemise into a horse-cloth and saddle! Unbridled sectarian feeling perverted some remark of his, probably made with the kindest intention, into a most incredible slander.

Among the many singularities of that very interesting period, one was the number of religious tournaments or disputations that were held all over the country. The details of one of these, between Fisher, a Jesuit, and Archbishop Laud, occupy a folio volume. In these wordy duels the Baptists and Quakers bore a prominent part. To write a history of them would occupy more space than our narrow limits will allow. Bunyan entered into one of these controversies with the Quakers at Bedford Market-cross,[1] and probably held others in the church, those buildings being at times available under the Protectorate for such purposes. Bunyan was met by the son of thunder, Edward Burrough, who was also assisted by Anne Blackly, a remarkably pious woman and an able disputant. Bunyan pressed them with the Scriptures, and dealt such severe blows that Mrs. Blackly, in the public assembly, bid him throw away the Scriptures. To which he answered, 'No, for then the devil would be too hard for me.' The great controversy was as to Christ within his saints. Bunyan proved, by the holy oracles, that Christ had ascended, and was at the right hand of God; to which Mrs. Blackly answered, that he preached up an idol, and used conjuration and witchcraft. To the charge of spiritual conjuration and witchcraft he made no reply, it being unworthy his notice; but called upon her to repent of her wickedness in calling Christ an idol. With regard to his presence in his saints, he reminded her, that if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.[2] As a matter of course, both parties claimed the victory; and although the hearers were puzzled, doubtless much good was effected.

These were comparatively happy days for God's fearers—much valuable seed was sown, and the light of divine truth penetrated into many a benighted town and village. At length dark and portentous clouds rolled over the horizon. The Protector had entered into rest; his son was wholly incapable of taking the helm of public affairs. The exiled king, Charles II., declared his determination to publish an amnesty for all political offences; and from Breda issued his proclamation for liberty of conscience, and the kingdom was cajoled and sold. The king was scarcely seated on his throne, and armed with power, when he threw off the mask. Men who had faithfully performed very painful duties under the authority of Acts of Parliament were put to death, others imprisoned and transported, and uniformity in religion was re-enacted under ferocious penalties. Bunyan was to endure a cruel imprisonment, with all the fears of an ignominious death. 'Now,' he says, 'as Satan laboured by reproaches and slanders, to make me vile among my countrymen, that if possible my preaching might be made of none effect, so there was added hereto a long and tedious imprisonment, that thereby I might be frighted from my service for Christ, and the world terrified and made afraid to hear me preach, of which I shall in the next place give you a brief account.'[3]

THE FIFTH PERIOD.

BUNYAN SUFFERS PERSECUTION, AND A LONG AND DANGEROUS IMPRISONMENT, FOR REFUSING TO ATTEND THE COMMON PRAYER SERVICE, AND FOR PREACHING.

—— 'O happie he who doth possesse
Christ for his fellow prisoner, who doth gladde
With heavenly sunbeames, goales that are most sad.'

(*Written by William Prynne, on his Prison wall, in the Tower.*)

THE men who arraign their fellows before any standard of orthodoxy, or claim the right of dictating forms of belief or modes of worship under pains or penalties, are guilty of assuming the prerogative of the Most High, and of claiming, for their frail opinions, infallibility. Such are guilty of high treason against the Majesty of heaven—and all their machinations have a direct tendency to destroy human happiness—the wealth of the nation, and that universal good-will among men which the gospel is intended to establish. Such men present to us the various features of antichrist, the dread enemy of mankind.

The duty of every intelligent creature is to watch the operations of nature, that he may be led to just perceptions of the greatness of the Creator, and the goodness of his immutable laws. Soon he finds his perceptions dim, and is conscious of evil propensities, which baffle all his efforts at sinless perfection. He finds nothing in nature to solve the solemn inquiry how sin is to be pardoned, and evil thoughts and habits to be rooted out. The convinced sinner then feels the necessity of a direct revelation from God; and in the Bible alone he finds that astounding declaration, which leaves all human philosophy at an immea-

[1] See postscript to *The True Faith of the Gospel of Peace*, British Museum.

[2] Vol. ii., p. 201.

[3] Vol. i., p. 46.

surable distance — 'Ye must be born again.' God only can effect the wondrous change—man, priest, prophet, or magi, can do him no good—his terror-stricken conscience drives him to his Creator, and faith in the Redeemer causes consolation to abound.

In every kingdom of the world, the Christian inquirer is met by the opposition of antichrist, in some form or other, attempts will be made to limit his free-born spirit to human inventions and mediations in seeking Divine mercy. He feels that he is bound, by all his hopes of happiness, here and hereafter, to obey God rather than man, in everything pertaining to spiritual religion. In his simple obedience to the Word of God, he braves all dangers, sure of the Divine blessing and support while encountering obloquy, contempt, allurements, and persecution, in its varied polluted forms and appalling cruelties.

After the decease of Oliver Cromwell, it soon became apparent that the exiled king would be restored. In the prospect of that event, Charles II. promised a free pardon to all his subjects, excepting only such persons as should be excepted by parliament; and 'we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.' Who could imagine, that, in the face of this solemn declaration, acts, the most oppressive and tyrannical, would be passed —compelling pretended uniformity in belief and real uniformity in the mode of public worship—driving the most pious and useful clergymen from their pulpits and livings—preventing them from becoming tutors or schoolmasters—and not suffering them to live within five miles of a city or town. Ruinous penalties were inflicted, not only on every minister, but upon every hearer, who met to worship God in private houses or in the fields and woods. Christians, convinced of the wickedness of such laws, strove, by every possible means, to evade the penalties, with a stern determination to worship God in the way that their consciences led them. They met their beloved ministers in private places, and at the most unseasonable hours. It is said that Bunyan, to avoid discovery, went from a friend's house disguised as a carter; with his white frock, wide-awake cap, and his whip in his hand, to attend a private meeting in a sheltered field or barn. To prevent these meetings, severe and almost arbitrary penalties were enforced, a considerable part of which went to the informers —men of debauched habits and profligate principles. With all their vigilance, these prohibited meetings could not be prevented. In some cases, the persecuted disciples of a persecuted Lord took houses adjoining each other, and, by opening internal communications, assembled together. In some cases, the barn or room in which they met, had a door behind the pulpit, by which the preacher could escape. A curious letter, preserved in the archives at Devonshire House, states, that when a Christian assembly was held near Devonshire Square, while the minister was in his sermon, the officers and trained bands entered the meeting-house. The preacher immediately ceased preaching, and gave out the lines of a hymn, which the congregation joined in singing, and the officers waited till the devotional exercise was ended. The preacher, taking advantage of their hesitation, made his escape by a door at the back of the pulpit; 'thus,' says the quaint Quaker, 'he choked the informers off with his hymn.' In the *Life of Badman* are some illustrative anecdotes relating to informers and their violent ends, with an interesting cut of a religious meeting in the fields. One informer is in a neighbouring tree, to identify the meeters; while in the distance, another is running for the officers, with this verse under the print:—

> 'Informer, art thou in the tree?
> Take heed, lest there thou hanged be:
> Look likewise to thy foot-hold well;
> Lest, if thou slip, thou fall to hell.'

In many cases the justices considered a field preacher to be equally guilty with a regicide.[1] One of the informers, named W. S., was very diligent in this business; 'he would watch a-nights, climb trees, and range the woods a-days, if possible to find out the meeters, for then they were forced to meet in the fields.' At length he was stricken by the hand of God, and died a most wretched object.[2] The cruelties that were inflicted upon Dissenters are scarcely credible. Penn, the Quaker, gives this narrative of facts:—'The widow's mite hath not escaped their hands; they have made her cow the forfeit of her conscience, not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her; and what is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, the poor helpless orphan's milk, boiling over the fire, was flung away, and the skillet made part of their prize; that, had not nature in neighbours been stronger than cruelty in informers and officers, to open her bowels for their relief, they must have utterly perished.[3] One of these infamous, hard-hearted wretches in Bedford, was stricken, soon after, with death; and such had been his notorious brutality, that his widow could not obtain a hearse, but was obliged to carry his body to the grave in a cart.

It is gratifying to leave these horrors—these stains upon our national history—for a moment,

[1] Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i.
[2] *Life of Badman*.
[3] Penn's *England's Interest*, 4to, 1675, p. 2.

to record an event which took place about fifty years back. The Rev. S. Hillyard, the pastor of Bunyan's church, thus writes:—'When our meeting-house was lately repaired, we were allowed, by the Lord Lieutenant and the justices, to carry on our public worship, for a quarter of a year in the town-hall, where, if it had been standing in Mr. Bunyan's time, he must have been tried and committed to jail for preaching.' How different our position from that of our pilgrim forefathers.

The justices, if the law had allowed them, would, from the first, have prevented Bunyan's preaching. When they had the power, he possessed nothing to excite the cupidity of an informer: this, with the caution of his friends, saved him, for some months, from being apprehended; they met privately in barns, milk-houses, and stables, or in any convenient place in which they were not likely to be disturbed. In addition to these services, every opportunity was embraced to visit his friends—praying with them, and administering consolation, arming them with a steady resolve to be patient in suffering, and to trust in God for their safety and reward. At length an information was laid, and he was caught in the very act of worshipping God with some pious neighbours. Bunyan's account of this event is deeply interesting; but the want of sufficient space prevents my giving more than an abstract of it, referring the reader to his *Grace Abounding* for fuller details.

On November 12, 1660, as the winter was setting in, having been invited to preach at Samsell, in Bedfordshire, he prepared a sermon upon these words—'Dost thou believe in the Son of God?' Jn. ix. 35; from which he intended 'to show the absolute need of faith in Jesus Christ, and that it was also a thing of the highest concern for men to inquire into, and to ask their own hearts whether they had faith or no.'[1] He had then been a preacher of the glorious gospel of Christ for five or six years, without any interruption; for, although indicted, he had continued his useful career, and through grace had received great encouragement and eminent proofs of the Divine blessing.

Francis Wingate, a neighbouring justice of the peace, having heard of the intended meeting, issued his warrant to bring the preacher before him. The intention of the magistrate was whispered about, and came to Bunyan's ears before the meeting was held, probably to give him an opportunity of escape. His friends, becoming alarmed for his safety, advised him to forego the opportunity. It was a trying moment for him; he had a beloved wife to whom he had not been long married, and four dear children, one of them blind, depending upon his daily labour for food. If he escaped, he might continue his stolen opportunities of doing good to the souls of men. He hesitated but for a few minutes for private prayer; he had hitherto shown himself hearty and courageous in preaching, and it was his business to encourage the timid flock. 'Therefore, thought I, if I should now run and make an escape, it will be of a very ill savour in the country; what will my weak and newly converted brethren think of it? If I should run, now there was a warrant out for me, I might, by so doing, make them afraid to stand when great words only should be spoken to them.' He retired into a close, privately, to seek Divine direction, and came back resolved to abide the will of God. It was the first attempt, near Bedford, to apprehend a preacher of the gospel, and he thus argued with himself—'If God, of his mercy, should choose me to go upon the forlorn hope, that is, to be the first that should be opposed for the gospel, if I should fly it might be a discouragement to the whole body that should follow after. And I thought that the world thereby would take occasion at my cowardliness, to have blasphemed the gospel.'[2] These considerations brought him to the noble resolution of fulfilling his duty, under all its difficulties and dangers. In these reasonings the same honourable decision of mind animated him which impelled Daniel, and the three Hebrew youths, to violate the wicked laws of the nation in which they lived, because these laws were opposed to the will of God. He and they, as well as the apostles, judged for themselves, and opposed statutes or ancient customs which, in their opinion, were contrary to the Divine law by which they were to be judged at the solemn and great day. Nor did they, in the prospect of the most dread personal sufferings, hesitate to follow the convictions of their minds. Some laws are more honoured in the breach than in the observance of them. The law of Pharaoh to destroy the male children of the Israelites, in ancient times, and the present Popish laws of Tuscany, that the Bible shall not be read, are laws so contrary to common sense, and the most sacred duties of man, that 'God dealt well' with those who broke them in Egypt, as he has ever dealt with those who have thus honoured him. The millions of prayers that were offered up for a blessing upon the confessors, Madiai, have been answered. Had they perished in the prisons of Tuscany, they would have joined the noble army of martyrs before the throne of God, to witness his judgments upon that persecuting church which has shed so much holy blood.

When Bunyan was advised to escape by dismissing the meeting, which consisted of about forty persons, he replied, 'No, by no means; I will not

[1] Vol. ii., p. 593.

[2] Vol. i., p. 51.

stir, neither will I have the meeting dismissed. Come, be of good cheer, let us not be daunted; our cause is good, we need not be ashamed of it; to preach God's Word is so good a work, that we shall be well rewarded if we suffer for that."[1] All this took place about an hour before the officers arrived. The service was commenced with prayer at the time appointed, the preacher and hearers had their Bibles in their hands to read the text, when the constable and his attendants came in, and, exhibiting the warrant, ordered him to leave the pulpit and come down; but he mildly told him that he was about his Master's business, and must rather obey his Lord's voice than that of man. Then a constable was ordered to fetch him down, who, coming up and taking hold of his coat, was about to remove him, when Mr. Bunyan fixed his eyes steadfastly upon him; having his Bible open in his hand, the man let go, looked pale, and retired; upon which he said to the congregation, 'See how this man trembles at the Word of God.' Truly did one of his friends say, 'he had a sharp, quick eye.' But being commanded in the king's name, he went with the officers, accompanied by some of his friends, to the magistrate's residence. Before they left, the constable allowed him to speak a few words to the people of counsel and encouragement. He declared that it was a mercy when called to suffer upon so good an account; that it was of grace that they had been kept from crimes, which might have caused their apprehension as thieves and murderers, or for some wickedness; but by the blessing of God it was not so, but, as Christians, they were called to suffer for well-doing; and that we had better be persecuted than the persecutors. The constable took him to the justice's house, but as he was from home, to save the expense and trouble of charging a watch to secure his prisoner, he allowed him to go home, one of his friends undertaking to be answerable for his appearance the next day. On the following morning they went to the constable and then to the justice. The celebrated Quaker, John Roberts, managed an affair of that kind better. There was plenty of time to have held and dismissed the meeting before the constable arrived, and then he might have done as Roberts did—made the best of his way to the magistrate's house, and demanded, 'Dost thou want me, old man?' and when asked whether or not he went to church, his ready reply was, 'Yes, sometimes I go to the church, and sometimes the church comes to me."[2]

When Bunyan and the constable came before Justice Wingate, he inquired what the meeters did, and what they had with them; suspecting that they met armed, or for treasonable practices: but when the constable told him that they were unarmed, and merely assembled to preach and hear the Word, he could not well tell what to say. Justice Wingate was not the only magistrate who had felt difficulties as to the construction of the persecuting acts of 35 Eliz. and 15 Chas. II. Had he taken an opinion, as one of the justices at that time did, it might have saved him from the infamy and guilt of punishing an innocent man. The case was this:—'Two persons of insolent behaviour, calling themselves informers, demanded, on their evidence of having been present, without summons or hearing in presence of the accused, that a fine of £100 should be levied; they were at the meeting and heard no Common Prayer service.' The opinion was that there must be evidence showing the intent, and that the meeting was held under *colour and pretence* of any exercise of religion to concoct sedition.[3] Mr. Wingate asked Bunyan why he did not follow his calling and go to church? to which he replied, that all his intention was to instruct and counsel people to forsake their sins, and that he did, without confusion, both follow his calling and preach the Word. At this the angry justice ordered his commitment to jail, refusing bail, unless he would promise to give up preaching. While his mittimus was preparing, he had a short controversy with an old enemy of the truth, Dr. Lindale, and also with a persecuting justice, Mr. Foster, who, soon after, sorely vexed the people of God at Bedford. They tried their utmost endeavours to persuade him to promise not to preach; a word from him might have saved his liberty; but it was a word which would have sacrificed his religious convictions, and these were dearer to him than life itself. This was a trying moment, but he had been forewarned of his danger by the extraordinary temptation *to sell Christ* narrated in his *Grace Abounding*. His feelings, while they were conducting him to the prison, were so cheering as to enable him to forget his sorrows; he thus describes them—'Verily, as I was going forth of the doors I had much ado to forbear saying to them, that I carried the peace of God along with me; and, blessed be the Lord, I went away to prison with God's comfort in my poor soul."[4]

Tradition points out the place in which this eminently pious man was confined, as an ancient prison, built with the bridge over the river Ouse,

[1] Vol. i., p. 51.

[2] This very interesting Memoir was published by the Society of Friends, 1825.

[3] *Case and Opinion*, under the head 'Conventicles,' British Museum. There is also a rare Tract, to prove that the Persecuting Acts expired Oct. 24th, 1670.

[4] Vol. i., p. 54. How unspeakable the mercy, that the persecutor cannot plunge his implements of torture into the spirit, nor prevent its intercourse with heaven!

A very deeply interesting narrative of all the particulars of this examination and form of trial, was recorded by the sufferer. *See* vol. i., p. 50.

supported on one of the piers near the middle of the river.[1] As the bridge was only four yards and a half wide, the prison must have been very small. Howard, the philanthropist, visited the Bedford prison, that which was dignified as the county jail about 1788, and thus describes it:—'The men and women felons associate together; their night-rooms are two dungeons. Only one court for debtors and felons; and no apartment for the jailer.'[2] Imagination can hardly realize the miseries of fifty or sixty pious men and women, taken from a place of public worship and incarcerated in such dens or dungeons with felons, as was the case while Bunyan was a prisoner. Twelve feet square was about the extent of the walls; for it occupied but one pier between the centre arches of the bridge. How properly does the poor pilgrim call it a certain DEN! What an abode for men and women who had been made by God kings and priests—the heirs of heaven! The eyes of Howard, a Dissenter, penetrated these dens, these hidden things of darkness, these abodes of cruelty. He revealed what lay and clerical magistrates ought to have published centuries before, that they were not fit places in which to imprison any, even the worst of criminals. He denounced them, humanity shuddered at the discovery, and they were razed to their foundations. In this den God permitted his honoured servant, John Bunyan, to be incarcerated for more than twelve years of the prime of his life. A man, whose holy zeal for the salvation of sinners, whose disinterested labours, whose sufferings for Christ prove his apostolical descent much better than those who claim descent from popes, and Wolsey or Bonner—those fiends in human shape.

Bedford bridge was pulled down in the year 1811, when the present handsome bridge was built. One of the workmen employed upon the ruins found, among the rubbish, where the prison had stood, a ring made of fine gold, bearing an inscription which affords strong presumptive evidence that it belonged to our great allegorist. Dr. Abbot, a neighbouring clergyman, who had daily watched the labours of the workmen, luckily saw it, and saved it from destruction. He constantly wore it, until, drawing near the end of his pilgrimage, in 1817, he took it off his own finger and placed it upon that of his friend Dr. Bower, then curate of Elstow,[3] and at present the dean of Manchester, charging him to keep it for his sake. This ring must have been a present from some person of property, as a token of great respect for Bunyan's pious character, and probably from an indignant sense of his unjust and cruel imprisonment. By the kind permission of the dean, we are enbled to give a correct representation of this curious relic.[4]

Impression of a Seal on a gold ring[5] found in the foundation of the old prison, Bedford bridge.

Bunyan was thirty-two years of age when taken to prison. He had suffered the loss of his pious wife, whose conversation and portion had been so blessed to him. It is not improbable that her peaceful departure is pictured in Christiana's crossing the river which has no bridge. She left him with four young children, one of whom very naturally and most strongly excited his paternal feelings, from the circumstance of her having been afflicted with blindness. He had married a second time, a woman of exemplary piety and retiring modesty; but whose spirit, when roused to seek the release of her beloved husband, enabled her to stand unabashed, and full of energy and presence of mind, before judges in their courts, and lords in their mansions. When her partner was sent to jail, she was in that peculiar state that called for all his sympathy and his tenderest care. The shock was too severe for her delicate situation; she became dangerously ill, and, although her life was spared, all hopes had fled of her maternal feelings being called into exercise. Thus did one calamity follow another; still he preserved his integrity.[6]

Bunyan was treated with all the kindness which

[1] There were three prisons in Bedford—the county jail, the bridewell, and the tower jail. No decisive evidence has been discovered as to which prison Bunyan was committed. Two views of the bridge and prison are given in the plate at p. 63, vol. i.

[2] Howard's *Account of Lazarettos*, &c. 4to, 1789, p. 150.

[3] Elstow is a perpetual curacy or vicarage, worth at that time only £35 per annum! forming one of the discreditable anomalies of the church, in the division of its immense revenues.

[4] He has favoured us with the following description of it:—'The ring is of fine gold, very like in colour to that which has been brought into this country from California. The head is, I think, engraven, but the letters have not that sharpness about them which indicates the engraving tool; and the I. B. are undoubted indents made after the ring was finished.' It is not the usual emblem of a mourning gift, for that would have the cross-bones under the skull; it was more probably given as a special mark of esteem. Three things are certain—1st, That if so valuable a gift excited the poor man's pride, its loss must have been a serious annoyance to one whose family was dependent upon his daily labour. 2d, His preaching talent must have been highly appreciated, before he was known as the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, to have brought him so valuable a token of respect. But the most pleasing and remarkable reflection, is the surprising progress of good-will among men of various denominations, that a ring, worn by a despised and persecuted Nonconformist of a former age, is now highly prized and worn, from respect to his memory, by a dignified clergyman of the Established church.

[5] This was not his only ring; he left, *inter alia*, all *his rings* to his wife. *See* p. lxxii.

[6] After he had lain in jail five or six days, an application was made to a liberal justice at Elstow, named Crumpton, to release him on bail; but he declined, fearing to give offence. He, however, so felt for this persecuted servant of Christ, as to sell him an edifice and barn, which, upon his release, was converted into a large meeting-house.

many of his jailers dared to show him. In his times, imprisonment and fetters were generally companions. Thus he says—'When a felon is *going to be tried*, his fetters are still making a noise on his heels.'[1] So the prisoners in the Holy War are represented as being 'brought in chains to the bar' for trial. 'The prisoners were handled by the jailer so severely, and loaded so with irons, that they died in the prison.'[2] In many cases, prisoners for conscience' sake were treated with such brutality, before the form of trial, as to cause their death. By Divine mercy, Bunyan was saved from these dreadful punishments, which have ceased as civilization has progressed, and now cloud the narratives of a darker age.

After having lain in prison about seven weeks, the session was held at Bedford, for the county; and Bunyan was placed at the bar, indicted for devilishly and perniciously abstaining from coming to church to hear Divine service, and as a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord the king. In this indictment Bunyan is not described as 'of Elstow' but 'of Bedford.' Probably he had removed to Bedford soon after he joined Gifford's church. The bench was numerous, and presided over by Justice Keelin.[3] If this was Sergeant Kelynge who, the following year, was made Lord Chief-Justice, he was a most arbitrary tyrant, equalled or excelled only by Judge Jeffreys. It was before him that some persons were indicted for attending a conventicle; but it being only proved that they had assembled on the Lord's-day with Bibles in their hands without prayer-books, and there being no proof that their meeting was only under colour or pretence of religion, the jury acquitted them. Upon this he fined each of the jurymen one hundred marks, and imprisoned them till the fines were paid. Again, on a trial for murder, the prisoner being under suspicion of Dissent, was one whom the judge had a great desire to hang, he fined and imprisoned all the jury because, contrary to his direction, they brought in a verdict of manslaughter! Well was it said, that he was more fit to charge the Roundheads under Prince Rupert than to charge a jury. After a short career, he fell into utter contempt.[4] He entered into a long argument with the poor tinker, about using the liturgy of the Church of England, first warning him of his danger if he spake lightly of it. Bunyan argued that prayer was purely spiritual, the offering of the heart, and not the reading of a form. The justice declared—'We know the Common Prayer-book hath been ever since the apostles' time, and is lawful to be used in the church!!' It is surprising that such a dialogue was ever entered upon; either Keling was desirous of triumphing over the celebrated tinker, or his countenance and personal appearance commanded respect. For some cause he was treated with great liberality for those times; the extent of it may be seen by one justice asking him, 'Is your God Beelzebub?' and another declaring that he was possessed with the devil! 'All which,' says Bunyan, 'I passed over, the Lord forgive them!' When, however, the justice was worsted in argument, and acknowledged that he was not well versed in Scripture, he demanded the prisoner's plea, saying, 'Then you confess the indictment?' 'Now,' says Bunyan, 'and not till now, I saw I was indicted; and said—"This I confess, we have had many meetings together, both to pray to God, and to exhort one another; and that we had the sweet comforting presence of the Lord among us for our encouragement (blessed be his name!); therefore I confess myself guilty, and no otherwise."' This was recorded as a plea of guilty, and Keling resumed his natural ferocity. 'Then,' said he, 'hear your judgment. You must be had back again to prison, and there lie for three months following; and then, if you do not submit to go to church to hear Divine service, and leave your preaching, you must be banished the realm; and after that, if you shall be found in this realm without special license from the king, you must stretch by the neck for it. I tell you plainly;' 'and so he bid my jailer have me away.' The hero answered—'I am at a point with you: if I were out of prison to-day, I would preach the gospel again to-morrow, by the help of God.'[5]

The statutes, by virtue of which this awful sentence was pronounced, together with the legal form of recantation used by those who were terrified into conformity, are set forth in a note to the *Grace Abounding*.[6] Bunyan was, if not the first, one of the first Dissenters who were proceeded against after the restoration of Charles II.; and his trial, if such it may be called, was followed by a wholesale persecution. The king, as head of the Church of England, wreaked his vengeance upon all classes

[1] Vol. ii., p. 107. [2] Vol. iii., p. 341, 366.

[3] From his autograph, in the editor's possession, he spelt his name John Keling.

[4] Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*.

[5] Vol. i., p. 57. This forcibly reminds us of Greatheart's reply to Giant Maul—'I am a servant of the God of heaven; my business is to persuade sinners to repentance; if to prevent this be thy quarrel, let us fall to it as soon as thou will,' vol. iii., p. 210. Southey attempts to vindicate the justices in condemning Bunyan, and grossly mis-states the facts; deeming him to be unreasonable and intolerant; that preaching was incompatible with his calling, and that he ought not to have sacrificed his liberty in such a cause! The poet-laureate makes these assertions, knowing the vast benefits which sprung from the determined piety and honesty of the persecuted preacher. Would not By-ends, Facing-both-ways, and Save-all, have jumped to the same conclusion?

[6] Vol. i., p. 56.

of Dissenters, excepting Roman Catholics and Jews.

The reign of Charles II. was most disgraceful and disastrous to the nation, even the king being a pensioner upon the French court. The Dutch swept the seas, and threatened to burn London; a dreadful plague depopulated the metropolis—the principal part of which was, in the following year, with its cathedral, churches, and public buildings, destroyed by fire; plots and conspiracies alarmed the people; tyranny was triumphant; even the bodies of the illustrious dead were exhumed, and treated with worse than savage ferocity; while a fierce persecution raged throughout the kingdom, which filled the jails with Dissenters.

In Scotland, the persecution raged with still more deadly violence. Military, in addition to civil despotism, strove to enforce the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The heroic achievements and awful suffering of Scottish Christians, saved their descendants from this yoke of bondage.[1]

A short account of the extent of the sufferings of our pious ancestors is given in the Introduction to the *Pilgrim's Progress*[2]—a narrative which would appear incredible did it not rest upon unimpeachable authority. It would be difficult to believe the records of the brutal treatment which the sufferers underwent had they not been handed down to us in the State Trials, and in public registers, over which the persecuted had no control. Two instances will show the extreme peril in which the most learned and pious men held their lives. John James, the pastor of a Baptist church in Whitechapel, was charged, upon the evidence of a perjured drunken vagabond named Tipler, a pipemaker's journeyman, who was not present in the meeting, but swore that he heard him utter treasonable words. Notwithstanding the evidence of some most respectable witnesses, who were present during the whole service, and distinctly proved that no such words were used, Mr. James was convicted, and sentenced to be hung. His distracted wife saw the king, presented a petition, and implored mercy, when the unfeeling monarch replied, 'O! Mr. James; he is a sweet gentleman.' Again, on the following morning, she fell at his feet, beseeching his royal clemency, when he spurned her from him, saying, 'John James, that rogue, he shall be hanged; yea, he shall be hanged.' And, in the presence of his weeping friends, he ascended from the gibbet to the mansions of the blessed. His real crime was, that he continued to preach after having been warned not to do so by John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, properly called, by Mr. Crosby,[3] a devouring wolf, upon whose head the blood of this and other innocent Dissenters will be found. Another Dissenting minister, learned, pious, loyal, and peaceful, was, during Bunyan's time, marked for destruction. Thomas Rosewell was tried before the monster Jeffreys. He was charged, upon the evidence of two infamous informers, with having doubted the power of the king to cure the kings' evil, and with saying that they should overcome their enemies with rams' horns, broken platters, and a stone in a sling. A number of most respectable witnesses deposed to their having been present; that no such words were uttered, and that Mr. Rosewell was eminent for loyalty and devoted attachment to the Government. Alas! he was a Dissenting teacher of high standing, of extensive acquirements, and of great earnestness in seeking the salvation of sinners; and, under the direction of that brutal judge, the venal jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to be hung. This frightful sentence would have been executed but from a singular interposition of Providence. Sir John Talbot was present during the trial, and a stranger to Mr. Rosewell; but he was so struck with the proceedings, that he hastened to the king, related the facts, and added, 'that he had seen the life of a subject, who appeared to be a gentleman and a scholar, in danger, upon such evidence as he would not hang his dog on.' And added, 'Sire, if you suffer this man to die, we are none of us safe in our own houses.' At this moment Jeffreys came in, gloating over his prey, exulting in the innocent blood he was about to shed, when, to his utter confusion, the king said, 'Mr. Rosewell shall not die;' and his pardon was issued under the great seal.[4] Every Englishman should read the state trials of that period, recording the sufferings of Richard Baxter, William Penn, Sir H. Vane, and many others of our most pious forefathers; and they must feel that it was a miracle of mercy that saved the life of Bunyan, and gave him leisure to write not only his popular allegories, but the most valuable treatises in the English language upon subjects of the deepest importance.

When he entered the prison, his first and prayerful object was to levy a tax upon his affliction—to endeavour to draw honey from the carcass of the lion. His care was to render his imprisonment subservient to the great design of showing forth the glory of God by patient submission to His will. Before his commitment, he had a strong presentiment of his sufferings; his earnest prayer, for

[1] Every Christian should read the appalling account of these sufferings, recently published under the title of *Ladies of the Covenant*.

[2] Vol. iii., p. 17.

[3] *History of Baptists*, vol. ii., p. 172. Robinson was a nephew of Archbishop Laud, and appeared to inherit his evil spirit.

[4] Wilson's *History of Dissenting Churches*, and the *Trial of Rosewell*.

many months, was that he might, with composure, encounter all his trials, even to an ignominious death. This led him to the solemn consideration of reckoning himself, his wife, children, health, enjoyments, all as dying, and in perfect uncertainty, and to live upon God, his invisible but ever-present Father.

Like an experienced military commander, he wisely advises every Christian to have a *reserve* for Christ in case of dire emergency. 'We ought to have a reserve for Christ, to help us at a dead lift. When profession and confession will not do; when loss of goods and a prison will not do; when loss of country and of friends will not do; when nothing else will do, then willingly to lay down our lives for his name.'[1] In the midst of all these dread uncertainties, his soul was raised to heavenly contemplations of the future happiness of the saints of God.

It is deeply impressive to view a man, with gigantic intellect, involved in the net which was laid to trammel his free spirit, disregarding his own wisdom; seeking guidance from heaven in earnest prayer, and in searching the sacred Scriptures; disentangling himself, and calmly waiting the will of his heavenly Father. Still he severely felt the infirmities of nature. Parting with his wife and children, he described as 'the pulling the flesh from the bones. I saw I was as a man who was pulling down his house upon the head of his wife and children; yet, thought I, I must do it.'[2] His feelings were peculiarly excited to his poor blind Mary.[3] 'O! the thoughts of the hardships my poor blind one might go under, would break my heart in pieces.' It is one of the governing principles of human nature, that the most delicate or afflicted child excites our tenderest feelings. 'I have seen men,' says Bunyan, 'take most care of, and best provide for those of their children that have been most infirm and helpless; and our Advocate "shall gather his lambs with his arms, and carry *them* in his bosom." '[4] While in this state of distress, the promise came to his relief—'Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me.' He had heard of the miseries of those banished Christians who had been sold into slavery, and perished with cold and calamities, lying in ditches like poor, forlorn, desolate sheep.

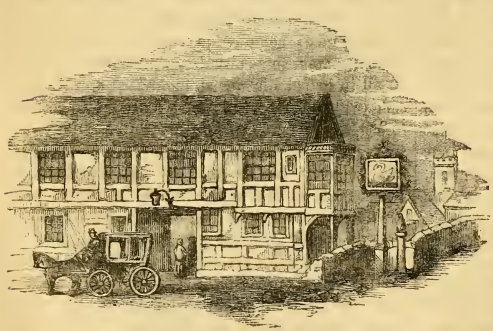
At the end of three months he became anxious to know what the enemies of the cross intended to do with him. His sentence was transportation and death, unless he conformed. To give up or shrink from his profession of Christ, by embracing the national forms and submitting his conscience to human laws, he dared not. He resolved to persevere even at the sacrifice of his life. To add to his distress, doubts and fears clouded his prospects of futurity; 'Satan,' said he, 'laid hard at me to beat me out of heart. At length he came to the determination to venture his eternal state with Christ, whether he had present comfort or not. His state of mind he thus describes—'If God doth not come in (to comfort me) I will leap off the ladder, even blindfold, into eternity, sink or swim, come heaven, come hell. Lord Jesus, if thou wilt catch me, do; I will venture all for thy name.' From this time he felt a good hope and great consolation.

The clerk of the peace, Mr. Cobb, was sent by the justices to persuade him to conform, and had a very long and interesting conference with him in the prison. This shows that the magistrates were well convinced that he was a leader in nonconformity, who, if brought over, would afford them a signal triumph. In fact, he was called, by a beneficed clergyman, 'the most notorious schismatic in all the county of Bedford.'[5] It is perhaps to the arguments of Cobb that he refers in his *Advice to Sufferers*. 'The wife of the bosom lies at him, saying, O do not cast thyself away; if thou takest this course, what shall I do? Thou hast said thou lovest me; now make it manifest by granting this my *small* request—Do not still remain in thine integrity. Next to this come the children, which are like to come to poverty, to beggary, to be undone, for want of wherewithal to feed, and clothe, and provide for them for time to come. Now also come kindred, and relations, and acquaintance; some chide, some cry, some argue, some threaten, some promise, some flatter, and some do all to befool him for so unadvised an act, as to cast away himself, and to bring his wife and children to beggary for such a thing as religion. These are sore temptations.'[6] It was during this period of his imprisonment that the mad attempt was made, by Venner and his rabble, to overturn the government. This was pressed upon Bunyan as a reason why he should not hold meetings for religious exercises, but rely upon his more private opportunities of exhorting his neighbours. In reply to this, Mr. Cobb is reminded of Bunyan's well-known loyalty, which would become useful in proportion to his public teaching. It was a pleasing interview, which, while it did not for a moment shake his determination, led him to thank Mr. Cobb for his civil and meek discourse, and to ejaculate a heartfelt prayer—'O that we might meet in heaven.'[7] The whole of it is reprinted at the end of the *Grace Abounding*, and it shows that God gave him favour even with his persecutors. It is not surprising that such a prisoner should have won the good opinion of his

[1] Vol. i., p. 198; and *Grace Abounding*, No. 326.
[2] Vol. i., p. 48.
[3] Baptized at Elstow, July 20, 1650.
[4] Vol. i., p. 168.
[5] Vol. ii., p. 279.
[6] Vol. ii., p. 733.
[7] Vol. i., p. 60.

jailer, so that he was permitted the consolation of seeing his relatives and friends, who ministered to his comforts.

When the time arrived for the execution of the bitterest part of his sentence, God, in his providence, interposed to save the life of his servant. He had familiarized his mind with all the circumstances of a premature and appalling death; the gibbet, the ladder, the halter, had lost much of their terrors; he had even studied the sermon he would then have preached to the concourse of spectators. At this critical time the king's coronation took place, on April 23, 1661. To garnish this grand ceremony, the king had ordered the release of numerous prisoners of certain classes, and within that description of offences was that for which Bunyan was confined. The proclamation allowed twelve months' time to sue out the pardon under the great seal, but without this expensive process thousands of vagabonds and thieves were set at liberty, while, alas, an offence against the church was not to be pardoned upon such easy terms. Bunyan and his friends were too simple, honest, and virtuous, to understand why such a distinction should be made. The assizes being held in August, he determined to seek his liberty by a petition to the judges. The court sat at the Swan Inn, and as every incident in the life of this extraordinary man excites our interest, we are gratified to have it in our power to exhibit the state of this celebrated inn at that time.



Old Swan Inn, Bedford.[1]

Having written his petition, and made some fair copies of it, his modest, timid wife determined to present them to the judges. Her heroic achievements—for such they deserve to be called—on behalf of her husband, are admirably narrated by Bunyan, the whole of which is reprinted in our first volume,[2] and deserves a most attentive perusal. Want of space prevents us repeating it here, or even making extracts from it. She had previously travelled to London with a petition to the House of Lords, and entrusted it to Lord Barkwood, who conferred with some of the peers upon it, and informed her that they could not interfere, the king having committed the release of the prisoners to the judges. When they came the circuit and the assizes were held at Bedford; Bunyan in vain besought the local authorities that he might have liberty to appear in person and plead for his release. This reasonable request was denied, and, as a last resource, he committed his cause to an affectionate wife. Several times she appeared before the judges; love to her husband, a stern sense of duty, a conviction of the gross injustice practised upon one to whom she was most tenderly attached, overcame her delicate, modest, retiring habits, and forced her upon this strange duty. Well did she support the character of an advocate. This delicate, courageous, high-minded woman appeared before Judge Hale, who was much affected with her earnest pleading for one so dear to her, and whose life was so valuable to his children. It was the triumph of love, duty, and piety, over bashful timidity. Her energetic appeals were in vain. She returned to the prison with a heavy heart, to inform her husband that, while felons, malefactors, and men guilty of misdemeanours were, without any recantation or promise of amendment, to be let loose upon society to *grace the coronation*, the poor prisoners for conscience' sake were to undergo their unjust and savage sentences. Or, in plain words, that refusing to go to church to hear the Common Prayer was an unpardonable crime, not to be punished in any milder mode than recantation, or transportation, or the halter. With what bitter feelings must she have returned to the prison, believing that it would be the tomb of her beloved husband! How natural for the distressed, insulted wife to have written harsh things against the judge! She could not have conceived that, under the stately robes of Hale, there was a heart affected by Divine love. And when the nobleman afterwards met the despised tinker and his wife, on terms of perfect equality, clothed in more glorious robes in the mansions of the blessed, how inconceivable their surprise! It must have been equally so with the learned judge, when, in the pure atmosphere of heaven, he found that the illiterate tinker, harassed by poverty and imprisonment, produced books, the

[1] The cut, copied from an old drawing of the house taken before its entire demolition, at the end of last century, exhibits its quaint characteristics. The bridge foot is to the spectator's right; the church tower behind is that of St. Mary's, also seen in our view of the jail, which would, of course, be seen from the bow-windows of the old inn, in which the Judges met.

[2] Vol. i., p. 60.

admiration of the world. As Dr. Cheever eloquently writes—'How little could he dream, that from that narrow cell in Bedford jail a glory would shine out, illustrating the grace of God, and doing more good to man, than all the prelates and judges of the kingdom would accomplish.'[1]

Bunyan was thus left in a dreary and hopeless state of imprisonment, in which he continued for somewhat more than twelve years, and it becomes an interesting inquiry how he spent his time and managed to employ his great talent in his Master's service. The first object of his solicitude would be to provide for his family, according to 1 Tim. v. 8. How to supply his house with bare necessaries to meet the expenses of a wife and four children, must have filled him with anxiety. The illness, death, and burial of his first beloved wife, had swept away any little reserve which otherwise might have accumulated, so that, soon after his imprisonment commenced, before he could resume any kind of labour, his wife thus pleaded with the judge for his liberty, 'My lord, I have four small children that cannot help themselves, of which one is blind, and have *nothing to live upon but the charity of good people.*' How inscrutable are the ways of Providence; the rich revelling in luxury while using their wealth to corrupt mankind, while this eminent saint, with his family, were dependent upon charity! As soon as he could get his tools in order he set to work; and we have the following testimony to his industry by a fellow-prisoner, Mr. Wilson, the Baptist minister, and of Charles Doe, who visited him in prison:—'Nor did he, while he was in prison, spend his time in a supine and careless manner, nor eat the bread of idleness; for there have I been witness that his own hands have ministered to his and his family's necessities, making many hundred gross of long tagged laces, to fill up the vacancies of his time, which he had learned to do for that purpose, since he had been in prison. There, also, I surveyed his library, the least, but yet the best that e'er I saw—the *Bible* and the *Book of Martyrs.*[2] And during his imprisonment (since I have spoken of his library), he writ several excellent and useful treatises, particularly *The Holy City, Christian Behaviour, The Resurrection of the Dead,* and *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners.*'[3] Besides these valuable treatises, Charles Doe states that, of his own knowledge, in prison Bunyan wrote *The Pilgrim's Progress,* the first part, and that he had this from his own mouth.[4] In addition to the demonstration of this important fact contained in the introduction to *The Pilgrim's Progress,* there ought to have been added, Bunyan's statement made in introducing his second part:—'Now, having taken up my lodgings in a wood about a mile off the place:' no longer in 'a den,' but sheltered, in a wood, in a state of comparative, but not of perfect liberty, about a mile distant from the den in which he wrote his first part. Whether this may refer to his former cottage at Elstow, of which there is great doubt, or to the house he occupied in Bedford after his release, they were equally about a mile from the jail. He certainly means that the two parts were not written in the same place, nor is there a shadow of a doubt as to the fact that in prison the great allegory was conceived and written. Well might Mr. Doe say, 'What hath the devil or his agents got by putting our great gospel minister in prison?' they prevented his preaching to a few poor pilgrims in the villages round Bedford, and it was the means of spreading his fame, and the knowledge of the gospel, by his writings, throughout the world. Thus does the wrath of man praise God. In addition to the works above enumerated, he also published some extremely valuable tracts, several editions of a work which ought to be read by all young Christians—*A Treatise on the Covenants of the Law and of Grace;* several editions of *Sighs from Hell; A Map of Salvation and Damnation; The Four Last Things,* a poem; *Mount Ebal and Gerizim, or, Redemption from the Curse,* a poem; *Prison Meditations,* a poem: the four last are single sheets, probably sold by his children or friends to assist him in obtaining his livelihood: *Justification by Faith in Jesus Christ,* 4to; *Confession of His Faith and Reason of His Practice.* The most remarkable treatise which he published while in confinement, is on prayer, from the words of the apostle, 'I will pray with the spirit and with the understanding also.' His attention had been fixed on this subject when his free-born spirit was roused by the threat of Justice Keeling, 'Take heed of speaking irreverently of the *Book of Common Prayer,* for if you do you will bring great damage upon yourself.'

Bunyan had formed his ideas of prayer from heartfelt experience; it is the cry of the burthened, sinking sinner, 'Lord save us, we perish;' or adoration rising from the heart to the throne of grace, filled with hopes of pardon and immortality. In his estimation, any form of human invention was an interference with the very nature of prayer, and with the work of the Holy Spirit, who alone can inspire our souls with acceptable prayer.

In expressing his views upon this all-important

[1] *Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress.*

[2] This valuable set of books came into the possession of my old friend Mr. Wontner, of the Minories, London; it descended at his decease, to his widow, who resided on Camberwell Green, and from her to a daughter, married to Mr. Parnel, an orange merchant in Botolph Lane. He was tempted to sell it to Mr. Bohn, the bookseller, from whom it was bought for the Bedford library.

[3] Charles Doe in *Heavenly Footman,* 2d edition, 1700.

[4] *Introduction to the Pilgrim,* vol. iii., p. 6, 7.

subject, Bunyan was simply guided by a sense of duty. Fear of the consequences, or of offending his enemies, never entered his mind. He felt that they were in the hands of his heavenly Father, and that all their malice must be over-ruled for good. Notwithstanding his solemn warning not to speak irreverently of the book, his refusal to use which had subjected him to severe privations and the fear of a halter, this Christian hero was not daunted, but gives his opinion of it with all that freedom and liberty which he considered essential to excite in his fellow-men inquiries as to its origin and imposition.

It is not my province to enter into the controversy whether in public worship a form of prayer ought to be used. Let every one be persuaded in his own mind; but to pass a law denouncing those that refuse to use a prescribed form as worthy of imprisonment, transportation, or death, is an attack upon the first principles of Christianity. To punish those who spoke irreverently of it, was almost an acknowledgment that it would not bear investigation. To speak of the book as in his serious judgment it deserved, was not that mark of sectarianism which Romaine exhibited when he called the beautiful hymns of Dr. Watts, which are used so much in public worship among Dissenters, 'Watts' jingle,' and 'Watts' whims!'[1] No answer appears to have been published to Bunyan's extremely interesting volume until twelve years after the author's death, when a reply appeared under the title of *Liturgies Vindicated by the Dissenters, or the Lawfulness of Forms of Prayer proved against John Bunyan and the Dissenters.* 1700. This is a very rare and curious volume. The author, as usual in such controversies, deals wholesale in invective, and displays all the ability of a sophist.

The Christian world is indebted to Dr. Cheever for a beautiful picture of Bunyan's devotional exercise in his cell. 'It is evening; he finishes his work, to be taken home by his dear blind child. He reads a portion of Scripture, and, clasping her small hands in his, kneels on the cold stone floor, and pours out his soul to God; then, with a parting kiss, dismisses her to her mother. The rude lamp glimmers on the table; with his Bible, pen, and paper, he writes as though joy did make him write. His face is lighted as from the radiant jasper walls of the celestial city. He clasps his hands, looks upward, and blesses God for his goodness. The last you see of him —is alone, kneeling on the prison floor; he is alone with God.'

Charles Doe, who manifested most laudable anxiety to hand down the works of Bunyan to posterity, bears honourable testimony to his conduct while in prison. 'It was by making him a visit in prison that I first saw him, and became acquainted with him; and I must profess I could not but look upon him to be a man of an excellent spirit, zealous for his master's honour, and cheerfully committing all his own concernments unto God's disposal. When I was there, there were about sixty Dissenters besides himself there, taken but a little before at a religious meeting at Kaistoe, in the county of Bedford; besides two eminent Dissenting ministers, Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Dun (both very well known in Bedfordshire, though long since with God[2]), by which means the prison was very much crowded; yet, in the midst of all that hurry which so many new-comers occasioned, I have heard Mr. Bunyan both preach and pray with that mighty spirit of faith and plerophory of divine assistance that has made me stand and wonder.'[3] Here they could sing, without fear of being overheard; no informers prowling round. The world was shut out; and, in communion with heaven, they could forget their sorrows, and have a rich foretaste of the inconceivable glory of the celestial city. It was under such circumstances that Bunyan preached one of his most remarkable sermons, afterwards published under the title of *The Holy City or the New Jerusalem*, 1665. 'Upon a certain first-day, being together with my brethren in our prison-chamber, they expected that, according to our custom, something should be spoken out of the Word for our mutual edification. I felt myself, it being my turn to speak, so empty, spiritless, and barren, that I thought I should not have been able to speak among them so much as five words of truth with life and evidence. At last I cast mine eye upon this prophecy, when, after considering awhile, methought I perceived something of that jasper in whose light you find this holy city descended; wherefore, having got some dim glimmering thereof, and finding a desire to see farther thereinto, I with a few groans did carry my meditations to the Lord Jesus for a blessing, which he did forthwith grant, and helping me to set before my brethren, we did all eat, and were well refreshed; and behold, also, that while I was in the distributing of it, it so increased in my hand, that of the fragments that we left, after we had well dined, I gathered up this basketful. Wherefore, setting myself to a more narrow search, through frequent prayer, what

[1] Psalmody Edit., 1775, p. 137. George Whitefield, in recommending the works of Bunyan, says, 'Ministers never write or preach so well as when under the cross; the Spirit of Christ and of glory shall rest upon them.'* Admiring the courage and honesty of Bunyan, when alluding to the Prayer-Book, we earnestly unite in his petition—'The Lord in mercy turn the hearts of his people, to seek more after the Spirit of prayer, and, in the strength of that, to pour out their souls before the Lord.'

* Preface to Bunyan's Works, 1767.

[2] This was published in 1698.

[3] *Heavenly Footman*, 2d edition, 1700, p. 126.

first with doing, and then with undoing, and after that with doing again, I thus did finish it.'[1] To this singular event the religious public are indebted for one of Bunyan's ablest treatises, full of the striking sparkles of his extraordinary imagination. It was a subject peculiarly adapted to display his powers—the advent of New Jerusalem, her impregnable walls and gates of precious stones, golden streets, water of life, temple, and the redeemed from all nations flocking into it.[2]

In these times of severe persecution, two of the church members, S. Fenn and J. Whiteman, were ordained joint pastors. Fenn has just been delivered out of prison; yet they ventured to brave the storm, and in this year, although the lions prowled before the porch, a number were added to the church. Thus was their little Jerusalem built 'even in troublous times.'

Bunyan's popularity and fame for wisdom and knowledge had spread all round the country, and it naturally brought him visitors, with their doubts, and fears, and cases of conscience. Among these a singular instance is recorded in the *Life of Badman*. 'When I was in prison,' says the narrator, 'there came a woman to me that was under a great deal of trouble. So I asked her, she being a stranger to me, what she had to say to me? She said she was afraid she should be damned. I asked her the cause of those fears. She told me that she had, some time since, lived with a shopkeeper at Wellingborough, and had robbed his box in the shop several times of money, and pray, says she, tell me what I shall do? I told her I would have her go to her master, and make him satisfaction. She said she was afraid lest he should hang her. I told her that I would intercede for her life, and would make use of other friends to do the like; but she told me she durst not venture that. Well, said I, shall I send to your master, while you abide out of sight, and make your peace with him before he sees you? and with that I asked her master's name. But all she said in answer to this was, pray let it alone till I come to you again. So away she went, and neither told me her master's name nor her own; and I never saw her again.'[3] He adds, 'I could tell you of another, that came to me with a like relation concerning herself, and the robbing of her mistress.'

To his cruel imprisonment the world is indebted for the most surprising narrative of a new birth that has ever appeared. It was there that he was led to write the *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*. He displays in the preface his deep interest in the spiritual welfare of those who had been born under his ministry. He rejoices in their happiness, even while he was 'sticking between the teeth of the lions in the wilderness. I now again, as before from the top of Shenir and Hermon, so now from the lions' dens, from "the mountains of the leopards," do look yet after you all, greatly longing to see your safe arrival into the desired haven.'[4] How natural it was that, while narrating his own experience, he should be led to write a guide to pilgrims through time to eternity, and that it should be dated from 'the den!'

> 'And thus it was: I writing of the way
> And race of saints, in this our gospel-day,
> Fell suddenly into an allegory
> About their journey, and the way to glory.'[5]

Any one possessing powers of imagination, to whom the adventures of Christian are familiar, would, on reading the *Grace Abounding*, be continually struck with the likeness there drawn of the pilgrim—the more he contemplates the two pictures of Christian experience, so much the more striking is their similarity. The one is a narrative of facts, the other contains the same facts allegorized. Thus, by an irresistible impulse from heaven upon the mind of a prisoner for Christ, did a light shine forth from the dungeon on Bedford bridge which has largely contributed to enlighten the habitable globe. The *Pilgrim* has been translated into most of the languages and dialects of the world. The Caffrarian and Hottentot, the enlightened Greek and Hindoo, the remnant of the Hebrew race, the savage Malay and the voluptuous Chinese—all have the wondrous narrative in their own languages. Bunyan was imprisoned by bigots and tyrants, to prevent his being heard or known; and his voice, in consequence, reaches to the ends of the earth. Let every wretched persecutor contemplate this instance of God's overruling power. You will surely plunge the avenging sword into your own vitals if, by persecution, you vainly endeavour to wound the saints of the living God. You may make hypocrites throw off their disguise. The real Christian may be discouraged, but he perseveres. He feels the truth of Bunyan's quaint saying, 'the persecutors are but the devil's scarecrows, the old one himself lies quat;' while the eye of God is upon him to save the children of Zion.[6] His otherwise dreary imprisonment was lightened, and the time beguiled by these delightful writings. His fellow-prisoners were benefited by hearing him read his pilgrim's adventures. But this has been so fully displayed

[1] Vol. iii., p. 397, 398.

[2] This deeply interesting book is dedicated to four sorts of readers—the godly, the learned, the captious, and to the mother of harlots. To her he says, 'I have nothing here to please your wanton eye, or voluptuous palate; no paint for thy wrinkled face, nor crutch to support thy tottering kingdom.' It is a very amusing preface.

[3] Vol. iii., p. 610.

[4] Vol. i., p. 4.

[5] Author's *Apology for the Pilgrim*.

[6] Vol. i., p. 602.

in the introduction to the *Pilgrim* that any further notice is unnecessary.[1]

While busily occupied with his *Grace Abounding* and *Pilgrim's Progress*, he wrote a poetical epistle in answer to the kind inquiries of his numerous friends and visitors. After thanking them for counsel and advice, he describes his feelings in prison. His feet stood on Mount Zion; his body within locks and bars, while his mind was free to study Christ, and elevated higher than the stars. Their fetters could not tame his spirit, nor prevent his communion with God. The more his enemies raged, the more peace he experienced. In prison he received the visits of saints, of angels, and the Spirit of God. 'I have been able to laugh at destruction, and to fear neither the horse nor his rider. I have had sweet sights of the forgiveness of my sins in this place, and of my being with Jesus in another world.'[2] If his ears were to be pierced in the pillory, it would be only 'to hang a jewel there.' The source of his happy feelings is well expressed in one of the stanzas:—

> 'The *truth* and I were both here cast
> Together, and we do
> Lie arm in arm, and so hold fast
> Each other; this is true.'[3]

Yes, honest John Bunyan, the world at large now gives you credit for the truth of that saying.

How strange must it seem to the luxurious worldling, with his bed of down and splendid hangings, but aching heart, to hear of the exquisite happiness of the prisoner for Christ on his straw pallet! 'When God makes the bed,' as Bunyan says, 'he must needs be easy that is cast thereon; a blessed pillow hath that man for his head, though to all beholders it is hard as a stone.'[4] In the whole course of his troubles, he enjoyed the sympathy of his family and friends. His food was brought daily, and such was the veneration in which his memory was embalmed, that the very jug in which his broth was taken to the prison has been preserved to this day.[5]

Bunyan's Jug.

In the midst of all his sufferings he murmurs not, nor for a moment gives way to revenge; he leaves the persecutor in the hands of God. Stand off, Christian; pity the poor wretch that brings down upon himself the vengeance of God. Your pitiful arm must not strike him—no, stand by, 'that God may have his full blow at him in his time. Wherefore he saith avenge not yourself —"Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord." Give place, leave such an one to be handled by me.'[6]

'There are several degrees of suffering for righteousness—the scourge of the tongue, the ruin of an estate, the loss of liberty, a gaol, a gibbet, a stake, a dagger. Now answerable to these are the comforts of the Holy Ghost, prepared like to like, part proportioned to part, only the consolations are said to abound.'[7] The mind of Bunyan was imbued with these sentiments; baptized into them, and consequently elevated far above the fear of what man could do unto him. Yes, he knew the power of God. 'He can make those things that in themselves are most fearful and terrible to behold, the most delightful and most desirable things. He can make a gaol more beautiful than a palace, restraint more sweet by far than liberty, and the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.'[8]

The Bible, that heavenly storehouse, was opened to him: 'I never had, in all my life, so great an inlet into the Word of God as now.'[9] 'I have had sweet sights of forgiveness and of the heavenly Jerusalem. I have seen here that which, while in this world, I shall never be able to express.'

About a year before he was set at liberty he received a very popular work, written by Edward Fowler, a Bedfordshire clergyman, who was soon after elevated to the see of Gloucester. It was entitled *The Design of Christianity*, and professed to prove that the object of the Saviour was merely to place man in a similar position to that of Adam before the fall. It is an extremely learned production, full of Greek and Latin quotations; but, in Bunyan's estimation, it aimed a deadly blow at the foundations of Christianity. To restore man to Adam's innocency, and then to leave him to cope with Satanic subtlety, was to cut off all hopes of salvation. It was brought to him in February 1672, and in the very short period of forty-two days, Fowler's theory was most completely demolished by Bunyan's *Defence of the Doctrine of Justification*, 4to, dated from prison, the 27th of the 12th Month, 1671 (27th March, 1672). This was answered by a small 4to volume, entitled *Dirt Wiped Off*. Bunyan had used some harsh epithets; but the clergyman, or his curate, beat the tinker in abusive language. He had

[1] Vol. iii., p. 7.
[2] *Grace Abounding*, No. 322.
[3] Vol. i., p. 65.*
[4] Vol. i., p. 741.
[5] This jug is in possession of Mrs. Hillyard, widow of the late Mr. Hillyard, who was minister of the chapel for fifty years, and died in 1839. One tradition says the jug was used as noted in the text; another that his broth was brought to 'chapel' in it, for his Sunday dinner, in the vestry.
[6] Vol. ii., p. 737–739.
[7] 2 Co. i. 5; vol. ii., p. 735.
[8] Vol. ii., p. 700.
[9] Vol. i., p. 47.

been by this time promoted to the rectory of Cripplegate. For an account of this controversy, the reader is referred to the introduction to Bunyan's work on *Justification*, and to that to the *Pilgrim's Progress*.[1] The impression it made upon the public mind is well expressed in a rude rhyme, made by an anonymous author, in his *Assembly of Moderate Divines*:

> 'There's a moderate Doctour at Cripplegate dwells,
> Whom Smythes his curate in trimming excells;
> But Bunyan a tinker hath tickled his gills.'

The last work that he wrote in prison was the confession of his faith, and reason of his practice as to mixed communion, not with the world, but with saints of other denominations. As this plunged him into a fearful controversy with his Dissenting brethren (Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians), a notice of it will more properly be introduced in our account of that conflict. He had been incarcerated nearly twelve years, and had determined to suffer to the end. Here he found time 'to weigh, and pause, and pause again, the grounds and foundations of those principles for which he suffered,' and he was a Nonconformist still. 'I cannot, I dare not now revolt or deny my principles, on pain of eternal damnation,'[2] are his impressive words. 'Faith and holiness are my professed principles, with an endeavour to be at peace with all men. Let they themselves be judges, if aught they find in my writing or preaching doth render me worthy of almost twelve years' imprisonment, or one that deserveth to be hanged or banished for ever, according to their tremendous sentence. If nothing will do unless I make of my conscience a continual butchery and slaughter-shop, unless putting out my own eyes, I commit me to the blind to lead me, I have determined, the Almighty God being my help and shield, yet to suffer, if frail life might continue so long, even until the moss shall grow over mine eye-brows, rather than to violate my faith and principles.'[3] The allusion to moss growing on his eye-brows most probably referred to the damp state of his den or dungeon.

The continuation to the *Grace Abounding*, written by a friend, and published four years after his decease, divides his imprisonment into three periods; but as Bunyan makes it one continued imprisonment, there can be no doubt but that it was a long, dreary confinement; during which the testimony of his friend, Samuel Wilson, is, that it was 'an uncomfortable and close prison, and sometimes under cruel and oppressive jailers.' The division into three parts most probably alludes to the severity or liberality of his jailers. He had at times, while a prisoner, an extraordinary degree of liberty; like Joseph in Egypt, some of his jailers committed all to his hands. There can be little doubt but that he went from the prison to preach in the villages or woods, and at one time went to London to visit his admiring[4] friends; but this coming to the ears of the justices, the humane jailer had well nigh lost his place, and for some time he was not permitted to look out at the door. When this had worn off, he had again opportunities of visiting his church and preaching by stealth. It is said that many of the Baptist congregations in Bedfordshire owe their origin to his midnight preaching.

Upon one occasion, having been permitted to go out and visit his family, with whom he intended to spend the night, long before morning he felt so uneasy that at a very late hour he went back to the prison. Information was given to a neighbouring clerical magistrate that there was strong suspicion of Bunyan having broke prison. At midnight, he sent a messenger to the jail, that he might be a witness against the merciful keeper. On his arrival, he demanded, 'Are all the prisoners safe?' the answer was, 'Yes.' 'Is John Bunyan safe?' 'Yes.' 'Let me see him.' He was called up and confronted with the astonished witness, and all passed off well. His kind-hearted jailer said to him, 'You may go out when you will, for you know much better when to return than I can tell you.'[5]

During these twelve terrible years, and particularly towards the end of his imprisonment, the members and elders of his church at Bedford suffered most severely, a very abridged account of which is given in the introduction to the *Pilgrim's Progress*.[6] The set time for his liberation was now drawing near, but the singular means by which it was accomplished must be reserved for our next chapter.

PERIOD SIXTH.

BUNYAN IS DELIVERED FROM PRISON—CONTROVERSY WITH THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH ON THE SUBJECT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER—PUBLISHES THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, AND MANY BOOKS, AND BECOMES EXTREMELY POPULAR—HIS DECEASE AND CHARACTER.

As Charles II. felt himself securely seated on his throne, his design to establish an absolute monarchy became more and more apparent. The adulation

[1] Vol. i., p. 278; and vol. iii., p. 13. [2] Vol. ii., p. 593.
[3] Vol. ii., p. 594.—Heroic man! British Christians are most deeply indebted to thee, and thy fellow-sufferers, for the high privileges they now enjoy. May thy name be had in everlasting remembrance.
[4] Vol. i., p. 62.
[5] It has been doubted whether he was justified in thus making excursions from the prison. This may be answered by the question—Was Peter justified in leaving the prison, and going to the prayer-meeting at Mary's house? Acts, xii., 7-19.
[6] Vol. iii., p. 19.

of his professed friends, and the noisy popularity with which he was greeted, appear to have fostered his crafty designs to rid himself of parliamentary government. His whole conduct was that of a Papist, who keeps no faith with Protestants; or of a statesman, whose religion, honour, and truthfulness, were wholly subservient to expediency. To further his object, he formed a council of five noblemen, two of whom were Roman Catholics, and the other three either careless as to religion or professed infidels. The first letter of their names formed the word CABAL. Aided by these he sought to extinguish liberty, and extirpate the Protestant faith.[1] To furnish himself with the means of indulging his unbridled passions, he, like a buccaneer, seized the Dutch merchantmen returning from India and Smyrna, without any declaration of war, and laid his hands upon all the money borrowed of his merchants which had been deposited in the exchequer. He then united himself with France to destroy Holland, the stronghold of liberty. To gratify the Roman Catholics, and conciliate the Dissenters, he issued a declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, the seal to which he afterwards broke with his own hands,[2] but he could not prevent a considerable degree of religious liberty arising from such vacillating conduct.

Bunyan, who had secured the confidence and esteem of his jailer, now found his prison more like a lodging-house, and enjoyed great privileges. He frequently, if not regularly, attended the church meetings, and preached with some degree of publicity. The church at Bedford was at this time in want of a pastor, and their eyes were naturally fixed upon Bunyan to succeed to that important office. There were two weighty considerations that required Divine guidance in coming to a conclusion. One was, whether it might injuriously affect the prisoner's comforts, and the other was, the propriety of making choice of a Christian brother to be their ministering elder, while incarcerated in a jail. Feeling these difficulties, the church held several meetings on the subject, the minutes of which are very interesting. The first was held at Hawnes, on the 24th of the eighth month (October) 1671, when 'the improvement of the gifts of the church, and their disposal in an orderly way, were proposed to consideration, that God might be sought for direction therein; and a time further to consider and debate thereof, was appointed this day seven-night, at evening, at Bedford, where the principal brethren were desired for that purpose to come together, at brother John Fenn's; and a church-meeting was appointed to be there that day week. The church was also minded to seek God about the choyce of brother Bunyan to the office of elder, that their way in that respect may be cleared up to them.' At a meeting held at Bedford, on the last day of the ninth month (November), there was appointed another meeting 'to pray and consult about concluding the affair before propounded, concerning gifts of the brethren to be improved, and the choyce of brother Bunyan to office, at Gamlingay, on the 14th day, and at Hawnes, the 20th, and at Bedford, the 21st of the same instant, which it was desired might be a general meeting.' After all this jealous care, and these fervent applications to the throne of grace for Divine guidance, the result was most gratifying. 'At a full assembly of the church at Bedford, the 21st of the tenth month,[3] after much seeking God by prayer and sober conference formally had, the congregation did at this meeting, with joynt consent, signified by solemn lifting up of their hands, call forth and appoint our brother John Bunyan to the pastoral office or eldership. And he accepting thereof, gave himself up to serve Christ and his Church, in that charge, and received of the elders the right hand of fellowship, after having preached fifteen years.' The choice thus solemnly made, was ratified by the abundant blessings of heavenly union and great prosperity—no stranger or novice, but one whose preaching and writings had proved most acceptable to them for a series of years—one that had been owned and blessed of his God, and whom the church delighted to honour.

At the same church meeting, 'The congregation having had long experience of the faithfulness of brother John Fenn in his care for the poor, did after the same manner solemnly choose him to the honourable office of a deacon, and committed their poor and purse to him, and he accepted thereof, and gave himself up to the Lord and them in that service.' The church did also determine to keep the 26th inst. as a day of fasting and prayer, both here, and at Hawnes, and at Gamlingay, solemnly to commend to the grace of God brother Bunyan and brother Fenn, and to entreat his gracious assistance and presence with them in their respective works, whereunto he hath called them.'

The most extraordinary circumstance that took place at this time was, that while Bunyan was a prisoner in a wretched dungeon for preaching the glad tidings of salvation, or, in the mysterious legal jargon of the period, 'holding conventicles,' he received his Majesty's license to preach, and thus to hold conventicles — it was one of the first that was granted. His Majesty continued to keep him a prisoner for preaching more than six months after he had licensed him to preach!! At the same time that the permission to preach was

[1] Rapin.

[2] For an *accurate* copy of this declaration, see vol. iii., p. 21.

[3] The ecclesiastical year commenced in March. The tenth month means December.

granted to Bunyan, the house of Josiah Roughed, Bedford, was licensed by his Majesty's command, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England. In this John Bunyan was authorised to teach, or in any other licensed place.[1] These were among the first licenses that were granted. The present highly-respected pastor of the church considers that this license does not refer to Roughed's private dwelling, but rather to 'an edifice or a barn, purchased of Robert Crompton, Esq., with a piece of ground adjoining it,' in the parishes of St. Paul and Cuthbert, for £50, in 1672, by Roughed, Bunyan, Fenn, and others, and which was released by Fenn to Bunyan and others, November 10, 1681, two days before Fenn's death. This building having been properly fitted up by voluntary contribution, became permanently occupied by the church as its place of meeting, until the old chapel was erected in 1707. From this we may conclude that Bunyan was engaged in his worldly occupation as a brazier, in the year that he obtained his release from prison, and to 1681.

How utterly contemptible does any Government become when they tamper with spiritual worship. At one period they punished Dissenters with imprisonment, transportation, and, to use Judge Keeling's elegant expression in his sentence on Bunyan, 'to stretch by the neck for it;' and anon, the very same Government, under the same king, gives them license to dissent! Human laws affecting religion can never be the standard of morality; to read the Bible is considered to be sin in Tuscany, and righteousness in Britain. The release of this great and pious man from his tedious imprisonment, has been hitherto involved in a cloud of mystery, which it will be our happiness to disperse, while we record that event in a clear, indisputable narrative of facts. His earlier biographer, Mr. Doe, not having access to archives which the lapse of time has now rendered available, attributed his release to the influence of Bishop Barlow, by the interference of Dr. Owen. It is narrated in the life of Dr. Owen, published in 1721:—'The doctor had some friends also among the bishops, Dr. Barlow, formerly his tutor, then bishop of Lincoln, who yet upon a special occasion failed him, when he might have expected the service of his professed friendship. The case was this, Mr. John Bunyan had been confined to a jail twelve years, upon an excommunication for Nonconformity. Now there was a law, that if any two persons will go to the bishop of the diocese, and offer a cautionary bond, that the prisoner shall conform in half a year, the bishop may release him upon that bond; whereupon a friend of this poor man desired Dr. Owen to give him his letter to the bishop in his behalf, which he readily granted. It was soon after the discovery of the Popish plot, when this letter was carried to the bishop, who having read it, desired "a little time to consider of it, and if I can do it, you may be assured of my readiness." He was waited upon again in about a fortnight, and his answer was, "I would desire you to move the Lord Chancellor in the case, and, upon his order, I will do it." To which it was replied, "this method would be chargeable, and the man was poor, not able to expend so much money; and, being satisfied he could do it legally, it was hoped his Lordship would remember his promise, there being no straining a point in the case. But he would do it upon no other terms, which at last was done, and the poor man released." And for this we are told that "Mr Bunyan returned him his unfeigned thanks, and often remembered him in his prayers, as, next to God, his deliverer."' The whole of this story, so far as it relates to Bunyan, is not only improbable, but utterly impossible. Bunyan was never excommunicated, and he was certainly released from prison two or three years previous to Dr. Barlow becoming a bishop. The critical times to which he alludes, refer doubtless to the Popish plot, which took place in 1678, Bunyan having been released in 1672. The probability is, that Dr. Owen did about 1678 apply to the bishop of Lincoln for the release of some poor prisoner under sentence of excommunication, it being his province to release such prisoners upon their making peace with the Church. If this person was a friend of Bunyan's, his prayers for the bishop, and acknowledgments for this act of kindness, are readily accounted for. That Barlow had nothing to do with Bunyan's release is now perfectly clear; because all, even the minutest particulars relative to it, have been discovered. This is a very romantic history, and necessarily leads us back to the battle of Worcester. At this battle, the republicans were numerous, well disciplined, and led by experienced officers; the royal army was completely routed, and its leaders, who survived the battle, were subject to the severest privations. Charles found refuge at Boscobel House, and, disguised as a woodcutter, was hid in an oak. His adventures and hair-breadth escapes fill a volume:—the parliament offered one thousand pounds reward for his apprehension. At length, after wandering in various disguises forty days, he arrived at Brighton, then a small fishing town, and here his friends succeeded in hiring a fishing boat to take him to France. Numerous histories of this extraordinary escape were published, but no two of them agree, excepting that, to please the king, all the credit was given to Roman Catholics. Of these narratives, that by Dr. Lingard has the strangest blunder. When they left Shore-

[1] For a copy of these licenses, see vol. iii., p. 24.

ham, 'The ship stood with easy sail *towards the Isle of Wight*, as if she were *on her way to Deal*, to which port she was bound'[1]—Deal being exactly in the contrary direction! Carte has the best account. The vessel was bound for Poole, coal-laden; they left Shoreham at seven A.M. under easy sail; and at five, being off the Isle of Wight, with the wind north, she stood over to France, and returned to Poole, no one discovering that they had been out of their course. A letter recently discovered among the archives of the Society of Friends at Devonshire House solves every difficulty. It is written by Ellis Hookes to the wife of George Fox, dated January, 1670—

'Yesterday there was a friend (a quaker) wth the king, one that is John Groves mate, he was the man y^t^ was mate to the master of the fisher-boat y^t^ carryed the king away when he went from Worcester fight, and only this friend and the master knew of it in the shipp, and the friend carryed him (the king) ashoare on his shoulders. the king knew him again, and was very friendly to him, and told him he remembered him and of severall things y^t^ was donne in ye shipp att the same time. the friend told him the reason why he did not come all this while was y^t^ he was satisfied in y^t^ he had peace and satisfaction in himselfe y^t^ he did what he did to releiue a man in distresse and now he desired nothing of him (the king) but that he would sett friends at libertie who were great sufferers or to that purpose and told the king he had a paper of 110 that were premunired y^t^ had lain in prison about 6 years and none can release y^m^ but him. Soe the king took the paper and said there was many of y^m^ and y^t^ they would be in again in a monthes time and y^t^ the country gentlemen complained to him y^t^ they were so troubled wth the Quakers. So he said he would release him six. but ye friend thinkes to goe to him again, for he had not fully cleared himselfe.'

This letter is endorsed by Fox himself, 'E Hookes to M F of pasages consering Richard Carver, that cared the King of his backe.'

E. Hooke's next letter, addressed to George Fox, thus continues the narrative—

'February, 1669-70.

'Dear G. F. As for the friend that was with the King, his love is to thee. He has been with the King lately, and Thomas Moore was with him, and the King was very loving to them. He had a fair and free opportunity to open his mind to the King, and the King has promised to do for him, but willed him to wait a month or two longer. I rest thy faithful friend to serve thee, 'E. H.'[2]

The captain of the fisher-boat was Nicholas Tattersall, whose grave, covered with a slab of black marble, is still to be seen in Brighton church-yard, with a long poetical inscription, now scarcely legible. On the Restoration, he applied for his reward, and was made a commander in the royal navy, with an annuity to him and his heirs for ever of £100. The family have recently become extinct. His fisher-boat was moored for a considerable time in the Thames, opposite Whitehall. Years had rolled on, but the Quaker mate who had so materially assisted the flying prince—by keeping the secret—arranging the escape with the crew, and when, in fear of danger from a privateer, rowing the prince ashore, and in shoal water carrying him on his shoulders to the land, near the village of Fecamp, in Normandy, yet he had not been with the king to claim any reward. This escape took place in 1651, and nearly twenty years had elapsed, ten of which were after the Restoration; so that in all probability the king, who with all his faults was not ungrateful, was agreeably surprised with his appearance at the palace. Whatever alteration the rough life of a sailor had made on his appearance, the king at once recognised him. All the progress he had made as to worldly prosperity was from being mate of a fisher-boat, under Tattersall, to becoming mate of a West Indiaman, under Captain Grove. His Majesty, who had passed his time more with courtiers than with Quakers, was doubtless astonished that a poor man, having such a claim on his bounty, should have been so many years without seeking his recompense. On asking the reason, the Quaker nobly answered to this effect, That the performance of his duty in saving the life of the hunted prince, was only a moral obligation, for the discharge of which God had amply repaid him by peace and satisfaction in his mind and conscience. And now, Sire, I ask nothing for myself, but that your Majesty would do the same to my friends that I did for you—set the poor pious sufferers at liberty, that they may bless you, and that you may have that peace and satisfaction which always follows good and benevolent actions. The king attempted feebly to argue, that they would soon offend again, and that they were much complained of by the country gentlemen. How readily the sailor might have said to his sailor king, Alter the ship's articles, let *all* the crew fare alike as to their free choice in religion, and there will be no grumbling in your noble ship; every subject will do his duty. The king offered to release any six, and we may imagine the sailor's blunt answer, What, six poor Quakers for a king's ransom!! His Majesty was so pleased as to invite him to come again, when he introduced another member of the Society of Friends, Thomas Moore. At this period an amazing number of Friends, men and women, were in the jails throughout the kingdom, torn from their families, and suffering most severe privations, under which great numbers had perished. The application for the release of the survivors, thus happily commenced, was followed up with zeal and energy, and crowned with great success. This narrative solves all those difficulties which rendered that remarkable event extremely mysterious. The ques-

[1] 4to, vol. vii., p. 75.

[2] I am greatly indebted to J. P. Brown, Esq., James Street, Islington, for directing my attention to these letters.

tion naturally arises why so debauched and dissolute a king should prefer such tight-laced Christians to be the peculiar objects of his mercy. The reason is perfectly obvious, he owed his life to one of their members, who, however poor as to this world, possessed those riches of piety which prevented his taking any personal reward for an act of duty. Shade of the noble sailor, thy name, Richard Carver, is worthy of all honour! And the more so, because thy gallant bearing has been studiously concealed in all the histories of these important transactions. Had he been a mischief-making Jesuit, like Father Huddleston, his noble deed would have been trumpeted forth for the admiration of the world in all ages. His name was left to perish in oblivion, because he was of a despised sect. It is an honour to Christianity that a labouring man preferred the duty of saving the life of a human being, and that of an enemy, to gaining so easily heaps of glittering gold. And when all the resources of royalty were ready munificently to reward him, he, like Moses, preferred the rescue of his suffering friends to personal honours or emoluments—even to all the riches of England!

The efforts of Carver and Moore were followed by most earnest appeals for mercy by George Whitehead, who with Moore appeared before the king in council several times, until at length the royal word sanctioned this act of mercy. The Quakers were then appealed to by sufferers of other denominations, and advised them to obtain the permission of the king in council, that their names might be inserted in the deed; rendering them all the assistance that was in their power. Great difficulties were encountered in passing the cumbrous deed through the various offices, and then in pleading it in all parts of the country. The number of Quakers thus released from imprisonment was 471, being about the same number as those who had perished in the jails. The rest of the prisoners liberated by this deed were Baptists and Independents, and among the former was JOHN BUNYAN.

A very circumstantial narrative of these proceedings, copies of the minutes of the privy council, and other documents, will be found in the introduction to *The Pilgrim's Progress*.[1] One of these official papers affords an interesting subject of study to an occasional conformist. It is the return of the sheriff of Bedfordshire, stating that ALL the sufferings of Bunyan—his privation of liberty, sacrifice of wife, children, and temporal comforts, with the fear of an ignominious death—were for refusing to attend his parish church and hear the *Common Prayer* service.

When it is considered that Bunyan was very severe in his remarks upon the Quakers, the event reflects no ordinary degree of honour upon the Society of Friends, at whose sole charge, and entirely by their own exertions, this great deed of benevolence was begun, carried on, and completed. It is difficult to ascertain the exact duration of this sad imprisonment, because we cannot discover any record of the day of his release. His imprisonment commenced November 13, 1660, and his pardon under the great seal is dated September 13, 1672. As the pardon included nearly 500 sufferers, it occupied some time to obtain official duplicates to be exhibited at the assizes and sessions for the various counties. A letter from E. Hooks to Mrs. Fox intimates that none were released on the 1st November 1672. Another letter shows that the Bedfordshire prisoners were discharged before January 10, 1673;[2] confirming Bunyan's own account, published by him in the *Grace Abounding*, 1680, that his imprisonment lasted complete twelve years.[3]

During the latter period of his imprisonment, probably from the time of his receiving the royal license to preach, May 15, 1672, he enjoyed extraordinary liberty—visiting those who had been kind to his family, and preaching in the surrounding counties. An entry in the records of the city of Leicester proves that he was there, and claimed the liberty of preaching—'John Bunyan's license bears date the 15th of May 1672, to teach as a Congregational person, being of that persuasion, in the house of Josias Roughed, Bedford, or in any other place, room, or house, licensed by his Majestie's memorand. The said Bunyan shewed his license to Mr. Mayor, Mr. Overinge, Mr. Freeman, and Mr. Browne, being then present, the 6th day of October, 1672, that being about two months before his final release from jail.'[4]

His first object, upon recovering his liberty, appears to have been the proper arrangement of his worldly business, that he might provide for the wants of his family, a matter of little difficulty with their frugal habits. He, at the same time, entered with all his soul into his beloved work of preaching and writing, to set forth the glories of Immanuel. The testimony of one who was his 'true friend and long acquaintance,' is, that one of the first fruits of his liberation was to visit those who had assisted him and comforted his family during his incarceration, encouraging those who were in fear of a prison, and collecting means of assistance to those who still remained prisoners; travelling even to remote counties to effect these merciful objects.[5]

While the premises occupied by Mr. Roughed were being converted into a capacious meeting-

[1] Vol. iii., pp. 21–29.

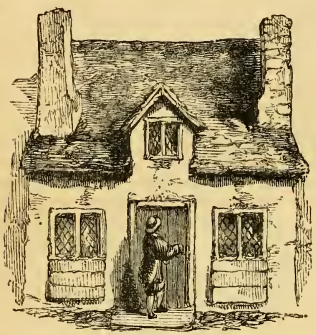
[2] Vol. iii., p. 27. [3] Vol. i., p. 47; No. 31?.

[4] Jukes' *History of Bunyan's Church*, p. 24.

[5] Continuation of Life to *Grace Abounding*.

house, the pastor was indefatigable in visiting the sick, and preaching from house to house, settling churches in the villages, reconciling differences, and extending the sacred influences of the gospel, so that in a very short time he attained the appellation of Bishop Bunyan—a title much better merited by him than by the downy prelates who sent him to jail for preaching that which they ought to have preached.

He formed branch churches at Gamlingay, Hawnes, Cotton-end, and Kempston, in connection with that at Bedford. When he opened the new meeting-house, it was 'so thronged that many were constrained to stay without, though it was very spacious, every one striving to partake of his instructions. Here he lived, in much peace



Bunyan's Cottage at Bedford.

and quiet of mind, contenting himself with that little God had bestowed upon him, and sequestering himself from all secular employments to follow that of his call to the ministry.[1] The word 'sequestering' would lead us to conclude, that his business was continued by his family, under his care, but so as to allow him much time for his Christian duties, and his benevolent pursuits. His peaceful course was interrupted by a severe controversy with the Christian world upon the subject of communion at the Lord's Table, which had commenced while he was in prison. He would admit none but those who, by a godly conversation, brought forth fruits meet for repentance, nor dared he to refuse any who were admitted to spiritual communion with the Redeemer. Every sect which celebrated the Lord's Supper, fenced the table round with ritual observances, except the Baptist church at Bedford, which stood pre-eminent for non-sectarianism. A singular proof of this is, that the catechism called *Instruction for the Ignorant*, written and published by Bunyan, is admirably adapted for the use, not only of his own church, but of Christians of all denominations.

His spirit was greatly refreshed by finding that his precept and example had been blessed to his son Thomas. On the 6th of the 11th month, 1673, he passed the lions, and was welcomed into the house called Beautiful, uniting in full communion with his father's church. There doubtless was, as Mercy expresses it, 'music in the house, music in the heart, and music also in heaven, for joy that he was here.'[2] He afterwards became a village preacher.

Bunyan was by no means a latitudinarian. No one felt greater decision than he did for the truths of our holy faith. When his Lord's design in Christianity was, as he thought, perverted by a beneficed clergyman, then he sent forth from his prison an answer as from a son of thunder, even at the risk of his life. His love for the pure doctrines of the gospel was as decided as his aversion to sectarian titles. 'As for those factious titles of Anabaptists, Independents, Presbyterians, or the like, I conclude that they came neither from Jerusalem, nor from Antioch, but rather from hell and Babylon, for they naturally tend to divisions.'[3] The only title that he loved was that of Christian. 'It is strange to see how men are wedded to their own opinions, beyond what the law of grace and love will admit. Here is a Presbyter—here an Independent and a Baptist, so joined each man to his own opinions, that they cannot have that communion one with another as by the testament of the Lord Jesus they are commanded and enjoined.'[4] The meaning which he attached to the word 'sectarian' is very striking—Pharisees are sectarians, they who in Divine worship turn aside from the rule of the written Word, and in their manner do it to be seen of men—these are sectaries.[5] Bunyan was most decided as to the importance of baptism and the Lord's Supper. 'Do you think that love

[1] It is generally believed at Bedford, that, after Bunyan was imprisoned, his family removed from Elstow to Bedford, in order that they might have more frequent access to him; and that, on his release, he made his abode there. His humble dwelling was much like that of his father at Elstow, most unassuming; just such a cottage as a poor wounded sinner would feel at home in when visiting his pastor for advice. The late Rev. J. Geard, of Hitchin, in his *Diary*, says—'July 17, 1774. I preached, for the first time, at Bedford, to the successors of good Mr. Bunyan's congregation, and the next day called at the house where he used to live, and went into the room that tradition reported was his study. This house, though it had been the habitation of so truly great a man, was now let for about 40*s.* per annum.' Allowing for the difference in the value of money, Bunyan would have now paid 16*s.* a-year rent for his humble abode. It will be always matter of regret, that it was not purchased and preserved by the members of the 'Old Meeting,' when it was offered them before its destruction; we procured, however, a drawing of it, which is here engraved. The cottage was in the parish of St. Cuthbert, in the street opposite the meeting-house, and here Bunyan lived, while he was pastor, from 1681 to 1688.

[2] *Pilgrim*, vol. iii., p. 198.
[3] Vol. ii., p. 649.
[4] Vol. ii., p. 538.
[5] Vol. ii., p. 219.

letters are not desired between lovers? Why these, God's ordinances, they are his love letters, and his love tokens, too. No marvel, then, if the righteous do so desire them. "More to be desired *are they* than gold, yea, than much fine gold; sweeter also than honey, and the honey-comb." Christ made himself known to his disciples in breaking of bread; who would not, then, that loves to know him, be present at such an ordinance? Ofttimes the Holy Ghost, in the comfortable influence of it, has accompanied the baptized in the very act of administering of it.' His views of the fellowship of the saints were equally explicit—'Church fellowship, rightly managed, is the glory of all the world. No place, no community, no fellowship, is adorned and bespangled with those beauties, as is a church rightly knit together to their Head, and lovingly serving one another.'[5] Such he admitted to the table of their common Lord; but, in his esteem, to communicate with the profane was all one with sacrificing to the devil.

All this liberality was accompanied by very strict notions of church fellowship, not allowing private judgment in the withdrawing of any member, if the church withheld its approbation. Mary Tilney had been cruelly robbed by the persecuting Justice Porter, for not attending the parish church. He carted away all her goods, beds, and bedding, even to the hangings of her rooms. She was a most benevolent widow, and was more troubled with the crying and sighing of her poor neighbours, than with the loss of her goods. Harassed by persecution at Bedford, she removed to London, and requested her dismission to a church of which her son-in-law was pastor, which was refused. As the letter announcing this to her is a good example of Bunyan's epistolary correspondence, it is carefully extracted from the church book.

'Our dearly-beloved sister Tilney.

'Grace, mercy, and peace be with you, by Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

'I received your letter, and have presented it to the sight of the brethren, who, after due consideration of your motion, have jointly concluded to give you this answer. This for yourself (honoured sister), you are of high esteem with the church of God in this place, both because his grace hath been bestowed richly upon you, and because of your faithful fellowship with us; for you have been rightly a daughter of Abraham while here, not being afraid with any amazement. Your holy and quiet behaviour, also, while with patience and meekness, and in the gentleness of Christ, you suffered yourself to be robbed for his sake, hath the more united our affections to you in the bowels of Jesus Christ. Yea, it hath begotten you reverence, also, in the hearts of them who were beholders of your meekness and innocency while you suffered; and a stinging conviction, as we are persuaded, in the consciences of those who made spoil for themselves;* all which will redound to the praise of God our Father, and to your comfort and everlasting consolation by Christ, in the day he shall come to take vengeance for his people, and to be glorified in them that believe. Wherefore we cannot (our honoured sister) but care for your welfare, and increase of all good in the faith and kingdom of Christ, whose servant you are, and whose name is written in your forehead; and do therefore pray God and our Father, that he would direct your way, and open a door in his temple for you, that you may eat his fat and be refreshed, and that you may drink the pure blood of the grape. And be you assured that, with all readiness, we will help and forward you what we can therein, for we are not ashamed to own you before all the churches of Christ.

But, our dearly beloved, you know that, for our safety and your profit, it is behoofful that we commit you to such, to be fed and governed in the Word and doctrines as, we are sufficiently persuaded, shall be able to deliver you up with joy at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints: otherwise we (that we say not you) shall receive blushing and shame before him and you; yea, and you also, our honoured sister, may justly charge us with want of love, and a due respect for your eternal condition, if, for want of care and circumspection herein, we should commit you to any from whom you should receive damage, or by whom you should not be succoured and fed with the sincere milk of the incorruptible Word of God, which is able to save your soul. Wherefore we may not, neither dare give our consent that you feed and fold with such whose principles and practices, in matters of faith and worship, we, as yet, are strangers to, and have not received commendations concerning, either from works of theirs or epistles from others. Yourself, indeed, hath declared that you are satisfied therein; but, elect sister, seeing the act of delivering you up is an act of ours and not yours, it is convenient, yea, very expedient, that we, as to so weighty a matter, be well persuaded before. Wherefore we beseech you, that, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, you give us leave to inform ourselves yet better before we grant your request; and that you also forbear to sit down at the table with any without the consent of your brethren. You were, while with us, obedient, and we trust you will not be unruly now. And for the more quick expedition of this matter, we will propound before you our further thoughts. 1. Either we shall consent to your sitting down with brother Cockain, brother Griffith, brother Palmer, or other, who, of long continuance in the city, have showed forth their faith, their worship, and good conversation with the Word; 2. Or if you can get a commendatory epistle from brother Owen, brother Cockain, brother Palmer, or brother Griffith, concerning the faith and principles of the person and people you mention, with desire to be guided and governed by, you shall see our readiness, in the fear of God, to commit you to the doctrine and care of that congregation. Choose you whether of these you will consent unto, and let us hear of your resolution. And we beseech you, for love's sake, you show, with meekness, your fear and reverence of Christ's institution; your love to the congregation, and regard to your future good. Finally, we commit you to the Lord and the Word of his grace, who is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified. To God, the only wise, be glory and power everlasting. Amen. — Your affectionate brethren, to serve you in the faith and fellowship of the gospel.

John Bunyan

AND OTHERS

Sent from Bedford, the 19th of the Fourth Month, 1671.

[5] Vol. i., p. 757.

* I have seen some of the official returns into the exchequer; the amount of property seized was enormous, and it is almost incredible the small amount paid to the treasury.

As a farther illustration of Bunyan's sentiments on this subject, we give the following letter to the church at Braintree:—

'The 7th of the Twelfth Month, 1676 (Feb. 1677).

'The church of Christ in and about Bedford, to the church of Christ in and about Braintree, sendeth greeting,

'Holy and beloved—We, fellow-heirs with you of the grace of life, having considered your request concerning our honoured and beloved brother, Samuel Hensman: that he shall be given up to you for your mutual edification, and his furtherance and joy of faith; and considering also, in the capacity he now standeth by reason of his habitation amongst you, his edification is to be from you, not from us—he being, by God's providence (by which he disposeth the world), placed at such a distance from us. And considering, also, the great end of Christ our Lord, in ordaining the communion of saints, is his glory in their edification, and that all things are to be done by his command to the edification of the body in general, and of every member in particular, and that this we oft (ought?) to design in our receiving him, and giving up to other churches, and not to please ourselves: do as before God and the elect angels, grant and give up to you our elect brother, to be received by you in the Lord, and to be nourished, in the church at Braintree, with you as one that is dear to the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ; and this we the willinger do, because, as we are informed concerning you, beloved, you are not rigid in your principles, but are for communion with saints as saints, and have been taught by the Word to receive the brotherhood, because they are beloved, and received of the Father and the Son, to whose grace we commend you, with the brother of late a member with us, but now one of you. Grace be with you all. Written by the appointment of the church here, and subscribed, in her name, by your brethren, as followeth:—

John Bunyan

Sam. Fenn.	Oliver Stot.
John Fenn.	Thomas Cooper.
Luke Astwood.	John Croker.

The late Mr. Kilpin of Bedford considered the whole of this letter to be entered in the minutes in Bunyan's hand-writing.

There is also in the church book the copy of a letter, in 1674, addressed to the 'church sometime walking with our brother Jesse,' refusing to dismiss to them Martha Cumberland, unless they were certified that they continued in the practice of mixed communion. In these sentiments Bunyan lived and died. His church remains the same to the present day. In the new, commodious, and handsome meeting-house, opened in 1850, there is a baptistery, frequently used. The present minister, the amiable and talented John Jukes, baptizes infants, and receives the assistance of a neighbouring Baptist minister to baptize adults.

Not only had Bunyan clear, well-defined, and most decided views of the ordinances of the gospel, but also of all its doctrines. His knowledge upon those solemn subjects was drawn exclusively from the sacred pages; nor dared he swerve in the slightest degree from the path of duty; still he belonged to no sect, but that of Christian, and the same freedom which had guided him in forming his principles, he cheerfully allowed to others. Hitherto, water baptism had been considered a pre-requisite to the Lord's table by all parties. The Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents, had denounced the Baptists as guilty of a most serious heresy, or blasphemy, in denying the right of infants to baptism; not only did they exclude the Baptists from communion with their churches, but they persecuted them with extreme rigour. When the Independents made laws for the government of their colony in America, in 1644, one of the enactments was, 'That if any person shall either openly condemn, or oppose the baptizing of infants, or seduce others, or leave the congregation during the administration of the rite, they shall be sentenced to banishment.' The same year a poor man was tied up and whipped, for refusing to have his child baptized. 'The Rev. J. Clarke, and Mr. O. Holmes, of Rhode Island, for visiting a sick Baptist brother in Massachusetts, instead of being admitted to the Lord's table, they were arrested, fined, imprisoned, and whipped.' At this very time, the Baptists formed their colony at Rhode Island, and the charter concludes with these words, 'All men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God.' This is probably the only spot in the world where persecution was never known. The Baptists considered that immersion in water was the marriage rite between the believer and Saviour; that to sit at the Lord's table without it was spiritual adultery, to be abhorred and avoided, and therefore refused to admit any person to the Lord's table who had not been baptized in water upon a personal profession of faith in the Saviour. This was the state of parties when Bunyan, at the commencement of his pastorate, entered into the controversy. He had been promised a commendation to his book by the great, the grave, 'the sober' Dr. Owen, but he withdrew his sanction. 'And perhaps it was more for the glory of God, that truth should go naked into the world,' said Bunyan, 'than as seconded by so weighty an armour-bearer as he.'[1] Bunyan denied that water could form a wedding garment, or that water baptism was a pre-requisite for the Lord's table, or that being immersed in water was putting on our Lord's livery, by which disciples may be known. 'Away, fond man, do you forget the text, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."'[2] An attempt was made to embroil Bunyan in a public disputation in London upon this subject, which he very wisely avoided.[3] This controversy will be

[1] Vol. ii., 649. [2] Vol. ii., p. 638. [3] Vol ii., p. 641.

found in our second volume, and is deeply interesting, making allowance for the *esprit de corps* manifested on all sides. A verse in the *Emblems* is very pertinent upon the violence of this dispute:—

> 'Our gospel has had here a summer's day,
> But in its sunshine we, like fools, did play;
> Or else fall out, and with each other wrangle,
> And did, instead of work, not much but jangle.' [1]

After a lapse of nearly two centuries, Bunyan's peaceable principles have greatly prevailed; so that now few churches refuse communion on account of the mode in which water baptism has been administered. The Baptists are no longer deemed heretics as they formerly were. Dr. Watts aided this kindly feeling—'A church baptized in infancy, or in adult age, may allow communion to those that are of the contrary practice in baptism.' [2] Robert Robinson praises Bunyan's work, and advocates his sentiments upon the most liberal principles. One of his remarks is very striking:—'Happy community! that can produce a dispute of one hundred and fifty years unstained with the blood, and unsullied with the fines, the imprisonments, and the civil inconveniences of the disputants. As to a few coarse names, rough compliments, foreign suppositions, and acrimonious exclamations, they are only the harmless squeakings of men in a passion, caught and pinched in a sort of logical trap.' [3] To this time, Bunyan was only known as an extraordinarily talented and eloquent man, whose retentive memory was most richly stored with the sacred Scriptures. All his sermons and writings were drawn from his own mental resources, aided, while in prison, only by the Bible, the Concordance, and Fox's *Book of Martyrs*. Very emphatically he says, 'I am for drinking water out of my own cistern.' 'I find such a spirit of idolatry in the learning of this world, that had I it at command I durst not use it, but only use the light of the Word and Spirit of God.' 'I will not take of it from a thread even to a shoe latchet.' [4] It must not be understood that he read no other works but his Bible and *Book of Martyrs*, but that he only used those in composing his various treatises while in confinement. He certainly had and read *The Plain Man's Pathway*, *Practice of Piety*, *Luther on the Galatians*, *Clarke's Looking-glass for Saints and Sinners*, *Dodd on the Commandments*, *Andrews' Sermons*, *Fowler's Design of Christianity*, *D'Anvers and Paul on Baptism*, and doubtless all the books which were within his reach, calculated to increase his store of knowledge.

About this time he published a small quarto tract, in which he scripturally treats the doctrine of eternal election and reprobation. This rare book, published for sixpence, we were glad to purchase at a cost of one guinea and a half, because a modern author rejected its authenticity! It is included in every early list of Bunyan's works, and especially in that *published by himself*, in 1688, to guard his friends from deception; for he had become so popular an author that several forgeries had been published under his initials. These few pages on election contain a scriptural treatise upon a very solemn subject, written by one whose mind was so imbued by the fear of God, as to have cast out the fear of man; which so generally embarrasses writers upon this subject. It was translated into Welsh, and is worthy an attentive perusal, especially by those who cannot see the difference between God's foreknowledge and his foreordination.

A new era was now dawning upon him, which, during the last ten years of his life, added tenfold to his popularity. For many years his beautifully simple, but splendid allegory, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, lay slumbering in his drawer. [5] Numerous had been his consultations with his pious associates and friends, and various had been their opinions, whether it was serious enough to be published. All of them had a solemn sense of the impropriety of anything like trifling as to the way of escape from destruction, and the road to the celestial city. It appears strange to us, who have witnessed the very solemn impressions, in all cases, made by reading that book, that there could have been a doubt of the propriety of treating in a colloquial manner, and even under the fashion of a dream, those most important truths. Some said, 'John, print it;' others said, 'not so.' Some said, 'it might do good;' others said, 'no.' The result of all

[1] Vol. iii., p. 758.

[2] *Christian Church*, 8vo, 1747, p. 280.

[3] *The General Doctrine of Toleration, applied to Free Communion*, p. 8. George Whitefield most warmly approved the communion of all God's saints with each other. This, I must own, more particularly endears Mr. Bunyan to my heart. He was of a catholic spirit. The want of water (adult baptism), with this man of God, was no bar to outward Christian communion. And I am persuaded that if, like him, we were more deeply and experimentally baptized into the benign and gracious influences of the blessed Spirit, we should be less baptized into the waters of strife about circumstantials and non-essentials. For being thereby rooted and grounded in the love of God, we should necessarily be constrained to think and let think, bear with and forbear one another in love, and without saying, I am of Paul, Apollos, or Cephas; have but one grand, laudable, disinterested strife, namely, who should live, preach, and exalt the ever-loving, altogether-lovely Jesus most.

[4] Vol. iii., p. 398.

[5] He hesitated as to the propriety of publishing it, probably from the influence of the weighty opinion of Martin Luther. 'The people are greatly delighted with allegories and similitudes, and therefore Christ oftentimes useth them; for they are, as it were, certain pictures which set forth things as if they were painted before our eyes. Paul was a marvellous cunning workman in handling allegories, but Origen and Jerome turn plain Scriptures into unfit and foolish allegories. Therefore, to use allegories, it is oftentimes a very dangerous thing.'* Such instructions, from one he so much venerated, curbed his exuberant imagination, and made him doubly watchful, lest allegorizing upon subjects of such vast importance might 'darken counsel by words without knowledge.'

* *Com. on Gal.* iv. 21.

those consultations was his determination, 'I print it will,' and it has raised an imperishable monument to his memory. Up to this time, all Bunyan's popularity arose from his earlier works, and his sermons. Leaving out of the question those most extraordinary books, *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War*, his other writings ought to have handed down his name, with honour and popularity, to the latest posterity. While the logical and ponderous works of Baxter and Owen are well calculated to furnish instruction to those who are determined to obtain knowledge, the works of Bunyan create that very determination, and furnish that very knowledge, so blended with amusement, as to fix it in the memory. Let one illustration suffice. It is our duty to love our enemies, but it is a hard lesson; we must learn it from the conduct of the Divine Creator—'There is a man hates God, blasphemes his name, despises his being; yea, says there is no God. And yet the God that he carrieth it thus towards doth give him his breakfast, dinner, and supper; clothes him well, and, when night comes, has him to bed, gives him good rest, blesses his field, his corn, his cattle, his children, and raises him to high estate; yea, and this our God doth not only once or twice, but until these transgressors become old; his patience is thus extended years after years, that we might learn of him to do well.'[1] All the works of Bunyan abound with such striking lessons, as to render them extremely valuable, especially to Sunday-school teachers and ministers, to enliven their addresses and sermons. But, in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the world has acknowledged one train of beauties; picture after picture, most beautifully finished, exhibiting the road from destruction to the celestial city; our only difficulty in such a display being to decide as to which is the most interesting and striking piece of scenery.[2] The editor's introduction to that extraordinary book is intended to prove that it was written while the author was imprisoned for refusing to submit his conscience to human laws, and that it is a perpetual monument to the folly of persecution; the peculiar qualifications of the author are displayed in its having been a spontaneous effusion of his own mind, unaided by any previous writer; an analysis is given of all prior pilgrimages, in which, more especially in *The Pilgrims*, *The Pylgremage of the Soule*, *Grande Amoure*, and in *The Pilgrim of Loretto*, the reader will find a faithful picture of some of the singularities of Popery drawn by itself; an account of the editions, forgeries, errors in printing, versions and translations of this wonderful book; the opinions of the learned and pious of its merits, principal scenes, and a synopsis. It has been the source of very numerous courses of lectures by ministers of all denominations; and has been turned into a handsome volume of hymns, adapted for public worship, by the late Mr. Purday, a friend of John Wesley's, and a laborious preacher for more than half a century.

Great efforts have been made by the most popular artists to enliven the scenes of the pilgrimage; but no colour glows like the enchanting words of Bunyan. No figures are so true to nature, and so life-like. Those eminent engravers, Sturt and Strut, Stothard and Martin, with the prize efforts excited by the Art Union of England, and the curious outlines by Mrs. M'Kenzie, the daughter of a British admiral, have endeavoured to exhaust the scenes in this inexhaustible work of beautiful scenery. The most elegant and correct edition is the large-paper, sumptuous volume by Mr. Bogue, admirably illustrated with new designs, engraved on wood in superior style—a volume worthy the drawing-room of queens and emperors. The designs, also, of the late David Scott, recently published at Edinburgh, are new, and peculiarly striking. His entrance to the Valley of the Shadow of Death is mysteriously impressive, a fit accompaniment to Bunyan's description, which is not excelled by any thing in Dante, Spencer, or Milton. In both parts of the *Pilgrim's Progress* this scene is full of terrific sublimity. But we must be excused, if we most warmly recommend our own offspring—the present edition—as combining accuracy, elegance, and cheapness, with the addition of very numerous notes, which, we trust, will prove highly illustrative and entertaining.

The carping criticisms of Mr. Dunlop, in his *History of Fiction*, and of an author in the *Penny Encyclopedia*, are scarcely worth notice. The complaint is, want of benevolence in the hero of the tale. How singular it is, and what a testimony to its excellence, that an intelligent writer upon *fictions* should have been so overpowered with this spiritual narrative, as to confound it with temporal things. Christian leaves his wife and children, instead of staying with them, to be involved in destruction—all this relates to inward spiritual feelings, and to these only. Visited by compunctions of heart, Christian strives to inspire his wife and children with the same, but in vain; he attends solitarily to his spiritual state, taunted by his family, while, as to *temporal* things, he becomes a better husband and father than ever he was—but this is not prominent, because it is entirely foreign to the author's object, which is to display the inward emotions of the new birth, the *spiritual* journey *alone*, apart from all temporal affairs.

[1] Vol. iii., p. 739.

[2] Even Dean Swift, in his popular *Letter to a Young Divine*, says, 'I have been better entertained, and more informed by a few pages in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, than by a long discourse upon the will and the intellect, and simple and complex ideas.' Nothing short of extraordinary merit could have called for such a eulogy from so severe a critic.

Multitudes read it as if it was really a dream, the old sleeping portrait confirming the idea. In the story, Christian most mysteriously embodies all classes of men, from the prince to the peasant—the wealthiest noble, or merchant, to the humblest mechanic or labourer—and it illustrates the most solemn, certain truth, that, with respect to the salvation of the soul, the poorest creature in existence is upon perfect equality with the lordly prelate, or magnificent emperor, with this word ringing in their ears, 'the POOR have the gospel preached to them.' The *Grace Abounding*, or Life of Bunyan, is a key to all the mysteries of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and *Holy War*.

Bunyan's singular powers are those of description, not of invention. He had lived in the city of destruction—he had heard the distant threatening of the awful storm that was shortly to swallow it up in unutterable ruin—he had felt the load of sin, and rejoiced when it was rolled away before a crucified Saviour—he knew every step of the way, and before he had himself passed the black river, he had watched prayerfully over those who were passing, and when the gate of the city was opened to let them enter, he had strained his eyes to see their glory.

The purifying influence of *The Pilgrim's Progress* may be traced in the writings of many imaginative authors. How does it in several parts beautify the admirable tale of *Uncle Tom, and his Cabin*. In that inimitable scene, the death of the lovely Eva, the distressed negro, watching with intense anxiety the progress of death, says, 'When that blessed child goes into the kingdom, they'll open the door so wide, we'll all get a look in at the glory.' Whence came this strange idea—not limited to the poor negro, but felt by thousands who have watched over departing saints? It comes from the entrance of Christian and Hopeful into the celestial city—'I looked in after them, and, behold, the city shone like the sun; the streets, also, were paved with gold, and in them they walked with crowns on their heads, palms in their hands, and golden harps to sing praises, which, when I had seen, I wished myself among them.'[1] How often has Bunyan's wit sparkled in sermons, and even in speeches delivered in the senate. Recently, in a speech on the coalition ministry, the following reference was introduced:—'Mr. Facing-both-ways, of honest John Bunyan, is not a creature mankind can regard with any complacency; nor will they likely suffer any one to act with one party, and reserve his principles for another.' It has also been strangely quoted in novel writing—thus in Bell's *Villette*—visiting a *God-mother* in a pleasant retreat, is said 'to resemble the sojourn of Christian and Hopeful, beside the pleasant stream, with green trees on each bank, and meadows beautified with lilies all the year round.' It is marvellous that a picture of nature should have been so beautifully and strikingly described by an unlettered artizan, as to be used in embellishing an elegant novel, written nearly two centuries after his decease.[2]

The *Pilgrim* was followed by a searching treatise on *The Fear of God*. The value of this book led to its republication by the Tract Society, and 4000 copies have been circulated. It is a neat and acceptable volume, but why altered? and a psalm omitted.[3] Bunyan says, 'Your great ranting, swaggering, roysters;' this is modernized into 'Your ranting boasters.'[4] Then followed, the *Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ*. This was frequently reprinted, and hundreds of thousands have been circulated to benefit the world. His popularity increased with his years; efforts were made, but in vain, to steal him from his beloved charge at Bedford. 'He hath refused a more plentiful income to keep his station,' is the language of his surviving friend, Charles Doe. It is not surprising that he was thus tempted to leave his poor country church, for we are told by the same biographer, that 'When Mr. Bunyan preached in London, if there were but one day's notice given, there would be more people come together to hear him preach, than the meeting-house could hold. I have seen to hear him preach, by my computation, about 1200 at a morning lecture, by seven o'clock, on a working day, in the dark winter time. I also

[1] Vol. iii., p. 166.

[2] Within the Editor's memory, polished writers hesitated to name our incomparable allegorist, on account of his humble name and education. Thus Cowper sang—

> 'I name thee not, lest so despised a name
> Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame.'

Now nearly all men find it difficult to do that name sufficient honour. One of the most splendid steam-ships in America is called after his name. A magnificent ship, for the China trade, was built at Aberdeen by Walter Hood & Co., which so swiftly traversed the ocean as to have made the voyage from Canton to London in ninety-nine days, without any aid from steam. This beautiful and grand specimen of the perfection of naval architecture is named *The John Bunyan*. Roman Catholics have printed large editions of the *Pilgrim*, with slight omissions, for circulation among the young under the care of the nuns. Our English fanatics have committed a crime that would make a papist blush. A Rev. E. Neale has clumsily altered the *Pilgrim's Progress*, that Bunyan might appear to teach the things which Bunyan's righteous heaven-born soul abhorred. It is a piece of matchless self-conceit to think of mending that which has been admired by the wisest of the human race in all nations, and which has obtained an unbounded popularity. Such an attempt to alter it is an acknowledgment that all the boasted power of Oxford, Exeter, and Rome, are unable to invent a tale to supersede the matchless beauties of the work of our spiritually-minded, heavenly-assisted brazier. If Mr. Neale should, at any time, alter a deed or a will in a similar manner, the law declares it to be forgery, and the punishment for that felony is transportation for life. A similar forgery was committed in a recent London edition of Dr. Cheever's *Hill Difficulty*. The Tractarians, doubtless, commit these scandalous outrages upon the Fathers, and all other writers, and deserve the contempt of every honest, upright mind.

[3] Vol. i., p. 473.

[4] Vol. i., p. 480.

computed about 3000 that came to hear him one Lord's-day, at London, at a town's end meeting-house, so that half were fain to go back again for want of room, and then himself was fain at a back door to be pulled almost over people to get up stairs to his pulpit.' This took place in a large meeting-house, erected in Zoar Street, either on the site or near the Globe Theatre, Southwark.[1] On this spot, the prince of dramatists amused and corrupted crowded houses; while in the immediate vicinity were the stews and bear garden, frequented by libertines of the lowest caste. One Sunday, in 1582, many were killed or miserably wounded while attending the brutal sport of bear-baiting. Here, in the heart of Satan's empire, the prince of allegorists attracted multitudes, to be enlightened by his natural eloquence, and to be benefited by the fruits of his prolific and vivid imagination, at all times curbed and directed by the holy oracles. It was a spacious building, covering about 2000 feet of ground (50 by 40), with three galleries, quite capable of holding the number computed by Mr. Doe. We have, from correct drawings, furnished our subscribers with the plan and elevation of this ancient meeting-house. Having preached with peculiar warmth and enlargement, one of his friends took him by the hand, and could not help observing what a sweet sermon he had delivered; 'Ay,' said he, 'you need not remind me of that, for the devil told me of it before I was out of the pulpit!'[2] Amongst his hearers were to be found the learned and the illiterate. It was well known that Dr. John Owen, when he had the opportunity, embraced it with pleasure, and sat at the feet of the unlearned, but eloquent tinker. Charles II., hearing of it, asked the learned D.D., 'How a man of his great erudition could sit to hear a tinker preach?' to which the doctor replied, 'May it please your Majesty, if I could possess the tinker's abilities, I would gladly give in exchange all my learning.'

He now pictured the downward road of the sinner to the realms of death and darkness in the *Life of Badman*. This was published in 1680, and is written in a language which fraudulent tradesmen at that period could not misunderstand; using terms now obsolete or vulgar. It is full of anecdotes, which reveal the state of the times, as superlatively immoral, and profane. He incidentally notices that a labourer received eightpence or tenpence per day.[3] At that time, bread and all the necessaries of life, excepting meat, were dearer than they are at present. In fact, our days are much happier for the poor than any preceding ones in British history. Bunyan's notions of conscientious dealing, will make all traders who read them—blush.[4]

November 12, 1681, Bunyan's friend and fellow-labourer Samuel Fenn, was removed from this world, and in the following year persecution raged severely. The church was, for a season, driven from the meeting-house, and obliged to assemble in the fields. The Word of the Lord was precious in those days.

In 1682, while surrounded by persecution, he prepared and published his most profound and beautiful allegory, *The Holy War, made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, for the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World; or, The Losing and Taking again the Town of Mansoul.*[5] The frontispiece is the most accurate likeness of Bunyan that is extant; it is engraved by White, from a drawing, also by him, now preserved in the print department of the British Museum. From this drawing, carefully compared with the print, we have furnished the expressive likeness which forms the frontispiece to this volume. It has also a correct whole-length portrait, with emblematical devices. This exceedingly beautiful and most finished allegory has never been so popular as *The Pilgrim's Progress*, for reasons which are shown in the introduction to *The Holy War*.[6] The whole narrative of this wondrous war appears to flow as naturally as did that of the pilgrimage from the highly imaginative mind of the author. Man, in his innocence, attracts the notice and hatred of Apollyon. Nothing could be accomplished by force—all by subtlety and deceit. He holds a council of war—selects his officers—approaches—parleys, and gains admittance—then fortifies the town against its king—Immauuel determines to recover it—vast armies, under appropriate leaders, surround the town, and attack every gate. The ear is garrisoned by Captain Prejudice and his deaf men. But he who rides forth conquering and to conquer is victorious. All the pomp, and parade, and horrors of a siege are as accurately told, as if by one who had been at the sacking of many towns. The author had learnt much in a little time, at the siege of Leicester. All the sad elements of war appear, and make us shudder—masses of armed

[1] Two views of this meeting-house, an exterior and interior, after its conversion into a workshop, are given in the Plate facing page i. of this Memoir. In the interior, part of the beams and pillars that supported the gallery still remain.

[2] Toplady's Works, vol. iv., p. 463.

[3] Vol. iii., p. 637.

[4] One of his anecdotes is remarkable, as exhibiting the state of medical knowledge in his neighbourhood. A poor wretch, who had taught his son to blaspheme, was affected with a nervous twisting of the muscles of his chest. This was supposed to arise from a Satanic possession. One Freeman, a more than ordinary doctor, attempted the cure. They bound the patient to a form, with his head hanging down over the end; set a pan of coals under his mouth, and put something therein that made a great smoke, to fetch out the devil. There they kept the man till he was almost smothered, but no devil came out of him.* The death-bed scene of the broken-hearted Mrs. Badman, is delicately and beautifully drawn.

[5] Sutcliff's *History of Bunyan's Church*.

[6] Vol. iii., p. 245.

* Vol. iii., p. 605.

men, with their slings and battering-rams—clarions and shouts—wounded and slain, all appear as in a panorama. The mind becomes entranced, and when sober reflection regains her command, we naturally inquire, Can all this have taken place in my heart? Then the armies of Diabolus, with his thousands of Election Doubters, and as many Vocation Doubters, and his troops of Blood-men—thousands slain, and yet thousands start into existence. And all this in one man! How numberless are our thoughts—how crafty the approaches of the enemy—how hopeless and helpless is the sinner, unless Immanuel undertakes his recovery. The *Holy War* is a most surprising narrative of the fall and of the recovery of man's soul, as accurate as it is most deeply interesting. It is one of the most perfect of allegories.[1] There is as vast a superiority in Bunyan's *Holy War* over that by Chrysostom, as there is in the sun over a rush-light.

In 1684, he completed his *Pilgrim's Progress*, with the *Journey of a Female Christian, her Children, and the Lovely Mercy;* and now, as his invaluable and active life drew towards its close, his labours were redoubled. In his younger days, there appeared to have been no presentiment on his part that the longest term of human life would with him be shortened, but rather an expectation of living to old age, judging from an expression in his *Grace Abounding*. When he enjoyed a good hope, and bright anticipation of heavenly felicity, 'I should often long and desire that the last days were come. O! thought I, that I were fourscore years old now, that I might die quickly and be gone to rest.'[2] At that time he did not anticipate twelve years' imprisonment in a wretched jail, nor the consequent effects it must have upon his robust frame, well calculated to stand all weathers, but easily sapped and undermined by a damp dungeon. Symptoms of decay, after having enjoyed his liberty for about a year, led him to close his *Affectionate Advice to his Beloved Flock, on their Christian Behaviour;* with these words, 'Thus have I written to you, before I die, to provoke you to faith and holiness, and to love one another, when I am deceased, and shall be in paradise, as through grace I comfortably believe; yet it is not there, but here, I must do you good.'[3] It is remarkable that Bunyan escaped all the dangers of the trying reign of James II., who, at times, was a persecutor, and at times endeavoured, in vain, by blandishments, to win the Nonconformists. His minions had their eyes upon our pilgrim, but were foiled in every attempt to apprehend him; all that he suffered was the occasional spoiling of his goods.[4] Neither violence nor allurements induced him to deviate from his line of duty. No fear of man appeared to agitate his breast—he richly enjoyed that 'perfect love,' which 'casteth out fear' (1 John iv. 18.) James did all that an unprincipled man could do to cajole the Dissenters, that by their aid he might pull down the walls of Protestantism, and give full sway to the Papacy. He attempted, among many others, to bribe John Bunyan. He knew not how well he was read in the *Book of Martyrs;* how well he was aware that 'the instruments of cruelty are in their habitations,' and that the only advantage he could have received, would have been the same that Polypheme, the monstrous giant of Sicily, allowed to Ulysses, that he would eat his men first, and do him the favour of being eaten last. Mr. Doe states that 'Regulators were sent into all cities and towns corporate to new-model the magistracy, by turning out some, and putting in others. Against this Bunyan expressed his zeal with great anxiety, as foreseeing the bad consequences that would attend it, and laboured with his congregation to prevent their being imposed on in this kind. And when a great man in those days, coming to Bedford upon some such errand, sent for him, as it is supposed, to give him a place of public trust, he would by no means come at him, but sent his excuse.'[5] He knew that in his flesh he possessed what he calls 'Adam's legacy, a conduit pipe, through which the devil conveys his poisoned spawn and venom,'[6] and he wisely avoided this subtle temptation. He detested the 'painted Satan, or devil in fine clothes.'[7] It was one of these hypocritical pretences to correct evil, while really meaning to increase it, and which Bunyan calls, 'the devil correcting vice.' He was watchful, lest 'his inward man should catch cold,'[8] and every attempt to entangle him failed.

This godly jealousy led him to sacrifice worldly interests to an extent not justifiable, if *all* the facts appear. When told that a very worthy citizen of London would take his son Joseph apprentice without fee, and advance his interests, he refused, saying, 'God did not send me to advance my family, but to preach the gospel.'

At this time he again manifested his lion heart, by writing and preparing for the press a fearless treatise on *Antichrist, and his Ruin*. In this he shows, that human interference with Divine worship, by penal laws or constraint, is 'Antichrist'—that which pretends to regulate thought, and thus to reduce the kingdom of Christ to a level with the governments of this world. In this treatise, he clearly exhibits the meaning of that passage,

[1] A beautiful satire is contained in the account of the traitors—tradition, human wisdom, and man's invention. This picture is drawn by an inimitable artist. Nor have we seen anything more admirably adapted to the present state of our Tractarian times. Vol. iii. 277.

[2] Vol. i., p. 22, No. 128. [3] Vol. ii., p. 574.

[4] *Life*, 1692.

[5] *Grace Abounding* (continued), vol. i., p. 63, and *Life*, 1692.

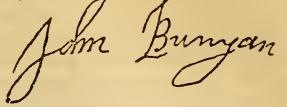
[6] Vol. i., p. 505. [7] Vol. i., p. 719. [8] Vol. i., p. 755.

so constantly quoted by the advocates of tyranny and persecution (Ezra vii. 26), and shows that the laws interfered not with Divine worship, but that they upheld to the fullest extent the principle of voluntary obedience (ver. 13); so that any man putting constraint upon another in religious affairs, would be guilty of breaking the law, and subject him to extreme punishment. This was one of the last treatises which Bunyan prepared for the press, as if in his dying moments he would aim a deadly thrust at Apollyon. Reader, it is worthy your most careful perusal, as showing the certain downfall of Antichrist, and the means by which it must be accomplished.

Feeling the extreme uncertainty of life, and that he might be robbed of all his worldly goods, under a pretence of fines and penalties, he, on the 23d of December, 1685, executed a deed of gift, vesting what little he possessed in his wife. It is a singular instrument, especially as having been sealed with a silver twopenny piece. The original is in the church book, at Bedford:—

'To all people to whom this present writing shall com, J. Bunyan of the parish of St. Cuthbirt's, in the towne of Bedford, in the coun of Bedford, Brazier send greeting. Know ye, that I the said John Bunyan as well for, and in consideration of the natural affection and loue which I have, and bear vnto my welbeloued wife, Elizabeth Bunyan, as also for divers other good causes and considerations, me at this present esspecially moueing, have given and granted, and by these presents, do give, grant, and conferm vnto the said Elizabeth Bunyan, my said wife, all and singuler my goods, chattels, debts, ready mony, plate, riugs, household stuffe, aparrel, vtensills, brass, peuter, beding, and all other my substance, whatsoever moueable and immoueable, of what kinde, nature, quality, or condition soever the same are or be, and in what place or places soever the same be, shall or may be found as well in mine own custodes, possession, as in the possession, hands, power, and custody of any other person, or persons whatsoever. To have and to hold all and singuler the said goods, chattels, debts, and all other, the aforesaid premises vnto the said Elizabeth, my wife, her executors, administerators, and assigns to her and their proper vses and behoofs, freely and quietly without any matter of challinge, claime, or demand of me the said John Buuyan, or of any other person, or persons, whatsoever for me in my name, by my means cavs or procurement, and without any mony or other thing, therefore to be yeeilded, paid or done vnto me the said John Bunyan, my executors, administrators or assigns. And I, the said John Bunyan, all and singular, the aforesaid goods, chattels, and premises to the said Elizabeth my wife, her executors, administrators, and assignes to the vse aforesaid, against all people do warrant and forever defend by these presents. And further, know ye, that I the said John Bunyan have put the said Elizabeth, my wife, in peacable and quiet possession of all and singuler the aforesaid premises, by the delivrye vnto her at the eusealing hereof one coyned peece of silver, commonly called two pence, fixed on the seal of these presents.[1]

In wittnes whcrof, I the said John Bunyan have herevnto set my hand and seall this 23d day of December, in the first year of the reigne of our soueraigne lord, King James the Second of England, &c., in the year of our lord and saviour, Jesus Christ, 1685.



Sealed and delivered in the presence of vs, whos names are here vnder written:—

John Bardolph.	Willm. Hawkes.
Nicholas Malin.	Lewes Norman.

It appears from this deed that Bunyan continued in business as a brazier, and it is very probable that he carried it on until his decease. This deed secured to his wife what little he possessed, without the trouble or expense of applying to the ecclesiastical courts for probate of a will.

Among other opinions which then divided the Christian world, was a very important one relative to the law of the ten commandments, whether it was given to the world at large, or limited to the Jews as a peculiar nation until the coming of Messiah, and whether our Lord altered or annulled the whole or any part of that law. This question involves the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath. An awful curse is denounced upon those who do not continue in ALL things which are written in the book of the law to do them (Gal. iii. 10; Deut. xxvii. 26). When an innovation upon the almost universal practice of infant baptism had become an object of inquiry only to be answered from the New Testament, it is not surprising that the serious question, why God's Sabbath-day had been altered, should also be agitated with deep feeling. Generally, those who advocated the restoration of the Jewish Sabbath were decidedly of opinion that believers only were fit subjects for baptism, and that the scriptural mode of administering it was by immersion; hence they were called Seventh-day Baptists—Sabbatarians, or Sabbath-keepers.

Bunyan entered with very proper and temperate zeal into this controversy. Popular feeling had no influence over him; nor could he submit to the opinions of the ancient fathers. His storehouse of knowledge was limited to the revealed will of God, and there he found ample material to guide his opinion. His work upon this subject is called, *Questions about the Nature and Perpetuity of the Seventh-day Sabbath; and proof that the First Day of the Week is the Christian Sabbath.* It is one of the smallest of his volumes, but so weighty in argument as never to have been answered.

We now arrive at the last year of his eventful and busy life, during which he published six important volumes, and left twelve others in manuscript, prepared for publication. A list of these will be found in *The Struggler*;[2] they are upon the most im-

[1] Some of the wax remains, but the coin is lost.

[2] Vol. iii., p. 763.

portant subjects, which are very admirably treated. We notice among these, *The Jerusalem Sinner Saved, or Good News for the Vilest of Men.* It is a specimen of preaching calculated to excite the deepest interest, and afford the strongest consolation to a soul oppressed with the sense of sin. Great sinner! thou art called to mercy by name. Arise! shoulder thy way into court through any crowd, —'say, Stand away, devil; stand away all discouragements; my Saviour calls me to receive mercy.' In this treatise, Bunyan has repeated from memory what he had read in some book when in prison, four and twenty years before. It is a curious legend, which he doubtless believed to be true, and it displays his most retentive memory.[1] His poetry, like his prose, was not written to gain a name, but to make a deep impression. One of his professed admirers made a strange mistake when he called them doggerel rhymes.[2] His *Caution to Watch Against Sin* is full of solemn and impressive thoughts, the very reverse of doggerel or burlesque. His poem on the house of God is worthy of a most careful perusal; and thousands have been delighted and improved with his emblems. One rhyme in the *Pilgrim* can never be forgotten—

'He that is down need fear no fall;
He that is low no pride;
He that is humble ever shall
Have God to be his guide,' &c.

The careful perusal of every one of his treatises, has excited in my mind a much livelier interest than any other religious works which, in a long life, have come under my notice. In fact, the works of Bunyan to a country minister may be compared to a vast storehouse, most amply replenished with all those solemn subjects which call for his prayerful investigation; well arranged, ready of access, striking in their simplicity, full of vivid ideas conveyed in language that a novice may understand. They are all so admirably composed that pious persons, whether in houses of convocation or of parliament, or the inmates of a workhouse, may equally listen to them with increasing delight and instruction. No man ever more richly enjoyed the magnificent language of Job. He called it 'that blessed book.'[3] The deep interest that he took in its scenery may be traced through all his writings. His spirit, with its mighty powers, grasped the wondrous truths so splendidly pourtrayed in that most ancient book. The inspired writings, which so eminently give wisdom to the simple, expanded his mind, while his mental powers were strengthened and invigorated by his so deeply drinking into the spirit of the inspired volume.

The time was drawing near when, in the midst of his usefulness, and with little warning, he was to be summoned to his eternal rest. He had been seriously attacked with that dangerous pestilence which, in former years, ravaged this country, called the sweating sickness, a malady as mysterious and fatal as the cholera has been in later times. The disease was attended by great prostration of strength; but, under the careful management of his affectionate wife, his health became sufficiently restored to enable him to undertake a work of mercy; from the fulfilment of which, as a blessed close to his incessant earthly labour, he was to ascend to his Father and his God to be crowned with immortality. A father had been seriously offended with his son, and had threatened to disinherit him. To prevent the double mischief of a father dying in anger with his child, and the evil consequence to the child of his being cut off from his patrimony, Bunyan again ventured, in his weak state, on his accustomed work, to win the blessings of the peace-maker. He made a journey on horseback to Reading, it being the only mode of travelling at that time, and he was rewarded with success. Returning home by way of London to impart the gratifying intelligence, he was overtaken by excessive rains, and, in an exhausted state, he found a kindly refuge in the house of his Christian friend Mr. Strudwick, and was there seized with a fatal fever. His much-loved wife, who had so powerfully pleaded for his liberty with the judges, and to whom he had been united thirty years, was at a great distance from him. Bedford was then two days' journey from London. Probably at first, his friends had hopes of his speedy recovery; but when the stroke came, all his feelings, and those of his friends, appear to have been absorbed, by the anticipated blessings of immortality, to such an extent, that no record is left as to whether his wife, or any of his children, saw him cross the river of death. There is abundant testimony of his faith and patience, and that the presence of God was eminently with him.

He bore his trying sufferings with all the patience and fortitude that might be expected from such a man. His resignation was most exemplary; his only expressions were 'a desire to depart, to be dissolved, to be with Christ.' His sufferings were short, being limited to ten days. He enjoyed a holy frame of mind, desiring his friends to pray with him, and uniting fervently with them in the exercise. His last words, while struggling with death, were, 'Weep not for me, but for yourselves. I go to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will, no doubt, through the mediation of his blessed Son, receive me, though a sinner; where I hope we ere long shall meet, to sing the new song, and remain everlastingly happy, world without end. Amen.'

[1] Vol. i., p. 81.
[2] Mr. Philip, *Critique on Bunyan*, p. vi. and xvi.
[3] Vol. ii., p. 425.

He felt the ground solid under his feet in passing the black river which has no bridge, and followed his pilgrim into the celestial city in August, 1688, in the sixtieth year of his age. There is some uncertainty as to the day of his decease: Charles Doe, in the *Struggler*, 1692, has August 31, and this has been copied in all his portraits. In the life appended to the *Grace Abounding*, 1692, his death-day is stated as August 12; and in the memoir appended to the third part of the *Pilgrim*, also in 1692, the date is August 17. The circumstances of his peaceful decease are well compared by Dr. Cheever to the experience of Mr. Standfast, when he was called to pass the river: the great calm—the firm footing—the address to by-standers—until his countenance changed, his strong man bowed under him, and his last words were, 'Take me, for I come to thee.' Then the joy among the angels while they welcomed the hero of such spiritual fights, and conducted his wandering soul to the New Jerusalem, which he had so beautifully described as 'the holy city;' and then his wonder and amazement to find how infinitely short his description came to the blissful reality.

The deep affliction that his church was plunged into led to several special meetings. Wednesday, the 4th of September, 'was kept in prayer and humiliation for this heavy stroke upon us—the death of dear brother Bunyan; it was appointed also, that Wednesday next be kept in prayer and humiliation on the same account. At the meeting held on the 11th, it was appointed that all the brethren meet together on the 18th of this month, September, to humble themselves for this heavy hand of God upon us, and also to pray unto the Lord for counsel and direction what to do, in order to seek out for a fit person to make choice of for an elder. On the 18th, when the whole congregation met to humble themselves before God, by fasting and prayer, for his heavy and severe stroke upon us in taking away our honoured brother Bunyan by death, it was agreed by the whole congregation that care be taken to seek out for one suitably qualified to be chosen an elder among us, and *that* care was committed by the whole to the brethren at Bedford.' Thus did the church manifest that they had improved in wisdom under his ministry by flying, in their extreme distress, to the only source of consolation.

The saddest feelings of sorrow extended to every place where he had been known. His friend, the Rev. G. Cockayn, of London, says, 'it pleased the Lord to remove him, to the great loss and inexpressible grief of many precious souls.' Numerous elegies, acrostics, and poems were published on the occasion of his decease, lamenting the loss thus sustained by his country—by the church at large, and particularly by the church and congregation at Bedford. One of these, 'written by a dear friend of his,' is a fair sample of the whole:—

A SHORT ELEGY IN MEMORY OF MR. JOHN BUNYAN.
WRITTEN BY A DEAR FRIEND OF HIS.

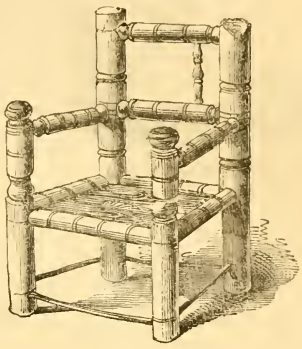
The pilgrim travelling the world's vast stage,
At last does end his weary pilgrimage:
He now in pleasant valleys does sit down,
And, for his toil, receives a glorious crown.
The storms are past, the terrors vanish all,
Which in his way did so affrighting fall;
He grieves nor sighs no more, his race is run
Successfully, that was so well begun.
You'll say he's dead: O no, he cannot die,
He's only changed to immortality—
Weep not for him, who has no cause of tears;
Hush, then, your sighs, and calm your needless fears.
If anything in love to him is meant,
Tread his last steps, and of your sins repent:
If knowledge of things here at all remains
Beyond the grave, to please him for his pains
And suffering in this world; live, then, upright,
And that will be to him a grateful sight.
Run such a race as you again may meet,
And find your conversation far more sweet;
When purged from dross, you shall, unmix'd, possess
The purest essence of eternal bliss.

'He in the pulpit preached truth first, and then
He in his practice preached it o'er again.'

His remains were interred in Bunhill Fields, in the vault of his friend Mr. Strudwick, at whose house he died. His tomb[1] has been visited by thousands of pilgrims, blessing God for his goodness in raising up such a man, so signally fitted to be a blessing to the times in which he lived. All the accounts of his decease, published at the time, agree as to his place of burial. The words of Mr. Doe, who probably attended the funeral, are, 'he was buried in the new burying-place, near the artillery ground, where he sleeps to the morning of the resurrection.'[2] His *Life and Actions*, 1692, records that 'his funeral was performed with much decency, and he was buried in the new burying-ground by Moorfields.' *The Struggler* calls it 'Finsbury burying-ground, where many London Dissenting ministers are laid.'[3] Bunhill Fields burying-ground for Dissenters was first opened in 1666. The inscription upon the tomb to his memory was engraven many years after his funeral. It is not contained in the list of inscriptions published in 1717. His widow survived him four years. He had six children by his first wife, three of whom survived him—Thomas, Joseph, and Sarah. His son Thomas joined his church in 1673, and was a preacher in 1692. He appears to have been usefully employed in visiting absent members until December 1718. My kind friend, the Rev. J. P. Lockwood, rector of South Hackney, recently discovered entries in

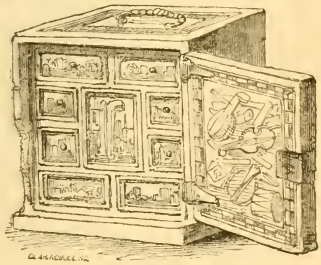
[1] Vol. iii., p. 766. [2] *Grace Abounding*, 1692.
[3] No. 25, E.; 26, W.; 26, N.; 27, S.

the register of Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, probably of the descendants of this son, Thomas. November 26, 1698, John Bonion and Mary Rogers, married: she was buried, September 7, 1706; and he again married Anne, and buried her in 1712, leaving a son and two daughters. His death is not recorded. One of the descendants, Hannah Bunyan, died in 1770, aged seventy-six years, and lies in the burial-ground by the meeting-house at Bedford. John Bunyan's son, Joseph, settled at Nottingham, and marrying a wealthy woman, conformed to the Church. A lineal descendant of his was living, in 1847, at Islington, near London, aged eighty-four, Mrs. Senegar, a fine hearty old lady, and a Strict Baptist. She said to me, 'Sir, excuse the vanity of an old woman, but I will show you how I sometimes spend a very pleasant half-hour.' She took down a portrait on canvas of her great forefather, and propped it up on the table with a writing-desk, with a looking-glass by its side. 'There, Sir, I look at the portrait, and then at myself, and can trace every feature; we resemble each other like two pins.' 'Excepting the imperial and moustachios,' I replied; to which she readily assented. It was the fact that there was a striking family likeness between the picture and her reflection in the looking-glass. Another descendant, from the same branch of the family, is now living at Lincoln. He was born in 1775, and possessed a quarto Bible, published by Barker and Bill in 1641, given by John Bunyan to his son Joseph. This was preserved in his family until the present year, when it came into the editor's possession, with the following relics, which were, and I trust will yet be preserved with the greatest care:—An iron pencase, made by Bunyan the brazier, with some stumps of old pens, with which it is said he wrote some of his sermons and books; the buckles worn by him, and his two pocket-knives, one of them made before springs were invented, and which is kept open by turning a ferrule; his apple-scoop, curiously carved, and a seal; his pocket-box of scales and weights for money, being stamped with the figures on each side of the coins of James and Charles I.[1] These were given by Robert Bunyan, in 1839, then sixty-four years of age, to a younger branch of the family, Mr. Charles Robinson, of Wilford, near Nottingham (his sister's son), for safe custody. He died in 1852; while his aged uncle remains in good health, subject to the infirmities of his seventy-eighth year. On many of the blank spaces in the Bible are the registers of births and deaths in the family, evidently written at the time. Those relics are deposited in a carved oak box. They were sold with the late Mr. Robinson's effects, January, 1853, and secured for me by my excellent friend James Dix, Esq., of Bristol, who met with them immediately after the sale, on one of his journeys at Nottingham. They are not worshipped as relics, nor have they performed miracles, but as curiosities of a past age they are worthy of high consideration. Everything that was used by him, and that survives the ravages of time, possesses a peculiar charm; even the chair in which he sat is preserved in the vestry of the new chapel, and is shown to those who make the pilgrimage to the shrine of Bunyan.[2]



Bunyan's Chair.

In the same vestry is also a curious inlaid cabinet, small, and highly finished. It descended from Bunyan to a lady who lived to an advanced age—Madam Bithray; from her to the Rev. Mr. Voley; and of his widow it was purchased to ornament the vestry of Bunyan's meeting-house.



Bunyan's Cabinet.

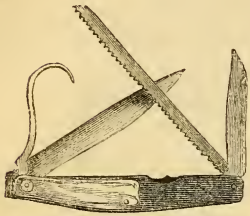
The personal appearance and character of our pilgrim's guide, drawn by his friend Charles Doe,

[1] As matters of curious interest to all lovers of Bunyan, we insert, in the accompanying page, engravings of these relics, from drawings by Mr. Edward Offor.

[2] The chair is engraved above, and it will be seen that it has suffered some little dilapidation since the last published engraving of it. The legs have been cut down to suit the height of one of his successors in the ministry!! With regard to the pulpit, an old resident in Bedford says—'The celebrated John Howard presented a new pulpit in the room of the old one, which was cut up. Of part of the wood a table was made, which now belongs to Mrs. Hillyerd.

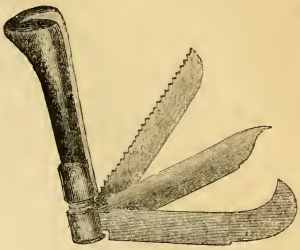
will be found at the end of his *Grace Abounding;* to which is appended his *Dying Sayings*—'of sin —afflictions—repentance and coming to Christ— of prayer—of the Lord's day, sermons, and week days: "Make the Lord's day the market for thy soul"—of the love of the world—of suffering—

PERSONAL UTENSILS USED BY JOHN BUNYAN.

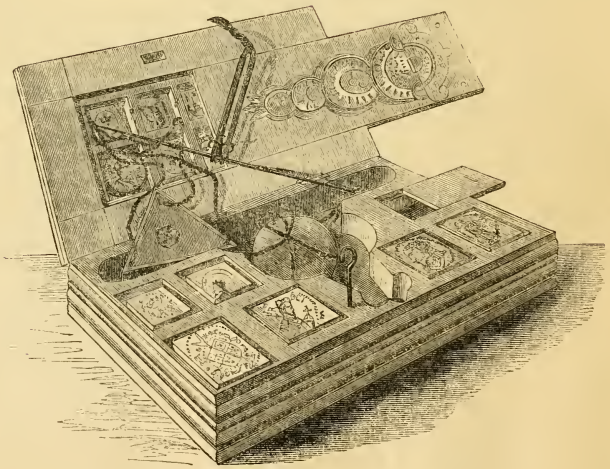


Pocket-Knife, with spring.

His Apple-Scoop, curiously carved.



Larger Knife, without spring, kept open or shut, by turning a ferrule.



Pocket-Box of Scales and Weights, for the purchase of old gold, and dipped or worn money, with the figures of the coin on each weight in the reign of James I.

of death and judgment—of the joys of heaven—and the torments of hell.'

How inscrutable are the ways of God! Had Bunyan lived a month longer, he would have witnessed the glorious Revolution—the escape of a great nation. The staff and hope of Protestant

Europe was saved from a subtle—a Jesuitical attempt—to introduce Popery and arbitrary government. The time of his death, as a release from the incumbrance of a material body, was fixed by infinite wisdom and love at that juncture, and it ought not to be a cause of regret. His interest in the welfare of the church ceased not with his mortal life. How swiftly would his glorified spirit fly to see the landing of William, and hover with joy over the flight of the besotted James! He was now in a situation to prove the truth of that saying, 'the angels desire to look into' the truth and spread of the glad tidings. How he would prove the reality of his opinion, expressed in *The Holy War*, of the interest taken by the inhabitants of heaven in the prosperity of the church on earth. When Mansoul was conquered, the spirits that witnessed the victory 'shouted with that greatness of voice, and sung with such melodious notes, that they caused them that dwell in the highest orbs to open their windows, and put out their heads and look down to see the cause of that glory' (Lu. xv. 7-10.)[1] So may we imagine that the happy, happy, glorified spirit of Bunyan would look down rejoicing, when, a few years after he had yielded up his pastoral cares, the seed which he had been instrumental in sowing produced its fruit in such numbers, that the old meeting-house was pulled down, and in its place a large and respectable one was erected. And again, on the 20th February, 1850, with what joy would he look down upon the opening of a still larger, more commodious, and handsome meeting-house, bearing his name, and capable of holding 1150 worshippers. One of Bunyan's pungent, alarming sayings to the careless was, 'Once die, we cannot come back and die better.'[2] If anything could tempt him, in his angelic body, to re-visit this earth, it would be to address the multitude at the new Bunyan Chapel with his old sermon on *The Jerusalem Sinner Saved, or Good News to the Vilest of Men.* But we have Moses and the prophets—Christ and his apostles; if we shut our ears to them, neither should we listen to a messenger from the New Jerusalem.

When it is recollected that Bunyan received the most imperfect rudiments of education in a charity school when very young, which were 'almost entirely' obliterated by bad habits—that he was a hard-working man through life, maintaining himself, a wife, and four children, by his severe labour as a brazier—and yet, by personal efforts, he educated himself and wrote sixty-two valuable religious treatises, numbering among them his inimitable allegories, *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War*, made a Concordance to the Bible, and conducted important controversies. Preaching, while at liberty, almost innumerable sermons on the Lord's-days and week-days, early in the morning and late at night. Visiting his flock with pastoral care—founding churches in the villages, and even in towns and cities far distant from his dwelling—constantly giving advice to promote peace and good will, and rendering benevolent aid by long journeys! His whole life presents to us a picture of most astonishing, energetic perseverance. Every moment of time must have been employed as if he valued it as a precious trust, which, if once lost, could never be regained. Who of us can compare our life with his last thirty years, and not blush with shame!

The finest trait in Bunyan's Christian character was his deep, heartfelt humility. This is the more extraordinary from his want of secular education, and his unrivalled talent. The more we learn, the greater is the field for research that opens before us, insomuch that the wisest philosophers have most seriously felt the little progress they have made. He acknowledged to Mr. Cockayn, who considered him the most eminent man, and a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of the churches,[3] that spiritual pride was his easily besetting sin, and that he needed the thorn in the flesh, lest he should be exalted above measure. A sense of this weakness probably led him to peculiar watchfulness against it. His self-abasement was neither tinctured with affectation, nor with the pride of humility. His humble-mindedness appeared to arise from his intimate communion with Heaven. In daily communion with God, he received a daily lesson of deeper and deeper humility. 'I am the high and lofty One, I inhabit eternity! verily this consideration is enough to make a broken-hearted man creep into a mouse-hole, to hide himself from such majesty! There is room in this man's heart for God to dwell.'[4] 'I find it one of the hardest things that I can put my soul upon, even to come to God, when warmly sensible that I am a sinner, for a share in grace and mercy. I cannot but with a thousand tears say, "God be merciful to me a sinner" (Ezra ix. 15).'[5]

The Revs. Messrs. Chandler and Wilson, bear the following testimony as eye-witnesses to his character:—'His fancy and invention were very pregnant and fertile. His wit was sharp and quick—his memory tenacious, it being customary with him to commit his sermons to writing after he had preached them,' a proof of extraordinary industry. 'His understanding was large and comprehensive—his judgment sound and deep in the fundamentals of the gospel. His experience of Satan's temptations in the power and policy of them, and of Christ's presence in, and by his Word and Spirit to

[1] Vol. iii., p. 297. [2] Vol. i., p. 714. [3] Vol. i., p. 686. [4] Vol. i., pp. 690, 691. [5] Vol. ii., p. 261.

succour and comfort him, was more than ordinary; the grace of God was magnified in him and by him, and a rich anointing of the Spirit was upon him; and yet this great saint was always in his own eyes the chiefest of sinners, and the least of saints. He was not only well furnished with the helps and endowments of nature, beyond ordinary, but eminent in the graces and gifts of the Spirit, and fruits of holiness. He was from first to last established in, and ready to maintain, that God-like principle of having communion with saints as such, without any respect to difference in things disputable among the godly. His carriage was condescending, affable, and meek to all, yet bold and courageous for Christ. He was much struck at, in the late times of persecution; being far from any sinful compliance to save himself, he did cheerfully bear the cross.' Such was the character given of him by these two eminent divines, in 1693, while his memory, in its fullest fragrance, was cherished by all the churches.

This humility peculiarly fitted him to instruct the young, of whom he was very fond—

> 'Nor do I blush, although I think some may
> Call me a baby, 'cause I with them play;
> I do 't to show them how each fingle fangle
> On which they doating are, their souls entangle;
> And, since at gravity they make a tush,
> My very beard I cast behind a bush.' [1]

He had friends among the rich as well as the poor. Of this his solid gold ring and handsome cabinet are proofs. From a letter in the *Ellis* correspondence, we learn that Bunyan had so secured the affections of the Lord Mayor of London, as to be called his chaplain.[2]

Among his religious friends and associates he must have been a pleasing, entertaining, lively companion. However solemn, nay awful, had been his experience when walking through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, yet when emerging from the darkness and enjoying the sunshine of Divine favour, he loved social intercourse and communion of saints. It is one of the slanders heaped upon Christianity to call it a gloomy, melancholy theme: though 'it is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting,' yet the wisely pious man will endeavour, even at an elegant entertainment or a Lord Mayor's dinner, to drop useful hints. Whenever Bunyan describes a social party, especially a feast, he always introduces a wholesome dish; and it is singular, in the abundance of publications, that we have not been favoured with *John Bunyan's Nuts to Crack at Religious Entertainments*, or a *Collection of his Pious Riddles*. Thus, at the splendid royal feast given to Emmanuel, when he entered Mansoul in triumph, 'he entertained the town with some curious riddles, of secrets drawn up by his father's secretary, by the skill and wisdom of Shaddai, the like to which there are not in any kingdom.' 'Emmanuel also expounded unto them some of those riddles himself, but O how were they lightened! They saw what they never saw, they could not have thought that such rarities could have been couched in such few and ordinary words. The lamb, the sacrifice, the rock, the door, the way.'[3] 'The second Adam was before the first, and the second covenant was before the first.'[4] 'Was Adam bad before he eat the forbidden fruit?'[5] 'How can a man say his prayers without a word being read or uttered?'[6] 'How do men speak with their feet?' Answer, Pr. vi. 13.'[7] 'Why was the brazen laver made of the women's looking-glasses?'[8] 'How can we comprehend that which cannot be comprehended, or know that which passeth knowledge?'[9] "Who was the founder of the state or priestly domination over religion?'[10] What is meant by the drum of Diabolus and other riddles mentioned in *The Holy War?*[11] The poetical riddles in *The Pilgrim's Progress* are very striking—

> 'A man there was, though some did count him mad,
> The more he cast away, the more he had.'
>
> How can 'evil make the soul from evil turn.'[12]
>
> Can 'sin be driven out of the world by suffering?'[13]
>
> 'Though it may seem to some a riddle,
> We use to light our candles at the middle.'[13]
>
> 'What men die two deaths at once?'[15]
>
> 'Are men ever in heaven and on earth at the same time?'[16]
>
> 'Can a beggar be worth ten thousand a-year and not know it?'[17]

He even introduced a dance upon the destruction of Despair, Mr. Ready-to-halt, with his partner Miss Much-afraid, while Christiana and Mercy furnished the music. 'True, he could not dance without one crutch in his hand; but I promise you he footed it well. Also the girl was to be commended, for she answered the music handsomely.' Is this the gloomy fanaticism of a Puritan divine?

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[1] Vol. iii., p. 748.

[2] It is noticed, in a letter to the Secretary for Ireland, dated September 6, 1688—'On tuesday last died the Lord Mayor Sir J^no^ Shorter. A few days before died Bunnian his lordship's teacher or chaplain a man said to be gifted that way though once a cobler.'* We can excuse the sarcasm of a Roman Catholic, and with equal good nature, and more truth, remark, that the great and eminent pope, Sixtus V., was once a swineherd—not a bad school in which to study how to keep up a despotic sway over the Papacy.

* Ellis' *Cor.*, vol. ii., p. 161.

[3] Vol. iii., p. 308.

[4] *Law and Grace*, marg., vol. i., p. 524.

[5] Vol. ii., p. 651. [6] Vol. i., pp. 634, 635.

[7] Vol. ii., p. 653. [8] Vol. i., p. 647. [9] Vol. ii., p. 15.

[10] Vol. ii., p. 497. [11] Vol. iii., p. 251.

[12] Emblem xiv., vol. iii., p. 751.

[13] Christ is made known by the sufferings of his saints, vol. ii., p. 701, and note.

[14] Vol. iii., p. 751, and note. [15] Vol. iii., p. 595.

[16] Vol. ii., p. 22. [17] Vol. ii., p. 257.

It is true, that promiscuous dancing, or any other amusement tending to evil, he had given up and discountenanced, but all his writings tend to prove that the Christian only can rationally and piously enjoy the world that now is, while living in the delightful hope of bliss in that which is to come.

Bunyan's personal appearance and character was drawn by his friend Mr. Doe. 'He appeared in countenance stern and rough, but was mild and affable; loving to reconcile differences and make friendships. He made it his study, above all other things, not to give occasion of offence. In his family he kept a very strict discipline in prayer and exhortations. He had a sharp, quick eye, and an excellent discerning of persons; of good judgment and quick wit. Tall in stature, strong-boned; somewhat of a ruddy face with sparkling eyes; his hair reddish, but sprinkled with gray; nose well set; mouth moderately large; forehead something high, and his habit always plain and modest.

My determination in writing this memoir has been to follow the scriptural example, by fairly recording every defect discoverable in Bunyan's character; but what were considered by some to be blemishes, after his conversion, appear, in my estimation, to be beauties. His moral and religious character was irreproachable, and his doctrinal views most scriptural; all agree in this, that he was a bright and shining light; unrivalled for his allegories, and for the vast amount of his usefulness. His friend, Mr. Wilson, says, 'Though his enemies and persecutors, in his lifetime, did what they could to vilify and reproach him, yet, being gone, he that before had the testimony of their consciences, hath now their actual commendation and applause.'[1] To this we may add, that he was without sectarianism, a most decided Bible Christian. This reveals the secret of his striking phraseology. It was in the sacred pages of Divine truth that he learned grammar and rhetoric. Style, and all his knowledge of the powers of language—all were derived from the only source of his religious wisdom and learning. He lived, and thought, and wrote under the influence of the holy oracles, translated by the Puritans in 1560, compared with the version of 1611. This gives a charm to all his works, and suits them to every human capacity.

Reader, the object of biography is to excite emulation. Why should not others arise as extensively to bless the world as Bunyan did? The storehouses of heaven from which he was replenished with holy treasures, are inexhaustible. As he said, 'God has bags of mercy yet unsealed.' We have the same holy oracles, and the same mercy-seat. The time is past for merely challenging the right to personal judgment of religious truths. In Britain the lions are securely chained, and the cruel giants disabled. The awful crime of imprisoning and torturing man for conscience' sake, exists only in kingdoms where darkness reigns—

> 'Mongst horrid shapes, and shrieks, and sights unholy.'

We stand upon higher ground than our forefathers; we take our more solemn stand upon the imperative duty of personal investigation—that no one can claim the name of Christian, unless he has laid aside all national, or family, or educational prejudices, and drawn from the holy oracles alone all his scheme of salvation and rules of conduct. All the secret of Bunyan's vast usefulness, the foundation of all his honour, is, that the fear of God swallowed up the fear of man; that he was baptized into the truths of revelation, and lived to exemplify them. He was a bright and shining light in a benighted world; and of him it may be most emphatically said, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.'

GEORGE OFFOR.

[1] Works, folio, 1693.

Hackney, *June*, 1853.

COPY OF THE PROPOSALS FOR PUBLISHING ALL BUNYAN'S WORKS,

ISSUED VERY SHORTLY AFTER HIS DECEASE.

The original, on a small folio sheet, is preserved in the British museum; $\frac{12.\ C.\ l.\ 3\ **.}{21}$ The first volume only was published, containing the twenty books as advertised, 1692.

The labours of John Bunyan, author of the Pilgrim's Progress, late minister of the Gospel and Pastor of the congregation at Bedford, collected, and to be printed in folio, by procurement of his church and friends, and by his own approbation before his death, that these his Christian ministerial labours, may be preserved in the world. He was an eminent convert, and experienced christian. He was an excellent, eminent, and famous gospel minister. He hath suffered twelve years' imprisonment for gospel preaching. His books have sold admirably well. And he behaved himself wisely, plainly, courageously as a follower of the great apostle Paul, as he was a follower of Christ. And therefore all christian people may reckon themselves obliged to preserve these his labours by subscribing for a folio.

This folio will contain ten of his excellent manuscripts, prepared for the press before his death. And ten of his choice books already printed, but long ago, and not now to be had. Their titles are as followeth, viz.

Manuscripts.

An Exposition on the ten first chapters of Genesis.
Justification by imputed righteousness.
Paul's departure and crown.
Israel's Hope encouraged.
Desires of the righteous granted.
The Saint's priviledge and profit.
Christ a compleat Saviour.
Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love.
The House of the Forest of Lebanon.
A description of Antichrist.

Books formerly Printed.

Saved by Grace.
Christian Behaviour.
A Discourse of Prayer.
The Straight Gate.
Gospel truths opened.
Light for them in darkness.
Instructions for the Ignorant.
A map of Salvation, &c.
The new Jerusalem.
The Resurrection.

For Printing whereof it is Proposed,

I. That the Author's Effigies shall be engraven in copper, and prefixt before the book.

II. That this book will contain about one hundred and forty sheets, in folio; for paper and print the same with these proposals.

III. That the subscribers to pay ten shillings a book, viz., five shillings down, and five shillings at the delivery of a perfect book unbound.

IV. For encouragement of them that shall get subscriptions for six books, they shall have a seventh gratis.

V. That as soon as three hundred subscriptions is brought in, the book shall be finished in six months after.

The undertaker is William Marshall, at the Bible, in Newgate Street, London, where proposals are to be had, and receipts for subscription-money given; and care shall be taken that it shall be well corrected. It is desired, that those that will encourage so good a work, would speedily send in the first payment of their money to those persons undernamed, who will give receipts for the same.

Mr. John Strudwick, Grocer, at the Star, at Holborn Bridge.
Mr. Charles Dew, at the Boar's head, in the Borough, in Southwark.
Mr. Chandler, minister, and Mr. William Nichols, in Bedford.
Mr. Edward Den of Cranfield.
Nicholas Mayland of Gamlygay.
Mr. Luke Astwood of Potton.
Mr. Samuel Hensman of Brantery.
Mr. James Collidge in Cambridge.
Mr. Pack of Exeter.
Mr. John Clark of Gilford.
Mr. Masey of Harborough.
Mr. William Hensmon of Wellingborough.
Mr. Sorey of Lancashire.
Mr. Chandler of Malborough.
Mr. Grifeth and Mr. Pool in Lanviling.

To the churches of Bristol and Canterbury, the said William Marshall, the undertaker, does promise, that the subscribers shall have them well bound in good calves' leather, for two shillings a piece.

☞ Likewise those books following, concerning Church Government, lately published, are sold at the Bible, in Newgate Street: Dr. Owen of the Nature of a Gospel Church, and its Government, bound, 3*s.*; Ecclesiasticum, or a Plain and Familiar Christian Conference, concerning Gospel Churches and Orders, by Dr. Chaney, bound, 1*s.* The Interest of Churches, stitched, 6*d.* Dr. Owen's brief Instruction in the Worship of God, bound, 1*s.* A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the congregational churches in England, agreed upon, and consented unto, by their Elders and Messengers at the Savoy, which is now agreed on by this late agreement of the churches, bound, 10*d.* Those churches that take numbers, shall have them cheaper. Where you may have Caryl on Job, in two vols. in folio, cheap; and, likewise, ministers that would supply their studies cheap, may have Pool's Synopsis, Latin, on the New Testament, in two large volumes, with the Index; both well bound, for 30*s.*

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

FROM

THIS WORLD TO THAT WHICH IS TO COME:

DELIVERED UNDER

THE SIMILITUDE OF A DREAM.

WHEREIN IS DISCOVERED THE MANNER OF HIS SETTING OUT, HIS DANGEROUS JOURNEY AND SAFE ARRIVAL AT THE DESIRED COUNTRY.

'*I have used similitudes.*'—Hosea xii. 10.

LICENSED AND ENTERED ACCORDING TO ORDER.

London: Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1678.

Now faithfully republished with all the additions and corrections made by the Author to the time of his decease in August 1688.

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE A PILGRIMAGE THROUGH A STATE OF SPIRITUAL CONFLICTS—'THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS' A GUIDE TO ALL HEAVENWARD PILGRIMS—THE AUTHOR FURNISHED WITH LEISURE TIME TO WRITE IT, BY BEING SHUT UP IN PRISON FOR REFUSING TO VIOLATE HIS CONSCIENCE.

'Art thou for something rare and profitable?
Wouldest thou see a truth within a fable?
Art thou forgetful? Wouldest thou remember
From New Year's Day to the last of December?
Then read my fancies, they will stick like burs.'
Bunyan's *Apology for his Book.*

THE pilgrimage of life is a deeply-interesting subject, coextensive with human nature; every individual of our race is upon pilgrimage, from the cradle to the grave. It is the progress of the soul through time to enter upon a boundless eternity; beset on all sides, at every avenue, and at every moment, with spiritual foes of the deepest subtilty, journeying from the commencement to the close of the course through an enemy's country, uncertain of the term of existence, certain only that it must terminate and usher us into an eternal state, either of exquisite happiness, or awful misery. How natural that every man's life should be called by its proper name—a pilgrimage.

The patriarch felt this when he bowed before Pharaoh, and said, 'The days of the years of my pilgrimage *are* an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage.' Ge. xlvii. 9. David sang the statutes of the Lord in the house of his pilgrimage. Ps. cxix. 54. And after the lapse of ages, when the Volume of Inspiration was about to close, the Holy Spirit continued the simile in the apostolic epistles, 'and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.' Heb. xi. 13. As such we are exhorted, 'I beseech *you*, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts.' 1 Pe. ii. 11. 'See then that ye walk circumspectly.' Ep. v. 15. 'So run, that ye may obtain.' 1 Co. ix. 24. These are instructions that reach the heart of every Christian convert throughout the world; all are warned of the necessity of sobriety and vigilant watchfulness, 'because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.' 1 Pe. v. 8. 'He shall cast *some* of you into prison, that ye may be tried; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.' Re. ii. 10.

All mankind are pilgrims; all are pressing through this world: the Christian willingly considers that his life is a journey, because he is seeking a better country; but the greater multitude are anxious to prevent the recollection, that time is a preparation for eternity, and, in consequence of this neglect, they shudder when approaching the brink of the grave, into which they are irresistibly plunged. Although perpetual examples warn them that suddenly, at a moment when they least expect the fatal catastrophe, it may befall them, still, as if infatuated, they make no inquiry of the Holy

Oracles as to how they can escape the second death; but take the miserable counsel of some 'worldly-wise man,' and seek a refuge in lies, which death will terribly sweep away; or they wholly neglect any preparation for so important and certain, if not sudden, an event. All are on the advance; time hurries on those whose pilgrimage is limited to the foul, but fascinating streets of the 'city of destruction,' to their eternal doom; while those whose anxious cries lead them to the Christian calling, press on in the narrow and difficult path that leads to the heavenly Jerusalem.

To condense the instructions given to the pilgrim in the Inspired Writings into a map of the road, a guide or hand-book to the celestial city, a help to Zion's travellers, and a faithful warning to the votaries who crowd the broad road to ruin, was a labour of love for its vast importance, worthy of the highest powers of human intellect, the warmest Christian philanthropy. It is surprising that a work which so naturally suggests itself to the imagination, and which is of such universal interest, was delayed so long. The abstruse dreams of Jewish rabbies, the splendid figures and scenery that floated before the minds of Oriental and Greek sages, and the intense subtlety of the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, were intended for a very limited class, excluding all but those who were their immediate disciples; and all their instructions having a direct tendency to lead them from the highway of happiness, to wander in the mazes of a senseless sophistry, or, to use the apostle's words, 'spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit.' It was a work that could only be prepared by an expanded soul, above all sectarian bias, by one who could, with unbounded charity, embrace all nations, all tongues, and every people, as brethren in the vast dominions of his God; by one who felt that human happiness would not be perfect until this universe became the kingdom of his Christ. Such a hallowed and sanctified mind alone could furnish his fellow-sinners with an epitome of the way to the celestial city, equally acceptable to Christians of all denominations.

To write for the instruction of the whole family of man, is not the province of a bigoted sectarian, whose visions of happiness extend no further than to embrace his own immediate disciples. Had ancient sages, or more modern schoolmen, felt their brotherhood to the whole human race, knowing that every individual, of all sects or parties, is fulfilling his pilgrimage through the short space of time allotted to fit him for an unbounded eternity, surely some of the great and illustrious philosophers of bygone ages would have attempted to complete an allegory, the outline of which had been given in the earliest of records—the Holy Oracles. No trace, however, has as yet been found in Hebrew, Oriental, Greek, or Latin literature, of such an attempt. The honour of producing this extraordinary work, in a surprising degree of perfection, was reserved to a later age, and was conferred upon an Englishman; a man, as to human learning, unlettered, but deeply learned in the school of Christ, and profoundly skilled in all the subtleties of the human heart; upon a man connected with a denomination eminent for love of Christian liberty, and for hazardous, but resolute obedience and conformity to every institute which they found in the New Testament; and therefore everywhere spoken against, and bitterly persecuted.

This important work was destined to be accomplished by a preaching mechanic, not vainly or falsely claiming, but really possessing the true evidence of apostolic descent in spirit and in truth, as his works and afflictions fully proved; to a man, while suffering under the tyranny of Antichrist, whose judges and officers shut him up to languish in a noisome prison for twelve years and a half of the prime of his life; thus vainly attempting to bend his free, his heaven-born spirit, to submit, or pretend to submit, to what he considered to be popish and unchristian forms and ceremonies, and to compel him to conform to the church established by law; having at its head, at that time, the most debauched monarch in Europe.

He was apprehended while conducting the public worship of God, and sent to prison in Bedford jail. The indictment preferred against him was, 'That John Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, labourer, hath devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear Divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord the King.' To which he pleaded, 'We have had many meetings together, both to pray to God, and to exhort one another; and that we had the sweet comforting presence of the Lord among us for our encouragement; blessed be his name therefor! I confess myself guilty no otherwise.' No witnesses were examined, but a plea of guilty was recorded; and his sentence was, 'You must be had back again to prison, and lie there for three months following; and, at the three months' end, if you do not submit, and go to church to hear Divine service, and leave your preaching, you must be banished the realm; and if, after such a day as shall be appointed you to be gone, you shall be found in this realm, you must stretch by the neck for it, I tell you plainly; and so he [the justice] bid the jailer have him away.'[1]

This was soon after the restoration of Charles II.,

[1] Bunyan's own account of his imprisonment, vol. i. pp. 56, 57.

when a persecuting hierarchy having been re-instated in power, revived obsolete and tyrannical laws. The mechanic, or fisherman, shall not preach or teach, was the sullen, stern voice of despotic authority. But, at the imminent risk of transportation, and even of death, the pious and highly-talented mechanic, John Bunyan, persevered in instructing the peasantry who came within the reach of his voice. He was for this, and for not attending his parish church, seized and sent to Bedford jail; and, by the overruling power of his God, the means that were thus used to prevent his voice from being heard by a few poor labourers, opened to this persecuted disciple of Christ the path to honour, as well as to lasting and most extensive usefulness.

Dragged from the arms of his affectionate wife, who was brought to death's door by painful apprehensions that his life would be sacrificed; bereaved of the company of his children, and of personal communion with the little flock of Christ to which he ministered, this holiest, most harmless, and useful of men was incarcerated in a jail, with felons and the most degraded characters. But 'surely the wrath of man shall praise thee: the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain,' O Lord. Ps. lxxvi. 10. Here he finds a resting-place, with leisure time to write his far-famed allegory; here, having commended his bereaved wife and infant family to the protection of the King of kings, even in that DEN, with a conscience void of offence, and full of spiritual peace, he tranquilly reposed, waiting with resignation the will of his heavenly Father. How strange a dwelling for one so highly honoured of God! how unearthly a mode of fitting him for his glorious destination, to shine as a star in the heavenly firmament, and to occupy a mansion in glory! He who thinks that happiness, or holiness, or true honour, is to be measured by temporal grandeur, makes a false estimate, and knows little of the ways of God.

> 'These walls and bars cannot a prison make,
> The freeborn soul enjoys its liberty;
> These clods of earth it may incaptivate,
> Whilst heavenly minds are conversant on high,
> Ranging the fields of blessed eternity.'[1]

The poor persecuted Christian was free from that mental wretchedness which cankered the souls of his persecutors; one of these, named Feckenham, whose violent conduct will be presently seen, died miserably while Bunyan was in prison;[2] and the Christian inhabitants of Bedford trembled under the thought, that his wretched end was one of the just judgments of God upon persecutors. We must be, however, very careful in such conclusions. Every solemn event, in Divine providence, is not to be considered a judgment upon those who have offended God. Thus, when Charles II. said to Milton, 'Your loss of sight is a judgment of God upon you for your sins committed against my father;' the intrepid poet dared to answer, 'Does your Majesty judge so? then how much greater must have been the sins of your royal father, seeing that I have only lost my sight, while he lost his eyes, and head, and all!'

Notwithstanding that Bunyan fully anticipated an ignominious death, his days were spent as happily as the prison discipline would permit. Working to provide for his family—studying his Bible—instructing his fellow-prisoners—and writing on the most important subjects—must have fully occupied every moment of his time. And it was HERE, in this DEN, that his vivid imagination conceived, and his pen wrote this wondrous Pilgrimage, under the similitude of a dream. And when it was published to the world, he by it preached, and is now preaching, not merely to a few villagers in the neighbourhood of Bedford, but is making known the glad tidings of salvation, the way of escape from the city of destruction, the pilgrim's path to heaven, to millions of every clime.

Thus do the emissaries of Satan ever overreach themselves. So it was when the Bishop of London paid a large price for a few score of English New Testaments, to burn them. The money that Tyndale received from Tonstall enabled him to publish a new and superior edition, corrected in the translation, and which was extensively circulated. Some of these remain to this day,[3] a monument to the faithfulness, the piety, and the talent of the translator, and to the folly of persecution. It led Tyndale to sing—

> 'The devilish imps did strive to have
> For the Holy Book a burning grave,
> But all their travail was in vain,
> God multiplied it quick again.
> The pope and devil are scared and wondered,
> Their gold burns one, but makes a hundred.'[4]

The world would probably have heard but little of John Bunyan—he might, with thousands of similar valuable characters, have remained comparatively unknown—had not the natural enmity of the human heart to the simple, but Divine truths

[1] From a poem by Stephen Colledge, a preaching mechanic, written a few days before he suffered death, August 1681.

[2] He was called, in Bedford, the grand informer. Such were the indignant feelings of his neighbours, that his widow was unable to hire a hearse, but took his body in a cart to the grave. See *Narrative of Proceedings against the Nonconformists at Bedford*, 4to, 1670, in the Editor's possession.

[3] A fine perfect copy is in the Editor's library.

[4] On an ancient painting of Tyndale, the martyr, in possession of the Editor. Under an emblematical device, on one side of the portrait, is the poetical description. The representation is of a book tied to a stake, burning, while a number of similar books are flying out of the fire.

of Christianity, excited wicked men to acts of persecution. Crafty and designing priests, under the pretence of the sole cure of souls, engrossed the patronage of the state, enjoyed exalted dignities among their fellow-men, and appropriated to themselves immense wealth. To preserve this worldly eminence, they sought to stay the onward improvement of the human mind, and the progress of Divine truth. To effect this object, they resorted to an old plan which had been often tried, and had as often eminently failed. It was the obsolete system of tyranny similar to that which cast the three Hebrew youths into the fiery furnace, Daniel into the den of lions, and had martyred thousands of God's saints—a system opposed not only to reason and common sense, but to the operations of God in nature. It was to compel uniformity in modes of worship, and matters of faith; to bind the spirit in fetters, and to prevent those personal inquiries into religion which are so strictly enjoined in the Word of God. The mode of a sinner's access and approach to the throne of Divine grace, was limited to the same dull round of forms and ceremonies under all circumstances; in fine, it demanded the entire prostration of the immortal mind before the claim of priestcraft to infallibility. Such a system required the support of violence and tyranny. Therefore it was enacted by law, that all should constantly attend the parish church, and go through the prescribed service, upon pain of fine, imprisonment, transportation, or death. If any benevolent person, not connected with the sect of religion taken into partnership with the state, was detected in visiting and praying with the sick, teaching the ignorant the way to heaven, comforting the distressed conscience, or converting sinners to holiness, he was doomed to imprisonment, that such useful labours might be stopped.

By this time, the Bible, which for ages had been concealed, was widely circulated among the people; education had spread abroad the means of examining those sacred pages; while a holy ministry, under the Commonwealth, had extensively sown the seeds of life. Many felt the powers of the world to come; hundreds of thousands had been taught the Assembly's Catechism, and had sanctioned the Confession of Faith; while upwards of twenty thousand had become united in Baptist churches. Multitudes of godly men and women, of all denominations, were proving the sincerity and truth of their Christain profession by their harmless, benevolent, and pious conduct. The death of Oliver Cromwell let loose those ambitious and licentious spirits, which had been for some years kept under severe restraint. It opened the way for the restoration of the old system of extravagance, tyranny, and iniquity. Like streams long pent up, they now rolled on with resistless violence, filling their course with the tears of the virtuous, and the oaths of the profane.

The Puritans, by their simple habits of life, had secured many comforts, which excited the thirst of plunder, and the enemies of Divine truth entered with alacrity upon the work of wholesale persecution and spoliation. Among the first of those upon whom the hand of tyranny fell, was John Bunyan, a man who had determined, at all costs, to maintain his integrity. With the most inflexible devotion to his Saviour, he preferred death to hypocrisy, and would submit to no compromise with the enemies of his soul's happiness and salvation. In the face of most imminent danger, he dared not pretend to believe that the priest could, by any ceremony, convert an infant into a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven; or that one poor feeble, sinful man had power to forgive the sins of his fellow-transgressor. He dared not conform to ceremonies which were not commanded in Holy Writ. He could not unite with a system which, in his conscience, he believed to be directly and essentially opposed to Christianity; inasmuch as it prevented free inquiry, and usurped the throne of God, in wickedly attempting, by coercive laws, to regulate or direct the mode in which the soul shall publicly worship the God of salvation. Bunyan refused obedience to laws that interfered with the sacred rights of conscience. His free immortal spirit was not to be confined by articles, creeds, and confessions made by fallible mortals. He persevered in his pious benevolent course, and the tyrants immured him in a prison. Here his God most eminently honoured and blessed him, and, by his providence and grace, consecrated him to be a guide and companion to Christian pilgrims of every country, and every age, while on their way from the city of destruction to their celestial and eternal habitation in glory.

CHAPTER II.

THE 'PILGRIM'S PROGRESS' WRITTEN IN PRISON—DIFFICULTIES THROWN IN THE WAY OF ITS PUBLICATION.

The most important events have arisen out of circumstances very different to what reason could have expected. The great Lawgiver of Israel was a poor foundling. The Redeemer of the world was born in a stable. The sublime Revelations of John were written by an exile in a penal settlement. The universal guide to Christian pilgrims was the unaided work of an unlettered mechanic, while a prisoner for conscience sake. So unsearchable are the ways of God:

> 'Behind a frowning providence
> He hides a smiling face.'

'Out of the eater came forth meat.' Ju. xiv. 14. 'The wrath of man shall praise thee,' O God! How wretched is the state of those persecutors who, like Satan, are found fighting against the Almighty! To prevent the pious and talented John Bunyan from doing good, state religion shut him up in a noisome jail; and how remarkably was it overruled for the attainment of the very object they intended to prevent! What fearful odds—the power of the state, priests and justices, armed with Acts of Parliament, to compel uniformity in faith and practice, are linked together to crush a poor tinker! he preaches the glad tidings of salvation to a few poor trembling sinners; they are converted; from being pests to society, they become valuable and useful citizens; it is effected in a barn—the pomp and ceremonies and vestments used in a consecrated building are set at nought. The kingdom of Christ increased, with all its blessed effects, without the aid of a learned education. God must be prevented from thus going with, and blessing his devoted and humble servant, in a way so contrary to Acts of Parliament and human pride; the justices meet—they warn their destined prey, and endeavour to cajole him into obedience and spiritual slavery; he saw their hostile array, he knew their extensive powers—to imprison, transport, put to an ignominious death. What could a poor tinker do under such alarming circumstances? He had a refuge and a friend that they saw not, knew not. He took counsel with his God, and, while in the path of duty, felt that he had a wall of fire round about him, that all things must work together for good. He went calmly on his way. The warrant was issued by Justice Wingate, a name known only for this deed of iniquity. It was the first attempt in that county at persecution. The place at which the meeting was held is called Samsell. He was warned by the enemies of truth, in the hopes that he would fly, and that they might triumph. The *posse comitatus* was raised, and the liers-in-wait 'kept a very strong watch about the house;' his timid friends begged of him to fly; he walked into a close, to hold communion with his God; he went into the meeting with his spiritual strength renewed. When requested by his poor friends, who were alarmed for his safety, not to hold the meeting, he said, 'I will not stir, neither will I have the meeting dismissed for this. Come, be of good cheer, let us not be daunted; our cause is good, we need not be ashamed of it.' He commenced the service with prayer, during which he was not interrupted. He named his text: 'Dost thou believe on the Son of God?' Jn. ix. 35; intending to show the absolute need of faith in Jesus Christ, and that it was also a thing of the highest concern for men to inquire into, and to ask their own hearts whether they had it or no.' But before he could enter upon this important inquiry, the constable approached, produced his warrant, and put his hand upon his person. Bunyan looked at him; the man turned pale, withdrew his hand, and trembled; it was the *first* victim that he had arrested under those wicked laws. After a few words of counsel and encouragement to the people, he surrendered himself to the officer; and upon his refusal to leave off preaching, the justice committed him to Bedford jail, where he lay, under a cruel sentence, for nearly thirteen years.

We may easily imagine the alarm and misery felt by his affectionate wife and his four children, one of whom was blind, and the whole community of dissenters in that part of the country. Antichrist appeared to triumph. It is very probable that his fellow-worshippers would humble themselves before God, and, with broken hearts, inquire what peculiar crimes they had been guilty of to call forth this severe chastisement. They might call to remembrance the language of David, 'Thy judgments *are* a great deep;' and be comforted with his following words, 'O Lord, thou preservest man.' Who could have imagined that the jail was to be his study, his Bethel, and the means of his preaching to millions of his fellow-sinners, in all ages and languages! 'O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable *are* his judgments, and his ways past finding out!'

In possession of a strong bodily frame, and of that robust health which arises from incessant activity in the open air; travelling about the country to obtain means of support to his family by his labours, and exerting himself on the day of rest by proclaiming in the villages the glad tidings of salvation; from a state of incessant activity, he was suddenly incarcerated in a jail, situated on a bridge, and over the centre of the river; the small damp dens being on a level with the water. Had he been sent there for crime, it might have rapidly affected his health and spirits; but he was called to suffer, that the cause of truth might be honoured, and the God of truth was with him to preserve his health, and to comfort and support his mind with those supplies of happiness to which the world is a stranger, and which it can neither give nor take away.[2]

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[1] *See* Preface to his 'Confession of Faith,' vol. ii. p. 593.

[2] The bank of this river, Ouse, had been famous for the magnificent mausoleum of Offa, king of the Mercians, one of the illustrious murderers and robbers of his time, from whom the Editor's family, in their foolish vanity, claim descent; but this, as Camden says, 'a more violent and swifter stream than ordinary in a flood swouped clean away.' Upon the bridge being erected, a pier was raised from the river to support the two centre arches; and in this pier was Bunyan's gloomy prison. This dark place, a fit habitation for cruelty, has also been swept away. The eye of John Howard, in 1788, penetrated into

At the assizes, a plea of guilty was recorded; and although numerous prisoners, charged with crimes, were liberated at the coronation of Charles II., his case did not come within the proclamation, and he appeared to be doomed to hopeless imprisonment or to an untimely end. Happily, the regulations of the jail allowed him the use of his Bible and Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, and of the materials for writing. His time was beguiled with tagging laces to provide for his poor family; in praying with and exhorting his fellow-prisoners, and in the composing of books, which were extensively published, for the instruction of the world. He soon became, like Joseph in Pharaoh's prison, a favourite with the jailer, who was at times severely threatened for the privileges he allowed this prisoner for Christ. Among the books that he wrote in prison, we shall find that the most prominent and important one was the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Charles Doe, who was a personal friend of Mr. Bunyan's, and who called him 'an apostle of our age, if we have any,' thus narrates the fact in his *Struggler for the Preservation of Mr. John Bunyan's Labours*:[1] 'In the year 1660 (being the year King Charles returned to England), having preached about five years, the rage of gospel enemies was so great, that, November 12th, they took him prisoner, at a meeting of good people, and put him in Bedford jail; and there he continued about six years, and then was let out again, 1666. Being the year of the burning of London, and a little after his release, they took him again, at a meeting, and put him in the same jail, where he lay six years more. And after he was released again, they took him again, and put him in prison the third time; but that proved but for about half a year. Whilst he was thus twelve years and a half in prison, he wrote several of his published books, as by many of their epistles appears;[2] as 'Pray by the Spirit,' 'Holy City,' 'Resurrection,' 'Grace Abounding,' and others; also, 'THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS,' as himself and many others have said.' Mr. Doe thus argues upon the fact: 'And I reckon I shall not be out of the way if I observe and say, What hath the devil or his agents gotten by putting our great gospel minister, Bunyan, in prison? for in prison, as before mentioned, he wrote many excellent books, that have published to the world his great grace, and great truth, and great judgment, and great ingenuity; and to instance, in one, 'THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS,' he hath suited to the life of a traveller so exactly and pleasantly, and to the life of a Christian, that this very book, besides the rest, hath done the superstitious sort of men and their practice more harm, or rather good, as I may call it, than if he had been let alone at his meeting at Bedford to preach the gospel to his own auditory, as it might have fallen out; for none but priest-ridden people know how to cavil at it, it wins so smoothly upon their affections, and so insensibly distils the gospel into them; and hath been printed in France, Holland, New England, and in Welsh, and about a hundred thousand in England, whereby they are made some means of grace, and the author become famous, and may be the cause of spreading his other gospel books over the European and American world, and, in process of time, may be so to the whole universe.'

This agrees with Bunyan's marginal glossary, as to the place where he was located when visited with this wondrous dream. 'As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a den; and I laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed a dream.' The marginal note to that '*place* where was a den,' is 'THE JAIL.' This was first added to the fourth edition, 1680; he had probably been asked, what was meant by the den, and from that time, in every edition, he publishes that his meaning was, 'THE JAIL.' That Bunyan attached much importance to these marginal notes, as a KEY to his works, is plainly stated in his verses to the reader of the 'Holy War:'—

> Nor do thou go to work without my key
> (In mysteries men soon do lose their way),
> And also turn it right, if thou would'st know
> My riddle, and would'st with my heifer plough.
> It lies there in the window,* fare thee well,
> My next may be to ring thy passing-bell.

* The Margent.

No language can be plainer. The author wishes all his readers to understand where he conceived and wrote the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' He says that it was in 'a den.' He puts his key to this word in the window, and upon turning the key right, it discovers the den to be Bedford jail. In this dismal den he tranquilly slept; like the Psalmist, he feared not ten thousands of people, 'I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me.' And why? It was because 'I cried unto the Lord,' 'thou, O Lord, art a shield for me; my glory, and the lifter up of mine head.' Ps. iii. Like

this den, and he thus described it:—'The men and women felons associate together; their night rooms are two dungeons—only one court for debtors and felons—no infirmary—no bath.'—Howard's *Lazarettoes and Prisons*, 4to, 1789, p. 150. Well might Bunyan call it 'a den!' The gate-house was pulled down in 1765, and the prison was demolished very soon after Howard had unveiled its gloomy wretchedness. The bridge was only fourteen feet wide; the dungeons must have been small indeed. How strange an apartment did God select for his servant, in which to write this important book!

[1] A deeply-interesting paper usually appended to Bunyan's Works, folio, 1692.

[2] Upon his first release from prison, in 1666, he published 'Grace Abounding,' and in the title-page states 'also what he hath met with in prison. All which was written by his own hand there.' The Preface to 'A Defence of Justification' is dated from prison, 1671. So his 'Confession:'—'Thine in bonds for the gospel.'

Peter, with a conscience void of offence, 'he slept while a prisoner in a jail.' And although Bunyan had no angel from heaven to open the prison doors before him, he had that heavenly communion which filled his soul with peace, and fitted him to write for the instruction of mankind. The rapidity with which the conception of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' came over his mind and was reduced to writing, he thus describes:—

'And thus it was: I writing of the way
And race of saints, in this our gospel day,
Fell suddenly into an allegory
About their journey, and the way to glory.
In more than twenty things, which I set down;
This done, I twenty more had in my crown;
And they again began to multiply,
Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.
Nay then, thought I, if that you breed so fast,
I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
Should prove *ad infinitum*, and eat out
The book that I already am about.

* * * * *

Thus I set pen to paper with delight,
And quickly had my thoughts in black and white.
For having now my method by the end,
Still as I pull'd, it came; and so I penn'd
It down; until at last it came to be,
For length and breadth, the bigness which you see.'

This simple statement requires no comment. In jail he was writing some book of 'the way and race of saints,' most probably his own spiritual experience, when the idea came over his mind to represent a Christian's course from his conviction of sin to his arrival in glory, as a journey from the city of destruction to the celestial city. This is the opinion, very elegantly expressed, of Dr. Cheever; 'As you read the "Grace Abounding," you are ready to say at every step, Here is the future author of the "Pilgrim's Progress." It is as if you stood by the side of some great sculptor, and watched every movement of his chisel, having had his design explained to you before, so that at every blow some new trait of beauty in the future statue comes clearly into view.' While thus employed, he was suddenly struck with the thought of his great allegory, and at once commenced writing it, and in a short time his first part was completed. It may be inferred that he wrote these two books about the same time, because what he omitted in the first edition of 'Grace Abounding' he also omitted in the first edition of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' but inserted it in the subsequent editions of both these books; one of these is his singular illustration of gospel truth from the unclean beasts, being those that neither chewed the cud nor divided the hoof—one of the conversations between Hopeful and Christian. This is also introduced as an addition to 'Grace Abounding,' No. 71. It was familiar with Bunyan to connect the term 'den' with his cell in the prison. Thus, when narrating his spiritual imprisonment in Doubting Castle, the Giant, instead of ordering his prisoners to their cell or dungeon, says, 'Get you down into your DEN again.' So also in the preface to 'Grace Abounding,' he thus addresses his converts: 'I being taken from you in presence, and so tied up that I cannot perform that duty that from God doth lie upon me to youward, I now once again, as before, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, so now from the lion's DEN - do look yet after you all, greatly longing to see your safe arrival into the desired haven.'

The continuation of 'Grace Abounding' was written by 'a true friend and long acquaintance' of Mr. Bunyan's; 'That his good end may be known as well as his evil beginning, I have taken upon me from *my knowledge*, and the best account given by other of his friends, to piece this to the thread, too soon broken off, and so lengthen it out to his entering upon eternity.' In this we are told of his long imprisonment, and that IN PRISON HE WROTE the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' First Part. The mode in which it was written, and the use made of it, in illustrating his addresses to his fellow-prisoners, has been handed down by one of them—Mr. Marsom, an estimable and pious preacher, who was confined with Mr. Bunyan in Bedford jail, for conscience' sake. His grand-daughter married Mr. Gurney, the grandfather of the late Baron Gurney, and of W. B. Gurney, Esq., his brother, the justly-venerated Treasurer of the Baptist Missionary Society, and he furnished me with the following facts: 'Thomas Marsom was an ironmonger, and pastor of the Baptist Church at Luton; he died in January 1726, at a very advanced age. This Thomas Marsom was a fellow-prisoner with Bunyan; and my grandfather, who knew him well, was in the habit of repeating to his son, my father, many interesting circumstances which he had heard from him, connected with his imprisonment. One of these was, that Bunyan read the manuscript of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' to his fellow-prisoners, requesting their opinion upon it. The descriptions naturally excited a little pleasantry, and Marsom, who was of a sedate turn, gave his opinion against the publication; but on reflection, requested permission to take the manuscript to his own cell, that he might read it alone. Having done so, he returned it with an earnest recommendation that it should be published.' How easily can we imagine the despised Christians in prison for their Lord's sake, thus beguiling the dreary hours. How admirably could the poor preacher illustrate his discourses to his fellow-prisoners by the various adventures of his pilgrims. He had received calls to join more wealthy churches, but he affectionately cleaved to his poor flock at Bedford. Sup-

pose his exhortation to have been founded on these words, 'Freely ye have received, freely give;' how admirably could he introduce all the jesuitic subtleties of Bye-ends, Money-love, and his party, and refute the arguments they had been taught by one Gripe-man of Love Gain, a market town in the county of Coveting, in the north. Imagine him to be exhorting his fellow-prisoners on the 'Terrors of the Lord,' and you would anticipate his leading in the burdened Christian, recounting the awful dream of the day of judgment, at the Interpreter's house, and narrating his adventures in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Or when preaching on the words, 'Resist the devil,' who like him could recount the fight with Apollyon?

These facts are placed before the reader lest any one should for a moment entertain a doubt which would cast a shade over one of the glories of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' It is an imperishable monument to the folly and wickedness of persecution to prevent the spread of religious principles. The enemies of the Christian faith imprisoned John Bunyan to prevent his preaching the gospel to a few poor people, and by it he preaches and will preach to millions of every clime. Keep these facts in recollection—the evidence of C. Doe who had it from Bunyan's own mouth; his own key—'den,' 'the jail;' the testimony of one who long enjoyed his friendship, published within four years of his decease; the tradition handed down by a fellow-prisoner—none of which evidence was ever denied by the advocates for persecution. If we refuse such testimony, neither should we believe if Bunyan was permitted to come from the invisible world and proclaim its truth with the trump of an archangel.

There are very strong internal proofs that the Pilgrim was written long before it was published. A second edition issued from the same press, by the same publishers, *in the same year*, 1678; and there is found a striking difference in the spelling of many words in these two editions, such as 'drownded' is corrected to 'drowned,' 'Slow of Despond' to 'Slough of Despond,' 'chaulk' to 'chalk,' 'travailler' to 'traveller,' 'countrey' to 'country,' 'raggs' to 'rags,' 'brust' to 'burst.' This may readily be accounted for by the author's having kept the work in manuscript for some years before it was printed, and that he had at length consented to send it to the printers as he had written it. There is an apparent difference of twenty years in the orthography of these two books, which were published in the same year, besides some considerable additions of new characters in the second edition. The printer appears to have followed the manuscript as to spelling, punctuation, capitals, and italics. It proves, that notwithstanding his very numerous and important engagements, Bunyan found time to cultivate and improve his talents in composition, between the time when *he wrote* the first, and published the second edition.

The reason why it was not published for several years after his release, appears to have arisen from the difference of opinion expressed by his friends as to the propriety of printing a book which treated so familiarly the most solemn subjects.

> 'Well, when I had thus put my ends together,
> I show'd them others, that I might see whether
> They would condemn them, or them justify:
> And some said, Let them live; some, Let them die.
> Some said, John, print it; others said, Not so.
> Some said, It might do good; others said, No.'

Somewhat similar to this, was the conference of dissenting ministers when Sunday Schools were first attempted; the desecration of the Lord's Day was pleaded against them, and it was only by a very small majority that institutions were sanctioned, which advanced the spread of Divine truth with a rapidity as extraordinary as the spread of the missionary spirit, or even as is the increased speed of travelling by the aid of steam.

Thus it was debated whether the Pilgrim should walk forth or not, fearing lest the singularity of his dress should excite vain or trivial thoughts in the readers, like the disturbance at Vanity Fair; or it might arise from a fear lest the various characters and dialogues should be considered as approaching in the slightest degree to the drama. It is impossible to account for the different feelings excited in the minds of men by reading the same narrative in which all are equally interested. In this case the fear was, lest it should tend to excite a light or trifling spirit, while the solemn realities of eternity were under consideration. In most cases, reading this volume has had a solemnizing effect upon the mind. Some have tried to read it, but have shut it up with fear, because it leads directly to the inquiry, Have I felt the burden of sin? Have I fled for refuge? Others have been deterred, because it has such home-thrusts at hypocrisy, and such cutting remarks upon those who profess godliness, but in secret are wanton and godless. The folly of reliance upon an imperfect obedience to the law for the pardon of sin, repeatedly and faithfully urged, is a hard and humbling lesson. It mercilessly exposes the worthlessness of all those things which are most prized by the worldling. No book has so continued and direct a tendency to solemn self-examination. Every character that is drawn makes a powerful appeal to the conscience, and leads almost irresistibly to the mental inquiry, 'Lord, is it I?' No work is calculated to infuse deeper solemnity into the mind of an attentive reader. Well might

Mr. Macaulay in his review say, 'The allegory of Bunyan has been read by many thousands with tears;' or as some pious man has written upon the fly-leaf of the fourth edition, 1680—

'Sleep on, good man,
Continue still thy dreame.
Your allegories do,
I think, resemble
Some laudskip vision
At which souls tremble.'[1]

In addition to the serious opposition of his friends to the publication of the Pilgrim, we should also consider the author's other engagements. After so long, so harassing, so unjust an imprisonment, much of his time must have been spent in restoring order to his house and in his church; in paying pastoral visits, recovering lost stations which had been suspended during the violence of persecution, and in extending his devotional and ministerial exercises in all the villages around Bedford which were within his reach. Such was the great extent of his labours in that and the adjoining counties, as to obtain for him the title of Bishop of Bedford. As his popular talents became known, the sphere of his usefulness extended, so that an eye-witness testified, that when he preached in London, 'if there were but one day's notice given, there would be more people come together to hear him preach, than the meeting-house could hold. I have seen, to hear him preach, about twelve hundred at a morning lecture, by seven o'clock on a working day, in the dark winter time.'[2] Such popularity must have occasioned a considerable tax upon his time, in addition to which he was then warmly engaged in his controversy on Baptism,[3] and in some admirable practical works. These were probably some of the reasons why a humble, pious author, hesitated for several years to publish a work, on the practical bearings of which his friends had expressed such opposite opinions. At length he made up his mind—

——— 'Since you are thus divided,
I print it will; and so the case decided.'

[1] By Thomas Collins, written on the blank leaf of the fourth edition, 1680, presented to the Editor by —— Bullar, Esq., Southampton.

[2] Charles Doe, in the *Struggler*.

[3] This controversy was, whether or not *water*-baptism is a pre-requisite to receiving the Lord's Supper, and who is to be the judge as to the mode of its administration. Some of the churches agreed with the Church of England as to their power to decree rites and ceremonies. Not so John Bunyan. He considered that this question should be left to the personal decision of every candidate. The fruits of the new birth, the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which alone is the door of admission to the Saviour's family, was, in his opinion, the only question to be decided by the church, as a pre-requisite to admission to the table of his Lord. See Mat. iii. 11; Mar. i. 8; Lu. iii. 16; Jn. i. 26—33; compared with He. vi. 2, and Ep. iv. 5.

CHAPTER III.

BUNYAN'S QUALIFICATIONS TO WRITE THE 'PILGRIM'S PROGRESS' SANCTIFIED BY PRISON DISCIPLINE.

That the author of the Pilgrim was pre-eminently qualified to write such a work is proved by its vast circulation, and by the extraordinary interest which it created, and has kept alive, for nearly two centuries, throughout the world. This ought not to excite surprise, when it is recollected that it was the production of a man profoundly learned in all the subtleties of the human heart; deeply skilled in detecting error and sophistry; thoroughly humbled under a sense of his own unworthiness. He was baptized into the Divine truths of Christianity by the searching, wounding, and healing influences of the Holy Spirit. Shut up for twelve years with his Bible, all the rags of popery and heathenism were stripped off, and he came out a living body of divinity, comparatively free from mere human doctrines or systems. The spirit of the prophets and apostles breathes in his language. His was an education which all the academies and universities in the world could not have communicated. He was deeply learned in that 'wisdom that is from above,' Ja. iii. 17, and can be acquired only in the school of Christ. His spirit was nurtured by close, unwearied, prayerful searching of the Word of life—by perpetual watchfulness over the workings of his spirit, and by inward communion with God. He knew well what was meant by 'groanings which cannot be uttered,' Ro. viii. 26, as well as by being 'caught up,' as it were, to 'the third heaven,' even to 'paradise,' and in his spirit to 'hear unspeakable words which it is not possible for man to utter.' 2 Co. xii. 4. Previous to his imprisonment he had gone through every severe spiritual trial: with the Psalmist he had sunk in deep mire where there was no standing; the powers of darkness, like 'the floods, overflow me,' Ps. lxix. 2; and with him he could also sing, 'I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast lifted me up,' Ps. xxx. 1; 'Thou hast brought up my soul from the grave,' Ps. xxx. 3; 'He brought me up out of an horrible pit,' Ps. xl. 2; 'Thou hast healed me;' 'Thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness.' In his happier days, even while in a gloomy jail, he felt that he was an inhabitant of that invisible, holy, spiritual Jerusalem, the universal church of Christ, encompassed by the 'Lord as a wall of fire, and the glory in the midst of her.' He lived in an atmosphere, and used a language, unknown to the wisdom of this world, and which a poet-laureate mistook for reveries, for 'the hot and cold fits of a spiritual ague,' or for the paroxysms of disease.[4] His mind was deeply imbued with all that was

[4] Southey's *Life of Bunyan*, xxxii.

most terrific, as well as most magnificent in religion. In proportion as his Christian course became pure and lovely, so his former life must have been surveyed with unmitigated severity and abhorrence.

These mental conflicts are deeply interesting; they arose from an agonized mind—a sincere and determined spirit roused by Divine revelation, opening before his astonished but bewildered mind, solemn, eternal realities. He that sits in the scorner's seat may scoff at them, while he who is earnestly inquiring after the way, the truth, and the life, will examine them with prayerful seriousness. In after-life, the recollection of these emotions filled his lips with words that pierced his hearers.

When at liberty, his energetic eloquence had attracted to his sermons every class. It is said that the great Dr. John Owen was asked by the King how a man of his learning could attend to hear a tinker preach, he replied, 'May it please your Majesty, had I the tinker's abilities, I would most gladly relinquish my learning.' Thus did a man, profoundly versed in scholastic literature, and that sanctified by piety, bow to the superiority of the Spirit's teaching. The unlettered tinker led captive, by his consecrated natural eloquence, one of the most eminent divines of his day.

Considering the amazing popularity of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and its astonishing usefulness to all classes of mankind, in all the countries of the earth, may we not attribute its author's deep and hallowed feelings, severe trials, and every lesson of Divine wisdom he received, as being intended by the Holy Spirit to fit him to write this surprising Dream?

Bunyan was a master of rhetoric, and logic, and moral philosophy, without studying those sciences, or perhaps even understanding the terms by which they are designated. His Bible (wondrous book!) was his library. All his genius was nurtured from the living fountain of truth; it purified his style, and adapted his work, by its simplicity and energy, to every understanding. His key to its mysteries was earnest, holy prayer; and musing over the human heart, and watching the operations of nature, afforded him an ample illustration of its sacred truths. His labour in tagging laces required no application of mind, so that his time for study was every moment of his life that he could save from sleep, and even then his ever-active spirit was busy in dreams, many of which contained valuable lessons, so that his mind became most richly stored, and was perpetually overflowing.

'The poetry of the Bible was not less the source of Bunyan's poetical powers, than the study of the whole Scriptures was the source of his simplicity and purity of style. His heart was not only made new by the spirit of the Bible, but his whole intellectual being was penetrated and transfigured by its influence. He brought the spirit and power, gathered from so long and exclusive a communion with the prophets and apostles, to the composition of every page of the "Pilgrim's Progress." '[1]

, Human character was unveiled before the penetrating eye of one so conversant with the inspired writings; every weak point is seen, as well as the advantage taken by the subtle enemy of souls; and all so admirably and plainly pictured that he who runs must stop, read, and admire, even to his surprise and wonder; and be constrained to inquire, Whence had this poor mechanic such knowledge?

Nor must it be forgotten, that in addition to his heavenly, he possessed peculiar earthly qualifications for his important work. He had been the very ringleader in all manner of vice and ungodliness. John Ryland's description of his character is written with peculiar pungency: 'No man of common sense and common integrity can deny, that Bunyan, the tinker of Elstow, was a practical atheist, a worthless, contemptible infidel, a vile rebel to God and goodness, a common profligate, a soul-despising, a soul-murdering, a soul-damning thoughtless wretch, as could exist on the face of the earth. Now be astonished, O heaven, to eternity, and wonder, O earth and hell! while time endures. Behold this very man become a miracle of mercy, a mirror of wisdom, goodness, holiness, truth, and love. See his polluted soul cleansed and adorned by Divine grace, his guilt pardoned, the Divine law inscribed upon his heart, the Divine image or the resemblance of God's moral perfections impressed upon his soul.'[2] He had received the mere rudiments of education, but vicious habits had 'almost utterly' blotted out of his memory every useful lesson; so that he must have had, when impressed with Divine truth, great determination to have enabled him not only to recover the instruction which he had received in his younger days, but even to have added to it such stores of valuable information. In this, his natural quickness of perception and retentive memory must have been of extreme value. Having been mixed up intimately with every class of men, and seen them in their most unguarded moments, it enabled him to draw his characters in such vivid colours, and with such graphic accuracy. Filled with an inspiration which could be drawn from the Bible alone, he has delineated characters as touching and interesting to us in the nineteenth century as they were to our pilgrim forefathers of a bygone

[1] *North American Review*, vol. lxxix.
[2] Bunyan's *Works*, 8vo. Preface by Ryland.

age, and as they will be to the Christian sojourner of ages yet to come. It is a history, with little variation, of that which must always happen while Christianity endures.

Bunyan had run the round of sin; had sown the seed of vice, and brought forth the bitter fruits of repentance; had felt intense alarm lest eternal torments should swallow up his soul in death; had fled for, and found refuge in, the sufferings of Christ. His burden removed, he loved much, because to him much had been forgiven; he had been brought up out of horrible darkness, and well was he qualified to aid those who were walking through the dismal valley of the shadow of death!

His out-door habits and employments, and his sanctified contemplations on the beauties of nature, were calculated to strengthen the vigour of his imagination, and the decision of his character. Happily, the glorious Dreamer never appeared to have any idea of his own immortal fame as an author: little did he dream of the happy influence that his humble labours would have upon millions of mankind; all his spirit centred in his Saviour; all his efforts were to make known the glad tidings of salvation to surrounding sinners. If he coveted the tongue of an angel, it was not for brilliancy of language, but that he might use burning words to make an indelible impression upon his hearers. Even the greatest of his works he published under the humble similitude of a dream, or as that which had passed before his imagination, unaided by those mental powers which are called forth in composing a narrative intended for publication. His sixty humble books were printed without ornament, upon inferior paper, of the class called chap-books, from their being vended by travelling hawkers called chapmen, now magniloquently called *colporteurs*.

John Burton, a minister, thus recommends Bunyan, in an introduction to *Some Gospel Truths Opened*, 1656: 'Be not offended because Christ holds forth the glorious treasure of the gospel to thee in a poor earthen vessel, by one who hath neither the greatness nor the wisdom of this world to commend him to thee. This man is not chosen out of an earthly, but out of the heavenly university, the church of Christ, furnished with the Spirit, gifts, and graces of Christ. He hath, through grace, taken these three heavenly degrees —union with Christ, the anointing of the Spirit, and experience of the temptations of Satan; which do more fit a man for that weighty work of preaching the gospel, than all university learning and degrees that can be had. Having had experience, with many other saints, of this man's soundness in the faith, of his godly conversation, and his ability to preach the gospel, not by human art, but by the Spirit of Christ, and that with much success in the conversion of sinners.'

His character and qualifications were also admirably portrayed by his pastor, J. Gifford, soon after he entered upon the work of the ministry.[1] It is in his introduction to the first edition of a 'Few Sighs from Hell,' 1658, and as this interesting portrait was not inserted in any of the subsequent editions of that book, and has escaped the researches of all the biographers of Bunyan, I am tempted to give it *verbatim*, more especially, as it is generally believed that John Gifford was the Evangelist who directed the Pilgrim to the Wicket Gate, put him again into the path when under the flames of Sinai, and prepared him for persecution at Vanity Fair. 'Concerning the author (whatsoever the censures and reports of many are), I have this to say, that I verily believe God hath counted him faithful, and put him into the ministery; and though his outward condition and former employment was mean, and his humane learning small, yet is he one that hath acquaintance with God, and taught by his Spirit, and hath been used in his hand to do souls good; for to my knowledge there are divers who have felt the power of the word delivered by him, and I doubt not but that many more may, if the Lord continue him in his work; he is not like unto your drones that will suck the sweet, but do no work. For he hath laid forth himself to the utmost of his strength, taking all advantages to make known to others what he himself hath received of God; and I fear that is one reason why the archers have shot so soarly at him; for by his and others' industry, in their Master's work, their slothfulness hath been reproved, and the eyes of many have been opened to see a difference between those that are sent of God, and those that run before they are sent. And that he is none of those light fanatick spirits that our age abounds withal, this following discourse, together with his former, that have been brought to publique view, will testifie; for among other things that may bear record to him herein, you shall find him magnifying and exalting the Holy Scriptures, and largely showing the worth, excellency, and usefulness of them.

'And surely if thou shalt (notwithstanding this)

[1] John Gifford had been a major in the King's army; was convicted for raising an insurrection in Kent, and sentenced to die, but made his escape from prison, and settled in Bedford as a medical practitioner. He was a great persecutor, but became, after his conversion, a Baptist minister, and formed his fellow-converts into a church at Bedford, about 1650, over which he was the minister. Bunyan joined this church in 1653, and eventually became its pastor in 1671; and it continues to this day a flourishing Christian church. His pastoral letter, written a short time before his death, is one of the finest specimens of a pious shepherd's anxiety for the happiness of his flock that has ever been published. It was printed for the first time in 1849, in *A Brief History of Bunyan's Church, by its present minister, John Jukes*. *Vide* also Brooke's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 257.

stumble at his meanness and want of humane learning, thou wilt declare thine unacquaintance with God's declared method, who, to perfect his own praise, and to still the enemy and avenger, *makes choice of babes and sucklings, and in their mouthes ordaineth strength.* Ps. viii. 2. Though men that have a great design do, and must make use of those that in reason are most likely to effect it, yet must the Lord do so too? then instruments (not himself) would carry away the praise; but that no flesh should glory in his presence, *he hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and base things of the world, and things that are despised hath God chosen.* 1 Co. i. 27–29. Cast thine eye back to the beginning of the gospel dispensation (which surely, if at any time, should have come forth in the wisdom and glory of the world), and thou shalt see what method the Lord did take at the first to exalt his Son Jesus; he goes not amongst the Jewish rabbies, nor to the schools of learning, to fetch out his gospel preachers, but to the trades, and those most contemptible too; yet let not any from hence conceive, that I undervalue the gifts and graces of such who have been, or now are endued with them, nor yet speak against learning, being kept in its place, but my meaning is, that those that are learned should not despise those that are not; or those that are not, should not despise those that are, who are faithful in the Lord's work: and, therefore, being about to leave thee, I shall leave with thee two scriptures to be considered of. The one is, Jn. xiii. 20: *Verily, verily I say unto you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send* (mark whomsoever), *receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.* The other is, Lu. x. 16: *He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.*'—I. G. Bunyan closes his own preface with these words, 'I am thine, if thou be not ashamed to own me, because of my low and contemptible descent in the world, John Bunyan.' This was altered in the subsequent editions to, 'I am thine, to serve in the Lord Jesus, John Bunyan.'

His own account of his training perfectly agrees with that given by his pastor. In the epistle to his treatise on 'The Law and Grace,' about 1660, he thus speaks: 'Reader, if thou do finde this book empty of fantastical expressions, and without light, vain, whimsical, scholar-like terms, thou must understand, it is because I never went to school to *Aristotle* or *Plato*, but was brought up at my father's house, in a very mean condition, among a company of poor countrymen. But if thou do finde a parcel of plain, yet sound, true, and home sayings, attribute that to the Lord Jesus, his gifts and abilities, which he hath bestowed upon such a poor creature as I am, and have been.'

Bunyan's great natural abilities required to be tempered in the school of affliction: and his ardent temperament met with no ordinary degree of chastisement; his principles and constancy were tried by bonds and imprisonment; his spirit, in the warfare of controversy, not only with the enemies of his Lord, but upon minor points with his brother disciples. And with some of these he, after their wordy war, met in the same common jail; united in worship before the throne of God; former wounds were healed, and heart-burnings sanctified; and he became more fully fitted as a guide to all pilgrims of every sect. He passed through every trial that his Lord saw needful, to temper his ardent spirit, and fit him to write his immortal Allegory.

It is difficult to account for Bunyan's freedom from those popular delusions which so characterize the age in which he lived, and which spread over the most pious and learned of his contemporaries; the belief in witchcraft, sorcery, ghosts, and goblin sprites, who, in his days, were supposed to ride upon broomsticks through the air, or 'dart through a key-hole swift as light.' Stories of witchcraft, haunted houses, necromancy, and such follies, are found in the pilgrimages of his day. Although Sir Matthew Hale, Cotton Mather, Baxter, and our most eminent men, were strangely full of faith in these fancies, even from that king who thought himself a mickle wise man, but proved to be a fool and a pedant, to the wretch called the witch-finder, who, by his perjuries, legally murdered so many *poor* helpless old women, for the *rich* were rarely, if ever, attacked. Bunyan's early habits, and want of education, and prolific imagination, must have peculiarly fitted him for all such vulgar errors; but he escaped them all. Was it that, after his conversion, the solemnities of the world to come swallowed up all other considerations? or, was it the workings of the Holy Spirit, to fit his writings to be a blessing to future and more enlightened generations? It is a remarkable fact, worthy of serious reflection.

That a man possessing such extraordinary talent should excite the envy of some, and the bitterest animosity of others, is natural. 'The archers did shoot sorely at him,' and never was a man better armed to resist and crush his comparatively puny assailants. His sentiments and conduct, as to the profitable trade of preaching, were also calculated to injure him in the esteem of the clergy. Among many false charges brought against him, one was, the making merchandise of souls through covetousness. His reply was, 'Friend, the spirit that led thee to this is a lying spirit; for though I be poor, and of no repute in the world, as to outward things, yet, through grace, I have learned, by the example of the apostle, to preach the truth, and

also to work with my hands, both for mine own living and for those that are with me, when I have opportunity. And I trust that the Lord Jesus, who hath helped me to reject the wages of unrighteousness hitherto, will also help me still; so that I shall distribute that which God hath given me freely, and not for filthy lucre's sake."[1] In those days, hard words and uncivil language were commonly used in controversy, and Bunyan's early associations and singular genius furnished his quiver with arrows of piercing point. His moral character was assailed in the grossest terms; he was called a wizard, a Jesuit, a highwayman, a libertine, and was charged as guilty of every crime; to this he gave a direct denial, and triumphantly pointed to his whole conduct since his conversion as a refutation of such unfounded calumnies. These malignant accusations are referred to and refuted in that thrilling narrative, 'The singular experience and great sufferings of Mrs. Agnes Beaumont,' contained in a deeply interesting volume, *An Abstract of the gracious Dealings of God with several eminent Christians*, by Samuel James, M.A.[2] Another and very different tournament took place between him and E. Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester. He published his views of *The Design of Christianity*; that it was merely the restoration of man to his primitive state. Bunyan saw his book, and very justly conceiving that the learned divine had asserted some gross errors upon doctrinal points of the greatest importance, he treated the embryo bishop just the same as if he had been a brother tinker, a mere man who was attempting to rob his (Bunyan's) beloved Master of one of the most glorious gems in his crown. In the almost incredibly short time of forty-five days,[3] he, in jail, composed an answer, consisting of 118 pages of small quarto, closely printed, and in which he completely demolished the theory of this great scholar. It is entitled, 'A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Jesus Christ, showing true Gospel Holiness flows from thence; or, Mr. Fowler's pretended Design of Christianity proved to be nothing more than to trample under foot the blood of the Son of God; and the idolizing of man's own righteousness.'[4] In this hastily written, but valuable book, Bunyan used very strong language; reflecting upon a man of considerable influence, and one of his decided enemies. Of some of Mr. Fowler's sentiments, he says, 'Here are pure dictates of a brutish, beastly man, that neither knows himself nor one tittle of the Word of God.'[5] 'But why should this THIEF love thus to *clamber* and seek to go to God by other means than Christ?'[6] Mr. Fowler said, 'It cannot be worth our while to lay out any considerable matter of our heat, either for or against *doubtful opinions, alterable modes, rites and circumstances of religion*; it would be like the apes blowing at a glow-worm, which affords neither light nor warmth,[7] and whatsoever is commended by the custom of the places we live in, or commanded by superiors, our Christian liberty is to do them.'[8] Bunyan knew the feelings of the clergy in his own neighbourhood, and he also knew that the Act of Uniformity had just turned out all the godly and evangelical ministers from the Church of England. To this sophistry, as to a Christian's being bound by the custom of the country he lives in, and by the authority of superiors, as to outward forms or ceremonies of Divine worship and religious teaching, our Pilgrim's guide thus breaks out into what Mr. Fowler calls a Rabshakeh, 'I know none so wedded thereto as yourselves, even the whole gang of your rabbling counterfeit clergy; who, generally, like the ape you speak of, lie blowing up the applause and glory of your trumpery, and, like the tail, with your foolish and sophistical arguings, you cover the filthy parts thereof.'[9]

To Bunyan's Treatise a reply was immediately published, and in it the gentleman and scholar complains of the uncharitable terms used by Bunyan, and we are led to expect something polite and genteel; but, unfortunately, the bishop in expectancy, or one of his friends, beats the tinker in harsh epithets, without answering his hard arguments. The scoffer calls our Pilgrim's guide 'grossly ignorant,' 'most unchristian and wicked,'[10] 'a piece of proud folly,' 'so very dirty a creature that he disdains to defile his fingers with him;'[10] and yet writes a book in reply to him. He vauntingly says, that 'Bunyan can no more disgrace the bishop than a rude creature can eclipse the moon by barking at her, or make palaces contemptible by their lifting up their legs against them.'[11] 'He is not in the least concerned (so he pretends) at the *brutish barkings* of such a creature;' 'a most blackmouthed calumniator;'[12] '*John Bunyan*, a person that hath been near these twenty years, or longer, most infamous in the town and county of Bedford for a very pestilent schismatic;'[13] and winds up

[1] 'Gospel Truths Vindicated,' vol. ii. p. 201.

[2] The public were indebted to Mr. S. J. Button for a new and handsome edition of this work in 1824.

[3] From February 13 to March 27, 1671.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 278. [5] P. 283.

[6] Vol. ii. p. 293.

[7] *Design of Christianity*, 8vo, 1671, p. 239.

[8] Ibid. p. 242.

[9] 'Defence of the Doctrine of Justification,' vol. ii. p. 322.

[10] *Dirt wipt off*, 4to, 1672, title.

[11] Ibid. preface. [12] Ibid. p. 2.

[13] Ibid. p. 3. This exactly agrees with the opinion of Justice Chester, expressed at the assizes when Bunyan's wife so nobly pressed Judge Hale to release him:—'My lord,' said Justice Chester, 'he is a pestilent fellow, there is not such a fellow in the country again.'—*Relation of Bunyan's Imprisonment*, vol. i. p. 57.

much of his abuse in these words:—'I now appeal to *authority*, whether this man ought to enjoy any interest in his Majesty's *toleration;* and whether the letting such *firebrands*, and most impudent, malicious schismaticks, go unpunished doth not tend to the subversion of *all* government? I say, let our superiors judge of this.'[1] Bunyan had then suffered nearly twelve years' imprisonment, and was more zealous and intrepid than ever; and yet this fanatic bishop would have had his imprisonment continued, or his life forfeited, because he could not resist the arrows with which this prisoner for Christ assailed him, drawn all burning from the furnace of God's Holy Word. This was one of the lessons by which Bunyan was taught how to lead the Pilgrims in their attack upon the monster, Antichrist, which was very rampant, and looked upon the Pilgrims with great disdain; but these valiant worthies did continually assault him, until he became wounded, 'and it is verily believed by some that this beast will certainly die of his wounds.'[2] How would it delight the church of Christ to witness his death, and to see his vile remains buried under all his implements of torture; his inquisitions, flames, and stakes, dungeons and racks, halters and church-rates. Another, and a very serious lesson, he was taught in the controversy which he carried on with some Quakers and strict Baptists.

Bunyan's controversy, which is said to have been with the Quakers, was, in fact, not with that highly respectable and useful body of Christians, but with persons whom he considered to be under serious delusions; some of these called themselves Quakers. At this period, the Society of Friends were not united into a body or denomination. The battle, according to his own words, was against Satan, and those lies with which he had deceived some enthusiastic spirits. These characters were called, by Bunyan, a company of loose ranters and light notionists, with here and there a legalist, who were shaking in their principles, sometimes on this religion and sometimes on that. It is true that he talks of the Quakers' delusions; but his fight was with principles, and not persons, and he sets forth what, in his opinion, were 'the lies with which the devil beguileth poor souls.' *First*, That salvation was not fully completed for sinners by Christ Jesus. *Second*, That the light within was sufficient without the written Word. Some of these visionaries denied the divinity of Christ; others asserted that Christ was born, lived, and was crucified within them, and that he was only to be found within themselves by the aid of that light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; that his being found in fashion as a man, and humbling himself to the death of the cross—in fact, that his personal appearance on earth, was only *typical* of his taking up a residence in the soul of every believer. Thus they entirely abandoned and neglected the written Word. They adopted some singular practices, lived upon bread and water, forbade marriage, and refused to wear hat-bands.[3] Such were the adversaries against whom he wrote the first book that he published, called 'Gospel Truths Opened.' It was about this time that Naylor appeared; and he, acting under the delusion of having Christ within him, rode on an ass into Bristol, while the mob strewed their clothes before him, crying, 'Hosanna! blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' And instead of reasoning with him, in order to remove this temporary delusion, he was cruelly tormented, imprisoned, pilloried, with its brutal accompaniments; burned through the tongue with a hot iron; branded with a B on his forehead for blasphemy; whipped, and confined to hard labour. Mr. Grainger says 'that the discipline of a prison soon restored him to his senses;'[4] and we are inclined to think that he was mercifully restored to his right mind, because he was some years afterwards received into the Society of Friends, as a member, and died in their communion—a fact which the clergyman had not the honesty to state.

Against this first work of Bunyan's an answer was published by Edward Burroughs, afterwards an eminent Quaker. In this, he fought, as Bunyan called it, 'bitterly, with a parcel of scolding expressions;' and he advises him not to appear so gross a railing Rabshakeh; and, in fact, he proved himself a match for his adversary with those weapons. He calls Bunyan 'of the stock of Ishmael, and of the seed of Cain, whose line reacheth to the murthering priests, enemies of Christ preaching for hire.' Bunyan replies, 'These are words flung unto the winds by thee, my adversary.' Burroughs having thoughtlessly urged that there was not a Quaker heard of in the days of John, his keen antagonist replied, 'Friend, thou hast rightly said, there was not a Quaker heard of indeed, though there were many Christians heard of then.' 'Your sister, Anne Blackley, bid me, in the audience of many, *to throw away the Scriptures;* to which I answered, *No, for then the devil would be too hard for me.*' Among other queries put to him by Burroughs, one was, 'Is not the liar and slanderer an unbeliever, and of the cursed nature?'[5]

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[1] *Dirt wipt off*, p. 70.

[2] 'Pilgrim's Progress,' Part II., Vanity Fair.

[3] Hat-bands were gay bunches of ribbons and rosettes fastened round the hat or cap.

'Room for the noble gladiator! see
His coat and hat-band show his quality.'

[4] *Biog. Hist. of England.*

[5] 'Vindication of Gospel Truths,' query 8, vol. ii. p. 209.

Bunyan's reply was, 'The liar and slanderer is an unbeliever; and if he live and die in that condition, his state is very sad, though, if he turn, there is hope for him; therefore repent and turn quickly, or else look to yourselves, for you are the men, as is clear by your discourse.'

This controversy, carried on with great spirit and warmth, related much to that difficult question, Whether Christ continued his human body after his ascension, or was it resolved into a spiritual form? These disputations, which led to a prayerful investigation of Scripture, must have had a beneficial tendency. Bunyan considered that his antagonist did not value the Holy Oracles sufficiently; and Burroughs considered that too little attention was paid to 'Christ formed in us the hope of glory.' Both were questions of the deepest importance; and happy was it for those of their countrymen who witnessed the strife between these giants, and were led earnestly and prayerfully to search into these vital and important truths. The dispute presented much wholesome fruit, although not served up in silver dishes. Burroughs's friend, Howgill, bears this testimony of his worth:—'Though thou didst cut as a razor—and many a rough stone hast thou squared and polished, and much knotty wood hast thou hewn in thy day—yet, to the seed, thy words dropped like oil, and thy lips as the honeycomb.' Bunyan held a public disputation with these zealous missionaries in Paul's Steeple House, Bedford Town, May 23, 1656.[1] This was a contest which involved in it a close examination of the Sacred Scriptures, and certainly afforded valuable lessons in fitting Britain's allegorist for his great and important work.

Bunyan's difference of opinion relative to the terms of communion at the Lord's table, led to a controversy with the Strict Baptist churches, to all of which he was sincerely attached; and this was probably one of the means by which he was enabled to write an itinerary to *all* pilgrims; for it must have blunted the edge of his sectarian feelings, and have enlarged his heart towards the whole Christian community of every class. In the preface to the 'Reason of his Practice,' he displays all the noble sentiments of a Christian confessor; of one who has been deservedly called the Apostle of Bedford, or Bishop Bunyan. 'Faith and holiness are my professed principles, with an endeavour, so far as in me lieth, to be at peace with all men. What shall I say? let mine enemies themselves be judges, if anything in these following doctrines, or if aught that any man hath heard me preach, doth, or hath, according to the true intent of my words, savoured either of heresy or rebellion. I say, again, let they themselves be judges, if aught they find in my writings or preaching doth render me worthy of almost twelve years' imprisonment, or one that deserveth to be hanged, or banished for ever, according to their tremendous sentence. Indeed, my principles are such as lead me to a denial to communicate in the things of the kingdom of Christ with ungodly and open profane; neither can I, in or by the superstitious inventions of this world, consent that my soul should be governed in any of my approaches to God, BECAUSE COMMANDED TO THE CONTRARY, AND COMMENDED FOR SO REFUSING. Wherefore, excepting this one thing, for which I ought not to be rebuked, I shall, I trust, in despite of slander and falsehood, discover myself at all times a peaceable and obedient subject. But if nothing will do, unless I make my conscience a continual butchery and slaughter-shop, *unless, putting out mine own eyes, I commit me to the blind to lead me* (as, I doubt, is desired by some), I have determined, the Almighty God being my help and shield, yet to suffer, if frail life might continue so long, even till the moss shall grow on mine eyebrows, rather than to violate my faith and principles. Touching my practice, as to communion with visible saints, *although not baptized with water*, I say, it is my present judgment so to do, and am willing to render a further reason thereof, shall I see the leading hand of God thereto. Thine in bonds for the gospel, JOHN BUNYAN.' At the end of this treatise, he severely alludes to the unfair practices of controversialists; he signs himself, 'I am thine to serve thee, Christian, so long as I can look out at those eyes that have had so much dirt thrown at them by many, JOHN BUNYAN.'

Kiffin, Denne, T. Paul, and Danvers replied to this 'Confession;' Jesse, and others, defended it. This led to the publication of 'The Differences about Water-Baptism no Bar to Communion,' and to the 'Peaceable Principles and True.' The controversy was carried on with sufficient acrimony to shake Bunyan's sectarian feelings, and to excite in his breast a determined spirit of *personal*, prayerful inquiry at the Fountain of Truth, in all matters, both of his faith and practice in religion, even at the risk of life.

The principles of our great allegorist upon this subject have spread over a great number of the Baptist churches. Bunyan probably considered these sentiments as the precursors of the dawn of a happy day, when the baptism of the Holy Ghost, with purifying power like heavenly fire, shall absorb all these bitter waters of contention which occasioned such angry, unholy dissension among the churches of Christ; when the soul of every believer shall be imbued and immersed in sacred love and zeal for the honour of our Lord and the increase of his kingdom, and the subject of water-

[1] *See* Burroughs's *Works*, p. 304.

baptism, as a personal duty, be better understood and appreciated.

In this conflict with his brethren, all that sanctified penetration, that unwavering fortitude, and that determination, first to understand, and then to do his Lord's will, was displayed, that fitted the Author to write his surprising Allegory, and to be a 'Great-heart' to guide and protect his weaker fellow-pilgrims.

Soon after this, the prisons of England were filled with the most pious and virtuous of her citizens; and when Bunyan and his antagonists, both Quakers and Baptists, were confined within the same walls, conversed upon spiritual things, worshipped unitedly their God by the same way of access, all former bitterness and animosities were swallowed up in the communion of saints, and the wall of separation was thrown down; not only did their sufferings increase their catholic spirit and respect for each other, but they became a blessing to many who were confined for real crimes; and when they came forth, it was with renewed powers to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ. Hundreds of poor, imprisoned, godly ministers felt the power of those words: 'Blessed be God, who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them that are in trouble.' 2 Co. i. 4. Like Kelsey, a Baptist minister, who suffered seventeen years' imprisonment, they could say—

'I hope the more they punish me, that I shall grow more bold:
The furnace they provide for me, will make me finer gold.
My friends, my God *will* do me good, when *they* intend me harm;
They may suppose a prison cold, but God can make it warm.
What if my God should suffer them on me to have their will,
And give me heaven instead of earth? I am no loser still.'

Thus does Antichrist destroy himself, for whether he imprisons the Christian, or only seizes on his goods, he uses weapons to hasten the destruction of his own kingdom.

CHAPTER IV.

BUNYAN'S RELEASE FROM PRISON, AND PUBLICATION OF 'THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.'

The reigns of the debauched Charles II. and the besotted James, those fag-ends of an unhappy race, were the most humiliating that these realms ever witnessed. Deep dissimulation,[1] oft-repeated falsehoods, wilful and deliberate perjuries, were employed by the first of these royal profligates to obtain the throne. Solemn pledges to pardon political offenders were ruthlessly violated, as well as the oaths and declarations 'that liberty should be extended to tender consciences on religious subjects, so that none should be disturbed or called in question for any differences of opinion in matters of religion.'[2] The fanatic Church of England soon obtained laws in direct violation of all the King's oaths and declarations, such as the Act of Uniformity, the Test and Corporation Acts, the Five-mile and Conventicle Acts, and a revival of the old statutes for compelling all persons to attend the Church service; and thus forcing the weak-minded to become hypocritical members of the Church which was then, and continues to this day, to be preferred by the state as best suiting its purposes. Among the rest was an Act ordering all the subjects of the realm, for ever, to meet in their respective churches on the 29th of May in each year, and thanking God that these kingdoms were on that day *new born and raised from the dead*:[3] an Act which has not been repealed, but remains a disgrace to our statute-book. A hurricane of persecution followed, and all the jails in the kingdom soon became filled with those of our countrymen who, by their virtue and piety, were the brightest ornaments of Christianity. While these barbarities were perpetrating, desolations followed in rapid succession. A fearful pestilence swept away the inhabitants of the metropolis, followed in the next year by a conflagration which destroyed the cathedral, and nearly all its churches, magazines, houses, and enormous wealth. Again, in the succeeding year, came a Dutch fleet, which took Sheerness, destroyed our shipping, and caused a degree of consternation thus described by an eye-witness, who was attached to the court:[4] 'I was at London in the plague and fire years, yet in neither did I observe such consternation and confusion in the looks of all men, as at this time, and with great cause: for if the Dutch had then come up to London, they had found all open to them, not one gun mounted at Tilbury Fort, nor one frigate ready in the river; so as they might have forced all the ships in the river up to the bridge, and there have burnt them, which would certainly have fired the Tower and all the suburbs west to Blackwall, as well as Southwark below bridge.' Still the persecution of the Christians was continued in all its rigour.

Bunyan was one among the first persons punished under the sanction of these wicked laws. He was taken, sent to prison, and threatened with transportation, or the halter, unless he would

[1] That thorough courtier, Lord Halifax, apologizes for him thus:—'If he dissembled, let us remember that he was a king; and that dissimulation is a jewel in the royal crown.'—Harris's *Charles* II., vol. ii. p. 16.

[2] Declaration from Breda.

[3] Meaning the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

[4] Mr. Roger Cook. Kennet's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 265.

conform, or pretend to conform, to whatever religion happened to be by law established. This at all hazards he steadily refused; although, at that time, he fully anticipated being hung. Under such an awful impression, he felt exceedingly anxious that, suffering for the cause of Christ, he should meet death with fortitude, and be enabled to address the multitude that would come to see him die. 'And, thought I, if it must be so, if God will but convert one soul by my very last words, I shall not count my life thrown away, nor lost.'[1]

About this time twelve Baptists were sentenced to be hung for nonconformity. One of these was a widow, Mary Jackman, who had six children; their reprieve was almost miraculous.[2]

Bunyan's sufferings in prison were aggravated by his affectionate feelings for his blind daughter, and with tender apprehension he speaks of her in language of impassioned solicitude. 'Poor child, thought I, what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the wind shall blow upon thee! Oh, the hardships I thought my blind one might go under, would break my heart to pieces!' Then he casts himself upon the boundless power of his God, repents his doubts, and is filled with consolation. Such were the severe trials by which he was qualified to write the 'Pilgrim's Progress.'

His wife was a partaker of his own spirit—a heroine of no ordinary stamp in so trying a situation. She came to London with a petition for the release of her husband, which was presented to the House of Lords; but in vain. Time after time she appeared in person before the judges; and, although a delicate young woman of retiring habits, pleaded the cause of her husband and his children in language worthy of the most talented counsel; but all her supplications were fruitless, although Judge Hale was evidently affected by her powerful appeal, and felt much for her. 'This courageous, this fine, high-minded English woman, and Lord Chief-Justice Hale, and Bunyan, have long since met in heaven; but how little could they recognize each other's character on earth! How little could the distressed insulted wife have imagined, that beneath the judge's ermine there was beating the heart of a child of God, a man of humility, integrity, and prayer! How little could the great, the learned, the illustrious, and truly pious judge have dreamed that the man, the obscure tinker, whom he was suffering to languish in prison for want of a writ of error, would one day be the subject of greater admiration and praise than all the judges in the kingdom of Great Britain! How little could he dream, that from that narrow cell where the prisoner was left incarcerated, and cut off apparently from all usefulness, a glory would shine out, illustrating the government and grace of God, and doing more good to man, than all the prelates and judges of the kingdom put together had accomplished.'[3]

How many thousands will in heaven search out Bunyan, to hear his own accounts of his sufferings, and how he conceived his wondrous dream! Nor will they forget the wife whose 'Plain Man's Pathway'[4] led him to his first inquiries after the Wicket-gate; nor his Elizabeth, who so nobly pleaded for him before the judges.

The number of nonconformists who were imprisoned in these trying times, will never be fully known until the great day when all secrets will be revealed, to the honour of the persecuted and the infamy of the persecutors. They were of both sexes and of all ages, from the child of nine or ten years to the hoary-headed saint of eighty, who, bending and trembling over the grave with bodily infirmities, was driven to prison and incarcerated in a filthy dungeon. In Picart's *Religious Ceremonies*, it is stated that the number of dissenters, of all sects, who perished in prison under Charles II. was EIGHT THOUSAND.[5]

As a sect, the Quakers were the most severely handled. Not only were they the ardent friends of religious liberty, but their principles led them to testify against oaths, a hireling ministry, tithes, and other ecclesiastical demands, whether by forcible or voluntary contributions; and they taught that the work of the ministry was one of the purest benevolence, and not to be fulfilled for the love of pelf, or idleness, or worldly distinction. The law required them to attend the Church, and when there, roused by the foolish and wicked observations of the priest, it was common for them to take out their Bibles, and denounce, in awful terms, the conduct of such blind teachers, who were leading their equally blind hearers to everlasting perdition. And for this they were imprisoned and cruelly treated.

If some of the nonconformists occasionally interrupted the clergyman while preaching, the Church party frequently did the same to both Baptists and Quakers. Thus it happened when Bunyan was preaching in a barn, a Church scholar, wounded by his observations, cried out, 'You are a deceiver, a person of no charity, nor fit to preach;

[1] 'Grace Abounding,' No. 335.
[2] Crosby's *History*, vol. ii. p. 184.
[3] Dr. Cheever's *Lectures*.
[4] This book, with 'M. Bunyan' on the title-page, is in the Editor's possession.
[5] Paris, 1809, tom. x. p. 71: 'Huit mille *dissenters* de toutes les croyances périrent en prison.'

for you condemn the greater portion of your hearers.' Bunyan replied, 'Did not Jesus Christ preach to the same effect, when he described four sorts of hearers—the highway, stony, thorny, and good ground? whereof the good ground were the only persons to be saved? Do you mean to say that Jesus was unfit to preach? Away with such logic!' The scholar rode away much better punished than by imprisonment, for disturbing a congregation which he was not compelled to attend.

Multitudes of Quakers and Baptists were confined for the non-payment of ruinous fines, imposed after the officers of injustice had swept away all the worldly goods that they possessed. In most cases they were treated with extreme cruelty; some, even in the midst of the plague then raging, were dragged from their homes and families, and shut up in a jail little better than a pest-house, in which seventy-nine members of the Society of Friends,[1] and a great number of other nonconformists died, and obtained a happy release from the fangs of tyranny. Upwards of eight thousand Quakers alone suffered imprisonment;[2] and the record of those who died in prison, as preserved at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, gives the fearful number of three hundred and ninety-nine persons of that persuasion only. At Carlisle, Dorothy Waugh and Ann Robinson, for preaching, were dragged through the streets, with each an iron instrument of torture, called a bridle, upon their heads, and were treated with gross indecency.[3] A youth named James Parnell, aged nineteen, was treated with a degree of cruelty which, had it not been well authenticated, would have been beyond our credibility. 'He was thrust into a hole in Colchester Castle not so wide as a baker's oven, and at a considerable height from the pavement; in climbing down to get his food, his hands being benumbed, he lost his hold, and fell upon the stones, wounding his head severely, and bruising his body. In this state he was beaten by the jailer, and thrust into a similar hole nearer the pavement. He was shortly released from further torments by death.'[4] A memorial was presented to the King and his council at Whitehall, 'Being a brief relation of some of the cruel and inhuman usage, and great persecution and imprisonment of above four thousand two hundred and thirty of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, for worshipping of God, and meeting together in the fear of the Lord.'[5] The summary of this frightful broadside, which gives an account of the number of Quakers in every prison throughout the kingdom, and is of undoubted authority, shows that such was the thronged state of the prisons, that in some cases they were crowded into so small a space that some had to stand while the others laid down. Many were taken out dead. To add to their trials, in Somersetshire the vilest felons were ironed to the poor Quakers; all the prisons were filled with men, women, and children; the aged and young, healthy and sick, were indiscriminately shut up with the vilest of ruffians, their clothes torn off; women taken from their beds in the night, and driven along the dirty roads in winter to prison; sixty-eight thrust into a small room, without bread or water, some of the women being in the most trying and delicate state; many in chains and fetters, wallowing in indescribable filth. Sixty of these Quakers were at one time confined, with John Bunyan and his friends, in the prison on Bedford Bridge. In 'Some Account of the Life and Death of Mr. John Bunyan,' prefixed to his works, 2 vols. folio, 1737, p. xii., we find that 'sixty Dissenters were at one time put in Bedford jail for attending a religious meeting at Kaistoe, in addition to Bunyan and the usual prisoners, among whom were two eminent dissenting ministers, Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Dun. Amidst all this hurry, Bunyan preached and prayed among them in a mighty spirit of faith and overflowing of Divine assistance, which made me stand and wonder.'[6] In one place of confinement in that county, 'fifty are in a close and strait place, where many are sick and weak, and likely to perish.' A very affecting appeal was made at this time to the House of Commons. One hundred and sixty-four nonconformists, called Quakers, assembled in Westminster Hall, and sent in a petition, stating that many of their brethren lay in irons, cruelly beaten by cruel jailers; many have died in their sufferings, and many lie sick and weak upon straw; and then praying that they might suffer in their stead, and that their bodies might be put into the holes and prisons, and an equal number of their suffering dying friends be released. Well might the editor of the *Christian Examiner* call this 'the feelings of majestic benevolence expressed in tender and beautiful simplicity.'[7] In the jail for the city of Bedford, in which Bunyan was confined, the prisoners were treated with an extraordinary degree of humanity, for which the jailer was severely threatened by some of the inhuman justices. So was Bunyan's valuable life preserved, and he favoured with an opportunity of writing the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and so fulfilling his great and appointed work. During this time he was permitted, by favour of the jailer, to visit his family, and even to go to London. This soon was rumoured;

[1] Hooke's *Address to both Houses of Parliament*, 4to, 1674.
[2] Ibid. [3] Besse's *Sufferings*. [4] Ibid. vol. i. p. 191.
[5] Devonshire House, in a volume of tracts 4to, No. 57.
[6] Evidently written by an eye-witness.
[7] *Christian Examiner*, vol. i. p. 211.

and one night he felt so uneasy, when at home, that at a very late hour he went back to the prison. The news of his being with his family at Elstow, was that very day taken to a neighbouring priest, who at midnight sent a messenger to the jail, that he might be a witness against the merciful keeper. On his arrival he demanded, 'Are all the prisoners safe?'—'Yes.' 'Is John Bunyan safe?'—'Yes.' 'Let me see him.' He was called, and appeared; and all was well. His kind-hearted jailer said to him, 'You may go out when you will, for you know much better when to return than I can tell you.' While he was suffering this imprisonment, his friends in Bedford were severely visited by the ruthless hand of persecution.

Mr. Ruffhead[1] was one of Bunyan's principal friends and supporters, and had the honour of being the first that had his house plundered in the general persecution, when those who refused to attend the Church service were so severely visited.

The effect of persecution upon this excellent and pious man was, that he, within two years, opened his house for the reception of the despised Christians, and it was *the first place of worship* that was licensed in Bedford for the use of the nonconformists, if not the first in the United Kingdom. The account of the ruffianly transactions which took place at this time, is contained in a rare tract, called, 'A True and Impartial Narrative of some Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings against Innocent Nonconformists in the Town of Bedford, 4to, 1670.'[2] 'On Monday, the 30th of May, Feckman, the chief apparitor, with the churchwarden, constable, and overseer, began to distrain. The person's name is *J. Ruffhead*, at whose house they first began. He had been fined three pounds, and they took away two timber trees, value seven pounds.'[3]

He must have been a man of some consequence in the town, to have been dealt with so leniently; for in most cases they swept away all the stock in trade, tools, and household furniture, and left the bare walls to shelter the widow and her lamenting orphans. Mr. Foster, a justice, went with the band, and in some cases *doubled the fine*, because it was not immediately paid. The misery was such, that the porters said *they would be hanged, drawn, and quartered before they would assist in that work.* Two of them, for so refusing, were caught and sent to Bedford jail, where, doubtless, they gave an account to Bunyan of the cruel trials to which his pious friends were subjected. The trained bands were called to assist, but 'the tradesmen, journeymen, labourers, and servants having either left the town or hid themselves, to avoid his [Feckman's] call, the town was so thin of people, that it looked more like a country village than a corporation; and the shops being generally shut down, it seemed like a place visited with a pest, where usually is written upon the door, *Lord, have mercy on us!*' Similar desolations fell upon many cities in the kingdom, which must have been utterly ruined, had the absurd attempt to enforce uniformity been continued.

In reading the narrative of these distressing and cruel proceedings, the mind is strangely relieved by the humours of the mob who accompanied these legalized plunderers. 'Whilst Battison and the other officers were attempting to break into a malt-house, a great number of all sorts of persons were gathered about them, expressing their indignation against him, for attempting this against Bardolf, the maltster, whom the whole town knew to be a just and harmless man. And the common sort of people covertly fixing a calf's tail to Battison's back, and deriding him with shouts and hollows, he departed without taking any distress there.'[4]

Our pious teacher had his time so fully occupied in prison, that his hours must have passed more sweetly and swiftly than those of a debauched monarch, surrounded with luxuries, in his magnificent palaces. To tag laces, the profit of which supported a beloved wife, and his family of helpless children, must have employed many of his hours to procure the scantiest food, and most homely clothing. But he found time also to study his Bible, teach his fellow-prisoners, and compose books which have inscribed his name on the page of history more indelibly and brilliantly than it could have been if set with diamonds on the most splendid earthly crown. He who could write, and loved to write, such volumes, wanted not occupation or solace; he might have said, I have found a nest of honey in the carcass of the lion that roared upon me. The world has from that time been refreshed with its sweetness, while, as a spiritual medicine, it counteracts the guilt and wretchedness of man. From such adversity God has extracted manna for the nourishment of his church in the wilderness.

Stone walls do not a prison make
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage.

For though men keep my outward man
Within their locks and bars,
Yet by the faith of Christ I can
Mount higher than the stars.

These be the men that God doth count
Of high and noble mind;
These be the men that do surmount
What you in nature find.

[1] Spelt 'Roughed' in the Indulgence, 1672.
[2] In the library of the Editor.
[3] *Narrative*, p. 9.
[4] *Narrative*, p. 4.

First they do conquer their own hearts,
All worldly fears, and then
Also the devil's fiery darts,
And persecuting men.

How refreshing for such scriptures as these 'to thrill through the soul' of a prisoner for Christ—'Let not your heart be troubled,' &c.; 'In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.' Thus Bunyan says, 'I have had sweet sights of the forgiveness of sin in this place. O the Mount Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the innumerable company of angels, and God the Judge of all; Jesus the Mediator, and the spirits of just men made perfect! I have seen here what I never can express. I have felt the truth of that scripture, "Whom having not seen ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."'

Many years after he had obtained his liberty, notwithstanding all his sufferings, he, with the majesty of truth, hurled defiance at all persecutors, and exhorted those who had put on Christ to be steadfast unto the end. When preaching upon the unsearchable riches of Christ, he thus applied his subject, 'We are environed with many enemies, and faith in the love of God and of Christ is our only succour and shelter. Wherefore, our duty, and wisdom, and privilege is, to improve this love to our own advantage—improve it against daily infirmities—improve it against the wiles of the Devil—improve it against the threats, rage, death, and destruction that the men of this world continually, with their terror, set before you.'[1]

It may be asked, Why dwell so much upon the sufferings of our pilgrim forefathers? My reply is, To those trials in the person of John Bunyan, we are indebted for his invaluable book. To the groans, and tears, and blood of these saints we owe the great privileges we now enjoy. And my object also is to warn my readers not to touch the unclean thing. Antichrist is governed by the same principles and powers now as she was then; the Acts of uniformity and coercion, to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, remain unaltered; but a more humane state of society protects our persons from her despotism. So long as the wealth of the state is the bribe to conformity, and the power of taxing and imprisoning the nonconformist is continued, so long must she lie under the strong suspicion of hypocrisy and tyranny. She was formerly defiled with the sufferings unto death of many of the saints of God. And while the system is the same, it becomes us to listen to the voice of the Holy Spirit, 'Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers. Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord.' 2 Co. vi. 14, 17.

It would not be proper to pass by the contemptible sophistry with which Mr. Southey justifies an intolerant bigoted hierarchy in sending our Pilgrim to prison, 'where his understanding had leisure to ripen and to cool . . . favourable for his *moral* and religious nature.'[2] Can this be the language of the author of Wat Tyler? Yes; the smile of royalty had elevated and corrupted him. He might now regret that he was not born in Bonner's days, to have assisted in improving the morals and religion of the martyrs, by flogging them in the coal-house!

The same language which Southey uses to justify the Church of England in sending our Pilgrim to prison, would equally justify the horrid cruelties practised upon those pious and amiable martyrs, Tyndale, Latimer, or Ridley. The alleged offence was refusing to transfer the obedience of a free immortal spirit from God, who justly claims it, to erring, debauched, or ungodly man, who, instigated by Satan, assumes the prerogatives of Deity to exercise dominion over the mode and form of worship; to impose trammels upon that which must be free if it exists at all; for God is a Spirit, and they who worship him must do it in spirit and in truth.

When the English Established Church considered herself unsafe, unless Bunyan and many hundred kindred minds were shut up in prison, it proved itself to be a disgrace to the gospel, and an injury to a free people.[3] All national hierarchies have estimated the minds of others by their own standard; but no *real* minister of the gospel can be like the Vicar of Bray, who was determined to retain his vicarage, whatever doctrine he might be ordered to preach.

How strangely different were the feelings of the poor, pious, unlettered teacher, to those of archbishops, bishops, and clergy, thousands of whom swore under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. to abjure the Pope; perjured themselves under Mary, by swearing to maintain him; and under Elizabeth, again perjured themselves by taking a new oath to un-oath Queen Mary's oath; and all within the space of a few years! The state, by *enforcing conformity* to an Established church, naturally puts the people upon desperate courses, either to play the hypocrite, and have no conscience at all, or to be tortured for having a conscience not fashionable or pleasing to the court party. They must either deny their faith and reason, or if virtuous, be destroyed for acting according to them.[4] Those who have no religion have always persecuted those who have religious principles; and to enable them

[1] See 'Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love,' vol. ii. p. 38.

[2] Southey's *Life of Bunyan*, p. lxvi.

[3] Dr. Cheever, p. 95.

[4] *England's Present Interest*, 4to, 1675, by Wm. Penn.

to do this, they must obey the state, be it Christian or be it Mahometan. Force makes hypocrites: persuasion alone makes converts.

Such wholesale persecutions bid fair to destroy the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and involve it in one universal desolation. Sir W. Petty, the founder of the Shelbourne family, then a man of considerable note, demonstated this in his *Political Arithmetic*; and the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania gave a just picture of the miseries inflicted by the Church of England, in her endeavours to force pious and honest men into her communion. 'Persons have been flung into jails, gates and trunks broken open, goods distrained, till a stool hath not been left to sit down on. Flocks of cattle driven, whole barns full of corn seized. Parents left without their children, children without their parents, both without subsistence. But that which aggravates the cruelty is, the widow's mite hath not escaped their hands; they have made her cow the forfeit of her conscience, not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her; and which is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, the poor helpless orphan's milk boiling over the fire, was flung away, and the skillet made part of their prize; that, had not nature in neighbours been stronger than cruelty in such informers and officers, to open her bowels for their relief and subsistence, they must have utterly perished;' and what has such cruelty procured? 'the judgments of God, the hatred of men. To the sufferers, misery; to their country, decay of people and trade; and to their own consciences, an infinite guilt.'[1] 'Men must either have no conscience at all, or be hanged for having a conscience not fashionable.'[2] He winds up a manly, learned, and excellent treatise, by saying (*inter alia*), that 'the interests of Britain will stand longer upon the legs of the English people than of the English Church,'[3] and signs himself 'An English Christian Man, William Penn.' Persecution, for his pure religious feelings, drove him and thousands of the best English citizens across the Atlantic, to seek among savages the repose denied to them by the Church of England, and to found a state and an empire where the perfect equality and happiness of every sect, the non-interference of the state with the spiritual things of conscience and of God, will render it eventually the most mighty of empires, and an unbounded blessing to the whole universe.

At length the King was aroused; probably the grim head of his father flitted before his alarmed imagination; and, to restore tranquillity to his kingdom, he issued a declaration for liberty of conscience; whether induced by the groans of an afflicted people, many thousands of whom had suffered the loss of all things, or by the weakening of his kingdom by the multitudes who emigrated to America, to escape the tyranny of ecclesiastical persecution, or whether to relax the laws against the Papists, has been a subject of controversy, and, however we may be sceptical as to *royal* declarations, yet, judging cautiously, I am inclined to hope that the motives set forth in that declaration were true; at all events, it is an indelible record, that the dreadful experiment tried for twelve cruel years, to compel uniformity in Divine worship by fines, imprisonment, and even death, most signally failed, while it involved the kingdom in a state of desolation, from which it required the glorious revolution of 1688 to restore it to comparative prosperity.

Favoured by the prompt and kind permission of Sir George Grey, one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and the very courteous and hearty assistance of Mr. Lechmere, Keeper of the Archives in the State Paper Office, every possible search was made to find any papers or records relative to the imprisonment and discharge of Bunyan. Having thus an opportunity of transcribing all that could be found at the fountain-head of intelligence, it may prove interesting to our readers to possess a correct copy of these important documents. The first is the King's declaration, under his own autograph signature.

Charles R

His Maties Declaration to all his loveing Subjects

Our care and Endeavours for the preservation of the Rights and Interests of the Church, have been sufficiently manifested to the World by the whole course of Our Government since Our happy Restauracôn, and by the many and frequent wayes of Coercion that Wee have used for reduceing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composeing the unhappy differences in matters of Religion, which Wee found among Our Subjects upon Our Returne: But it being evident by the sad experience of twelve yeares that there is very Little fruite of all those forceable Courses Wee thinke Our Selfe oblidged to make use of that Supreame Power in Ecclesiasticall Matters which is not onely inherent in Us, but hath been declared and Recognized to be soe by severall Statutes and Acts of Parliament; And therefore Wee doe now accordingly issue this Our Declaration, as well for the quieting the Mindes of Our Good Subjects in these Points, for Inviteing Strangers in this Conjuncture to come and Live under Us, and for the better Encouragement of all to a cheareful following of their Trade and Callings, from whence Wee hope by the Blessing of God to have many good and happy Advantages to our Government; As also for preventing for the future the danger that might otherwise arise from Private Meetings, and Seditious Conventicles;

And in the first place, Wee declare Our expresse Resolution Meaneing and Intention to be, that the Church of England bee preserved and remaine entire in its Doctrine, Discipline, and Government, as now it stands established by Law;

And that this bee taken to bee, as it is, the Basis, Rule, and Standard of the Generall and Publicke Worshipp of God, And that the Orthodox Conformable Clergy doe receive and enjoy the Revenues belonging thereunto; And that no Person,

[1] *England's Present Interest*, Preface.
[2] Ibid. p. 39.
[3] Ibid. p. 57.

though of a different opinion and Perswasion shall bee exempt from paying his Tythes, or other Dues whatsoever. And further Wee declare, That no Person shall bee capable of holding any benefice, Liveing, or Ecclesiasticall Dignity or Preferment of any kinde in this Our Kingdome of England, who is not exactly Conformable. Wee doe in the next Place declare Our Will and Pleasure to bee, That the Execution of all and all manner of Penall Lawes in matters Ecclesiasticall, against whatsoever sort of Non Conformists, or Recusants, bee immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended. And all Judges, Judges of Assise and Gaole Delivery, Sheriffes, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Officers, whatsoever, whether Ecclesiasticall, or Civill, are to take notice of it, and pay due Obedience thereunto.

And that there may be no pretence for any of Our Subjects to continue their illegall meetings and Conventicles Wee doe Declare, That wee shall from time to time allow a sufficient Number of Places, as they shall bee desired, in all parts of this Our Kingdome, for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England, to meete and assemble in, in Order to their Publick Worship and Devotion; which Places shall bee open and free to all Persons.

But to prevent such disorders and inconveniencies as may happen by this Our Indulgence, if not duely regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the Civill Magistrate Our expresse Will and Pleasure is, That none of our Subjects doe presume to meete in any Place, untill such Place bee allowed, and the Teacher of that congregation be approved by Us.

And Lest any should apprehend that this Restriction should make Our said Allowance and approbation difficult to bee obtained, Wee doe further Declare, That this Our Indulgence, as to the Allowance of the Publick Places of Worship, and approbation of the Teachers, shall extend to all sorts of Non-Conformists and Recusants, except the Recusants of the Roman Catholick Religion, to whom We shall in no wise allow Publick Places of Worship, but only indulge them their share in the common Exemption from the execution of the Penall Lawes, and the Exercise of their Worship in their private Houses ouely.

And if after this Our Clemency and Indulgence, any of Our Subjects shall presume to abuse this Liberty, and shall preach seditiously, or to the Derogation of the Doctrine, Discipline, or Government of the Established Church, or shall meet in Places not allowed by Us, Wee doe hereby give them warneing, and Declare, We will proceed against them with all imaginable severity: And Wee will Lett them see We can be as Severe to punish such offenders, when soe justly provoked, as We are Indulgent to truely tender conscieuces. In Wittnesse whereof Wee have caused Our Greate Seale of England to be putt and affixed to these presents. Given att Our Court att Whitehall this fifteenth day of March in the 24th yeare of Our Reigne 167½.

At this time, George Whitehead, one of the most zealous and prominent Quakers, became deeply affected with the cruel punishments that his brethren and sisters were suffering for Christ's sake. He was a man who, with equal composure and zeal, could plead before royalty and nobles in a state apartment, or impart consolation to a suffering Christian in a dungeon or a pest-house. He thus mentions it in his Journal, 'Soon after the before-mentioned declaration of indulgence was published in print, as I was solitary upon the road, returning toward London, a very weighty and tender concern fell upon my spirit, with respect to our dear friends then in prisons, being above four hundred, many of whom had been long straitly confined for not conforming, some having endured ten or eleven years' imprisonment, whereupon I wrote to the King, and requested Thomas Moor, who had an interest with the King and some of his council, to present my letter, which he did; and a few days after we had access to the King's presence, and renewed our request, whereupon he granted us liberty to be heard on the next council-day, in the same week. And then I, with Thomas Moor and Thomas Green, attended at the council-chamber at Whitehall, and were all admitted in before the King, and a full council. Being called to the upper end of the council-board, I opened and fully pleaded the case of our suffering friends. The King gave this answer, "I'll pardon them."' They were permitted to address the council at some length, and it being near the time of a general fast, they concluded with these words, 'This is the fast the Lord requires, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.'

Favoured with an order from the Secretary of State, and by the kind assistance of J. B. Lennard, Esq., of the Privy Council Office, I obtained access to the minutes of that council; in which is recorded, that a circular letter be sent to the sheriffs of the counties in England and Wales—

After our hearty commendations—Whereas request hath been made unto His Majesty in behalf of the Quakers who remain at present in several gaols and prisons of this Kingdom, That His Majesty would be pleased to extend his mercy towards them, and give order for their Release; Which His Majesty taking into consideration, hath thought fit, in order to his clearer information, before he resolve any-thing therein, to command us to write these Our Letters unto you: And, accordingly, wee do hereby will and require you to procure a perfect Lyste or Calendar of the names, time, and causes of comitment of all such Persons called Quakers, as are remayning in any Goale or Prison within that County, and to return ye same forthwith to this Board. And so nothing doubting of your ready performance of this His Majesty's command, we bid you heartily farewell.

From the Court at Whitehall, ye 29th of March, 1672.

Signed

Earle of Ossory	Earle of Carlisle	Lord Holles
Earle of Bathe	Ea of Lauderdail	Mr. Secy Trevor
Earle of Craven	Lord Newport	Mr. of ye Ordnance.

Like tres dated and signed ut supra were sent to ye Warden of ye Fleet and Mareshall of ye King's Bench Prisons, And to ye Mayors or Justices of ye seuerall places hereunder written viz.

Citty and County of ye Citty of Chester.
Citty and County of ye Citty of Exon.
Towne and County of Poole.
Citty and County of Glocester.
Citty and County of Lincolne.
Citty and County of Brestoll.
Towne and County of Southton.
Citty and County of ye Citty of York.[1]

[1] Extracted from the Register of the Privy Council.

The indefatigable manner in which the Quakers proceeded to get the requisite official signatures to release their suffering and dying friends, is beyond all praise. They wrote to all their meetings throughout the country to obtain assistance, to enable them to meet the demands for fees, and even sent their talented female friends to the officials, to press on this glorious jail delivery. This appears from the following letters :—

George Whitehead to *Stephen Crisp.*

3rd of 1st Month [*April*] 1672.

Before thy letter had come to hand, I had drawn up a paper containing the substance of thine, which Thos. Moore had given to the King, together with a list of the præmunired Friends and of those sentenced to banishment, &c.; which hitherto has been effectual, in order to a further enquiry about Friends, &c. How far the King and Council have proceeded, in answer to the request, I leave it to Wm. Crouch to inform thee. Thy paper is kept for a further occasion if need be, if our end be not answered by them. But we are encouraged to hope well for divers reasons. I could not well send to write to thee before, being much exercised for the sufferers. The Council yesterday signed the letters to the Sheriffs for a return of Friends Commitments, &c. to the Board; so that they are like to be had with expedition into the several Counties.

My very dear love to thee, thy wife, R. Crouch, and Friends

In haste, thy dear brother

[From the original.] G. W.

John Rouse to *Margaret Fox.*

London, 4th of 2nd Month [*May*], 1672.

Dear Mother,

Last 6th day the two women took the grant out of the Attorney-general's office, and he gave them his fee, which should have been £5; his clerk took but 20*s.*, whereas his fee was 40*s.* Yesterday they went with it to the King, who signed it in the Council; and Arlington also signed it, but would take no fees, whereas his fees would have been £12 or £20; neither would Williamson's man take any thing, saying, that if any religion were true, it was ours. To-morrow it is to pass the signet, and on sixth day the privy seal, and afterwards the broad seal, which may be done on any day. The power of the Lord hath wrought mightily in the accomplishment of it; and the Lord hath bowed their hearts wonderfully in it blessed be his name for ever!

Thy dear son in the Lord,

John Rouse.

Upon the King's declaration being published, an outcry was raised by the church, that it was only intended to favour the Papists, although in it they are expressly prohibited from the public exercise of their religion. So angry was the King at his motives being, as he said, misrepresented, that he went to the Council Office, called for the deed, and with his own hand broke off the great seal; the ribbon remains to this day to which the seal had been attached. Still the declaration, having passed the patent offices, was fully acted upon, and a return was ordered from the sheriffs throughout the kingdom, of the names of all prisoners, called Quakers, for disobedience to the laws in ecclesiastical matters within their respective divisions, with the causes of their commitment. The following are the minutes of the Privy Council to which their returns were submitted :—

At the Court at Whitehall the 8th of May 1672

The Kings most excellent Matie

Lord Arch Bp of Canterbury	Earle of Bathe
Lord Keeper	Earle of Carlisle
Duke of Lauderdail	Earle of Craven
Lord Chamberlain	Earle of Shaffsbury
Visco^t Ffauconberge	Lord Hollis
Visc^t Halifax	Mr Vice Chamberlain
Lord Bp of London	Mr. Secretary Trevor
Lord Newport	Sr John Duncombe
Earle of Bridgwater	Mr Chancellor of the Dutchy
Earle of Essex	Master of the Ordinance
Earle of Anglesey	Sr Thomas Osborne

Whereas his Matie of his Princely Clemency was graciously pleased to direct that Letters should be written from this Board to the Sherriffs of the respective Countyes and Cities and Countyes, and Townes and Countyes within his Maties Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales, requireing them to returne perfect lists or Callenders of the Names time and Causes of Comittment of all such Prisoners called Quakers as remaine in their severall Gaoles, or prisons, which they accordingly did, and the same were by order of his Matie in Councell of the third of this instant delivered into the hands of the right Hono^ble the Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England, [Sir Orlando Bridgman,] who haveing considered thereof did this day returne them againe together with his opinion therevpon as followeth vizt

The Returnes that are made touching the prisoners in the severall Goales are of severall Kindes.

1 All such of them as are returned to be convicted to be Transported or to be Convicted of a Premunire (vpon which Convictions I suppose Judgment was given) are not legally to be discharged but by his Maties pardon vnder the great scale.

2 All those that are returned to be in prison vpon writts of Excomunicato Capiendo not mentioning the cause ought not to be discharged till the cause appeares—ffor if it be for Tythes, Legacyes, Defamations or other private Interest, they ought not to bee discharged till the partie be satisfied.

3 All those that are returned in prison for debt or vpon Exchequer processe or of any of the other Courts at Westminster, are not to be discharged till it be Knowne for what cause those processes Issued and those debts be discharged.

4 Those that are in prison for not paying their ffynes ought not to be discharged, without paying their ffynes or a Pardon.

All the rest I conceive may be discharged. Which being this day taken into consideration his Matie was gratiously pleased to declare, that he will Pardon all those persons called Quakers, now in prison for any offence Committed, relateing only to his Matie and not to the prejudice of any other person. And it was therevpon ordered by his Matie in Councill That a List of the Names of the Quakers in the Severall Prisons together with the causes of their Comittment be and is herewith sent to his Maties Attorney Generall who is required, and Authorized to prepare a Bill for his Maties Royall Signature conteyning a Pardon to passe the great Seale of England, for all such to whom his Matie may legally grant the same & in Case of any difficultie that he attend the Lord Keeper, and receive his directions therein.

Ex. J. W. Walker.

Order of Councill for the Quakers generalle Pardon.

Endorsed.

This is a true List of the Names of such persons commonly called Quakers and others which are by Vertue of an Order of Councill of the 8th of May last past to be inserted in a generall Pardon.

Ex. J. W. Walker.

Then follow the names of four hundred and seventy-one prisoners, ordered to be inserted in the pardon. One sentence in this opinion of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Orlando Bridgman, is worthy of especial regard. Having noticed the cases of all those who had been legally convicted, either by summary process before a magistrate, or by petty session, or by a jury, he winds up with a sweeping expression, '*All the rest may be discharged.*' That multitudes were imprisoned without conviction, upon the mere verbal orders of a justice, there can be no doubt. These would be set at liberty without any formal pardon; even in Bunyan's case no evidence was taken, but a conviction was recorded. In a conversation between him and the justice, and also with the clerk privately, *he denied* having offended any law whatever; but his honest declaration, that he had met with others for Divine worship, was distorted into a plea of guilty, and he was sent to prison without redress. 'They took me for a convicted person,' and 'would not let me out of prison, as they let out thousands' at the time the King was crowned.[1]

It is impossible to calculate the amount of misery inflicted upon the Christian Church at that period, by the Episcopalian establishment supported by the state. Among the multitude of prisoners who were liberated from our over-crowded prisons at the coronation of Charles II., vast numbers had been confined for their love to the Redeemer, which prevented their conformity to the forms of worship ordered by the state. In addition to these, a countless host was discharged under the just decision of the Lord Chancellor, 'All the rest, I conceive, may be discharged;' while nearly five hundred more were included in the royal pardon, and great numbers were still left to perish in prison, for the non-payment of ecclesiastical dues, generally of a trifling amount. The loss to the nonconformists in their goods, during this severe and cruel persecution, has been estimated at half a million sterling, seized by rapacious officers to pay fines for not attending the liturgy and service—an enormous sum, considering the value of money at that time; yet from records which the Editor has seen, it was not over-stated. But a small portion of this found its way into the royal exchequer. Our great Allegorist was trained up in the fiercest spiritual warfare; and, with his fellow-pilgrims, passed through the severest temporal sufferings.

[1] 'Relation of the Imprisonment of John Bunyan,' vol. i. pp. 40, 41; and Judge Hale's observation, p. 42.

May God, in his infinite mercy, forgive the living representatives of a system which is so naturally full of cruelty, and not, in the severity of his justice, visit the sins of the fathers upon their children; some of whom appear, even now, to have an inkling for similar antichristian conduct. It cannot be forgotten that, within a few years, an estimable man, John Childs of Bungay, was sent to jail for refusing to pay a church rate.

But to return to our distinguished nonconformist prisoner. On the day following the meeting of the Privy Council, when the report of the Lord Chancellor was received, and the King had ordered his royal pardon for the Quakers; Bunyan, being still a prisoner, was, in pursuance of the declaration for liberty of conscience, licensed to be a teacher, being one of the first persons that were so registered. These were the first permissions to preach given, to the dissenters from the established sect, in this country.

The volume from which these extracts are made is called *Indulgences*, 1672, under the head 'Congregationall.'

Bedford Licence for John Bunyon to be a teacher in the house of Josias Roughed 9 May 72.

CHARLES &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables and other Our Officers and Ministers Civil and Military whom it may concerne, Greeting. In Pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th of March 167½ Wee doe hereby permitt and licence John Bunyon to bee a Teacher of the Congregation allowed by Us in the Howse of Josias Roughed Bedford for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England, who are of the Perswasion commonly called Congregationall. With further licence and permission to him the said John Bunyon to teach in any other place licensed by Us according to our said Declaracion. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 9th day of May in the 24th yeare of our Reigne, 1672.

By his Maties Command
Arlington.

At the same time the house of Josias Roughed was registered in the following form:—[2]

A place for a Teacher in Bedford.

CHARLES &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables and other Our Officers and Ministers Civill and Military, whom it may concerne, Greeting. In pursuance of Our Declaracôn of the 15 of March 167½ Wee have allowed and Wee doe hereby allow of the Howse of Josias Roughed in Bedford to be a place for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England who are of the Perswasion commonly called Congregationall to meet and assemble in, in order to their Publick Worship & devotion. And all and Singular Our Officers and Ministers Ecclesiasticall Civill and Military, whom it may concerne are to take due notice hereof, And they and every of them are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any Tumult or Disturbance, & to protect them in their said Meetings & Assemblies. Given at &c the 9th day of May in the 24th yeare of Our Reigne 1672

By his Maties Command
Arlington.

[2] See a similar form of registration in Wilson's *History of Dissenting Churches*, vol. iii. p. 187.—The house of Thos. Doolittle, dated April 2, 1672.

The church of Christ at Bedford is here called Congregational. In ten months, about three thousand five hundred of these licenses were granted, only one being at Bedford; many were for persons and places called *Anabapt*, all others were under the term Congregational. Philip Henry was indulged 'in his house, Malpas Parish, in Flintshire.' Thomas Senior and Henry Ashurst, in their respective houses at Clapton, in Hackney. Bunyan's church could not fairly be called *Anabapt*, because it consisted of members some of whom, probably, had not been baptized in or with water, some christened in infancy, and others immersed on a profession of their faith.

Mr. Roughed, whose house was licensed for Bunyan to preach in, was plundered a few months previously for refusing to go to church. To attend such a place was one month a violation of the law, visited with ruinous fines and imprisonments, and the next month, places are licensed according to law, for any person to attend, instead of going to church. Law-makers must ever be the scorn and derision of the world, when they interfere with Divine and spiritual worship.

The Quakers had much greater influence with the King and his council than all the other denominations of Christians; and it was soon rumoured abroad that they had been with the King in council, and had obtained for their suffering friends a royal promise of a free pardon. Controversy between them and other Christians had been carried on with much bitterness of speech, and in this Bunyan had borne a prominent part, when combating against what he conceived to be serious errors. But as Christians involved in one common calamity, the Quakers admitted their brethren in affliction to partake of the bounty bestowed expressly upon themselves. Whitehead thus narrates this delightful fact in his journal:—'When the instrument for discharge of the prisoners was granted to our friends, there being other dissenters, besides Quakers, in some prisons, as Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents; some of their solicitors, especially one William Carter, seeing what way we had made with the King for our friends' release, they desired their friends in prison might be discharged with ours, and have their names in the same instrument, and earnestly requested my advice or assistance, which I was very willing to give in compassion to them; and, accordingly, I advised them to petition the King, with the names of the prisoners in it, for his warrant to have them inserted in the same patent with the Quakers, which accordingly they did petition for, and obtain.' 'Our being of different judgments and societies, did not abate my compassion or charity, even towards them who had been my opposers in some cases. Blessed be the Lord my God, who is the Father and fountain of mercies, whose love and mercies in Christ Jesus to us should oblige us to be merciful and kind one to another; we being required to love mercy, yea, to be merciful, as well as to do justly, and to walk humbly with the Lord our God.'[1]

Such was the Christian conduct of men, who, of all the members of the church militant upon earth, have been the most grossly slandered.

In pursuance of the Quaker's kind advice, Bunyan and his fellow-prisoners petitioned the King for their liberty; and at the meeting of the Privy Council, held on the 8th of May 1672, in presence of His Majesty, and a numerous assembly of his nobles, before the grant of pardon to relieve the Quakers was engrossed, it is recorded—

At the Court at Whitehall, 8th May, 1672.

Reference Peticôn severall Non-Conformists Prisoners in Cambridge Castle and Bedford Goale.

Upon reading this day at the board the humble petition of John Fenn, JOHN BUNYON, John Dunn, Thomas Haynes, Simon Haynes, and George Farr prisoners in the Goal of Bedford and James Rogers prisoner in the Castle of Cambridge for being at Conventicles and Non-conformity. It was ordered to be referred to the Sheriffs of the Counties of Bedford and Cambridge to examine the said Petitions and forthwith certify this Board whether the said parties are detained in prison for the offences therein mentioned or for what other crimes.

At the Court at Whitehall, ye 17th of May, 1672.

The King's most excellent Matie.

Lord Arch Bp of Canterbury	Earle of Shaffsbury
Lord Keeper	Viscot Fauconberg
Duke of Lauderdale	Viscot Halifax
Duke of Ormonde	Lord Newport
Marquis of Worcester	Lord Hollis
Earle of Bridgewater	Lord Clifford
Earle of Essex	Mr. Vice Chamberlain
Earle of Anglesey	Mr. Secretary Trevor
Earle of Bathe	Mr. Montagne
Earle of Carlisle	Mr. Chancellor of ye Dutchy
Earle of Craven	Master of ye Ordnance
Earle of Arlington	Sr Thomas Osborne.

Whereas by order of the Board of the 8th Instant the humble Petition of John Fenn John Bunyon John Dunn Thomas Haynes Simon Haynes and George Farr Prisoners in the Goale of Bedford Convicted upon severall Statutes for not conforming to the Rights and Ceremonyes of the Church of England and for being at unlawful Meetings, was Referred to the Sheriffe of the County of Bedford who was required to Certify this Board whether the said persons were comitted for the Crimes in the said Petition mentioned and for no other which he haveing accordingly done by his certificate dated the 11th Instant It was thereupon this day ordered by his Matie in Councill, That the said petition and Certificate be (and are herewith) sent to his Ma^tie^s Attorney Generall, who is authorised and required to insert them into the Generall Pardon to be passed for the Quakers. If he finds that they are within the compass of his Maties pardon according to the Rule Prescribed by the order of the 8th of May about pardon for the Quakers.

[1] Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 8vo, 1725, p. 353.

The like order for Francis Holcroft and James Rogers for frequenting unlawful meetings as by certificate from the Sheriffe of Cambridge of the 10th and 11th Instant.

[*The sheriff's return cannot be found.*]

At a Court at Whitehall, ye 22d May 1672,

A similar order was made for Walter Penn and twelve others, prisoners in Wilts.

At a Court ye 7th of June 1672,

On a Certificate of the Mayor, Sheriff and Aldermen of Worcester, Robert Smith, a Baker, was ordered to be inserted in the pardon.

On the 12th of June, the petition of twenty-two prisoners was read and referred to the Sheriffs, and on the 26th their names were ordered to be inserted in the pardon.

On the 14th of June Thomas More the Quaker obtained a similar order, and on the 26th of June Thomas Gower Durham and eight prisoners in Devon and Exeter were ordered to be inserted in the pardon.

Through all these minutes the intended patent is referred to as the general pardon to the Quakers.

Thus we find undoubted proof upon the records of the Privy Council of England, presided over by the King in person, that John Bunyan's only crime, as certified by the sheriff, and for which he was counted worthy of so cruel an imprisonment, was being present with others to worship his Maker in simplicity and in truth. This was all his crime; 'the very head and front of his offence.' O that all her Majesty's subjects would constantly follow his example! then might our prisons be converted into colleges and schools, and our land become an earthly paradise.

In pursuance of this great and benevolent object, these indefatigable Quakers obtained a warrant to the Attorney-General, for a free pardon, of which the following is a copy:—

Our will and pleasure is, that you prepare a bill for the royal signature, and to pass our Great Seal of England, containing our gracious pardon unto [here follow the prisoners' names]. Of all offences, contempts and misdemeanours by them, or any of them committed before the 21st day of July 1672, against the several statutes made in the first, twenty-third, and thirty-fifth years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth: in the third year of the reign of our late royal grandfather, King James; and in the 16th year of our reign—in not coming to church and hearing divine service; in refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and frequenting or being present at seditious conventicles; and of all premunires, judgments, convictions, sentences of excommunication, and transportation thereupon; and of all fines, amercements, pains, penalties, and forfeitures whatsoever, thereby incurred, with restitution of lands and goods, and such other clauses, and *non obstantes*, as may render this our pardon most effectual; for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the — day of June, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign.

But now a new and very serious difficulty presented itself in the shape of enormous fees, in the different offices through which the pardon had to pass; these amounted to between twenty and thirty pounds for each person whose name was inserted in it. Whitehead again applied to the King, and at length all difficulties were removed by the following order:—

His Majesty is pleased to command, that it be signified as his pleasure to the respective officers and sealers, where the pardon to the Quakers is to pass, that the pardon, though comprehending great numbers of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one.

ARLINGTON.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 13th of Sep. 1672.

Whitehead adds, 'Though we had this warrant from the King, yet we had trouble from some of the covetous clerks, who did strive hard to exact upon us.'

A very considerable sum for those days, and for such poor persons to raise, was needful to carry this pardon into full effect. The dissenters had been enormously plundered. Hundreds, if not thousands, had been stripped of all that they possessed, so that the prison, intended and used as a place of rigorous punishment, was in fact their only shelter from the inclemency of the weather. The expenses of a royal pardon for such a number of prisoners was very great, not merely in the drawing, engrossing, and passing through the various offices and departments of the state, but in employing efficient persons to go through the kingdom to plead this pardon before the various sessions and assizes. Every impediment that cruelty could invent was thrown in the way of the release of these Christian prisoners for nonconformity, by the squirarchy and clergy. To raise the requisite funds, a strong appeal was made by the following circular sent to the Quakers in the country:—

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

We suppose you may not be insensible how that upon sundry applications made to the King and Council in time past and more especially now of late for the release of our dear suffering Friends, the Clerk and others, and others attending him and them, have upon that account been put to a great deal of trouble and pains in writing of orders and letters to the Sheriffs of the respective Counties in England and Wales, and otherwise in order to Friends' discharge, and although for some years together their labour therein (as well as those of us who travelled in that affair on Friends' behalf) was from time to time rendered ineffectual, yet at this present, there appears a very great probability of accomplishing our friends liberty, which hath and doth renew an additional trouble upon them, and thereby a further obligation laid upon us to requite them for their pains, and not only them but also the Clerks of the Keeper, Attorney General, and other inferior officers, who in drawing up the Kings grant and orders, and Friends general discharge (now in agitation towards an accomplishment) will be at no small trouble in writing and other services in order thereunto that we apprehend Friends cannot be clear if they do not in some measure answer the reasonable part in them by gratifying them for their pains. Wherefore we saw meet to recommend it to such Friends in the Counties as are or have been lately prisoners for the truth's sake and who are

to share in the benefit that may accrue by the King's intended general discharge that they will be pleased to contribute their proportion toward defraying of this great charge which they are desired forthwith to take into their consideration accordingly and to send it up to London with all convenient expedition unto Gerard Roberts, John Osgood, and William Welch or any or either of them for the purpose aforementioned. We remain Your dear friends and brethren.

London, 5th of 4th mo. 1672.

Part of the money is already disbursed on this behalf by Friends in London.

Extracted from the Minute Book of the Society of Friends, 1672, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate.

All difficulties having been overcome, this Magna Charta, or grant of liberty, was issued.

The original patent, with the Great Seal attached to it, is carefully preserved by the Society of Friends, in their archives at Devonshire House, and it contains the names of twenty prisoners not included in the order of Privy Council. But Bunyan's name is in both. It is in Latin in the usual form, prepared by Mr. Nicolls, the principal clerk to the Attorney-General, to the following effect:—

Charles the Second by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender, &c. To all to whom the present letters shall come greeting—Know ye that we moved with piety[1] of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, Have pardoned, remitted and released and by these presents for us our heirs and successors Do pardon, remit and release to Edward Pattison, John Ellis, Arthur Cooke and Richard Cannon prisoners in our Gaol of Newgate within our City of London.

And in the same form the prisoners are named in the other jails throughout the kingdom. The following were fellow-sufferers at that time in Bedford jail:—

John Fenn, JOHN BUNNION, John Dunn, Thomas Haynes, George Farr, James Rogers, John Rush, Tabitha Rush, and John Curfe, Prisoners in the Common Gaol for our County of Bedford. [The names and places of imprisonment having been given of the four hundred and ninety-one prisoners, the grant goes on with great care to secure the benefit intended]—to each of them—or by whatsoever other names or name—surname—addition of name—Art—Office—Mystery or Place they—are known deemed called or named or lately was known &c. ALL and all manner crimes transgressions offences of premunire—unlawful conventicles contempts and ill behaviour whatsoever—by himself alone or with any other person howsoever whensoever or in what manner soever or wheresoever advised commanded attempted done perpetrated or committed before the thirtieth day of July last past before the date of these presents, against the form of the Statute &c. In witness of which thing we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness myself at Westminster the 13th of September in the twenty-fourth year of our reign [1672.] By writ of Privy Seal. Pigott.

This instrument is extended by the forms of law, so that every name is repeated eleven times, and in which our great sufferer's name is spelt in four different ways. *Bunnion* twice, *Bunyan* five times, *Bunnyon* once, and *Bunnyan* three times. It is singular that he spelt his own name in different ways in the early part of his life, and on the drawing of his portrait by White it is spelt *John Bunion*, while on the engraving done by the same artist it is *John Bunnyon*.[2] The names inserted in this pardon are four hundred and ninety-one.

Bunyan having had a very sharp controversy with the Quakers, it is a strong manifestation of their Christian spirit that he certainly obtained his release through their instrumentality; for they paid all the expenses of getting the royal grant, and also of having it served throughout the kingdom; and to do this with speed, many of the prisoners being in a dying state with the severity of their sufferings, duplicates of the pardon were made and authenticated, and messengers were dispatched throughout the country to set the prisoners at liberty. At first, Whitehead and his friends took the patent with them, and produced it at the assizes and quarter-sessions. With some reluctance on the part of the persecuting justices, they consented to discharge the prisoners named in the patent, not daring to disobey the royal mandate. They then discovered that some of the pious sufferers had still been omitted, notwithstanding the return made by the sheriffs, and the additions which had been made at Whitehead's request, before the Great Seal was attached. On behalf of these they pleaded effectually, and they also were discharged from confinement.

The great anxiety of the Quakers to effect their object is shown by many letters which passed at the time between their leading ministers. This will be seen by the following extracts:—

Ellis Hookes to *Margaret Fox.*

13*th of* 6*th month* (*Sept.*) 1672.

G. W. and myself have been much employed this summer in the business of the prisoners liberty, &c.—(He describes the process of getting the pardon through the various offices.)

Ellis Hookes to *Margaret Fox.*

1*st of* 8*th mo* (*Nov.*) 1672.

The deed of pardon prepared on 11 skins about 500 names; hoped that a letter from the Principal Secretary of State 'may be effectual to discharge them.'

Same to *same.*

10*th of* 10*th month* (*Jan.*) 167$\frac{3}{4}$.

All the prisoners were Discharged except those in Durham, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Monmouth in *Wales.*

[1] Charles II.'s notion of being pious must have arisen from the flattery bestowed upon his father, it being impossible to have arisen from any other source. 'The conceptions of kings are as far above the vulgar as their condition is; for, being higher elevated, and walking upon the battlements of sovereignty, they sooner receive the inspirations of heaven.'—Howel's *Dodona's Grove*, p. 61. [Why not conduct Divine service over the dome of St. Paul's?]

[2] Print-room, British Museum.

It is said that Bishop Barlow interceded for Bunyan; but if he did, there is no record or petition to that effect preserved either in the State Paper or Privy Council Offices. He was not then a bishop, but possessed great influence, and had written, *The case of a Toleration in Matters of Religion*, which he extended further than any divine of that age. This, and his friendship with Dr. Owen, might have given rise to the report. Barlow became afterwards a trimmer, and sided with the court party—a very natural effect of his elevation into bad company.

My conviction is, that Bunyan owed his release to the desolating effects produced by a wholesale persecution visiting tens of thousands who dared not, as they valued the honour of Christ or the salvation of their souls, attend the national, and, in their opinion, anti-scriptural service; and that the Privy Council, finding that the country must be plunged into revolution or ruin if the wretched system of compulsive uniformity was continued, determined to relax its severity, grant liberty of worship, and discharge the prisoners. As this could not be done by proclamation, and the prisoners were too poor to sue out a patent individually, much difficulty and delay might have arisen to prevent their discharge. This was removed by the active benevolence of George Whitehead. The appeal which he and his friends made was allowed; and he appears to have obtained the insertion of twenty names which were not in the Privy Council list to be added to the pardon. Whitehead's *concern* appears to have followed immediately after the declaration for liberty of conscience was published. Whether it arose from some intimation given him by Mr. Moor, or from a secret influence of the Holy Spirit, can only be known in a future state. For the payment of the fees, and for sending his release to the prison, and for obtaining his liberty, Bunyan was indebted to the Quakers. By this patent, all fines were remitted, and that without finding security for future conduct.

Bunyan's gratitude for the preservation of his life, and his deliverance from prison, shone through all his conduct. It appeared strikingly in his admirable treatise of 'Antichrist.' In the chapter on the instruments that God will use to bring Antichrist to his ruin: 'Let the King have verily a place in your hearts. Pray for kings; I am for blessing of them that curse me; and for doing good to them that hate me, and despitefully use me, and persecute me.'[1]

From this time there appears no more discord between Bunyan and the Quakers. The Ranters had separated from them, and soon disappeared; while the Quakers became united into a most useful church of Christ, under the name of 'The Society of Friends.' When they understood each other's peaceful and pious principles, all hostility came to an end.

Charles Doe states that, on the 21st of December 1671, while Bunyan was yet a prisoner, he was, by the church at Bedford, called to the pastoral office. This was in or about the last of his twelve years' imprisonment; and when set at liberty, he preached the gospel publicly at Bedford, and about the countries, and at London, with very great success, being mightily followed everywhere.[2]

From this time to his peaceful removal to the celestial city, he was divinely protected, and his liberty preserved, in the midst of the severe persecutions under which many of his nonconforming brethren suffered. No man in the kingdom was more fearless and uncompromising in the publication of Divine truth, both through the medium of the press and of the pulpit. With him, the fear of man was swallowed up in the fear of God; so that he boldly persevered in the path of duty, at the imminent risk of losing all his temporal blessings, and even life itself; and yet he was unmolested! After producing such a work as the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' the fruit of his prison meditations; after coming forth from his thirteen years' incarceration in a narrow, damp, wretched dungeon, which, by Divine power, had been transformed into the house of God and gate of heaven; he appeared like a Christian giant, refreshed by wholesome discipline and diet. The emissaries of Satan dared not again to risk the sending him to a jail, where he might produce some other and more potent instrument for the destruction of their kingdom. Protected by his God, he devoted himself, body, soul, and spirit, to the building up of that spiritual kingdom which disarms tyrants and despots, both civil and ecclesiastical, sets the captive free, and fills the souls of those that receive it with blessing and praise.

He possessed a devoted wife, to whom he was married about the year 1658, he being then a widower with four children. His marriage to his first wife, one of his biographers says, 'proves, too, I readily grant, that she had little prudence.' If by prudence he means worldly pelf, Bunyan valued it not; they were happy in their union, and she was highly honoured. Had she been unhappy, he would have been charged as the cause of her unhappiness. She was the chosen vessel to assist him in obtaining the treasures of the gospel, and must be honoured as one of the means by which he was prepared to publish his universal guide to Christian pilgrims. It was his second wife, who pleaded

[1] *See* vol. ii. p. 74.

[2] *The Struggler.*

his cause with such modest intrepidity before the judges, and she must have assisted him greatly in arranging his affairs. One of his oldest biographers tells us, that 'when he came abroad again, he found his temporal affairs were gone to wreck; and he had, as to them, to begin again, as if he had newly come into the world; but yet he was not destitute of friends, who had all along supported him with necessaries, and had been very good to his family; so that, by their assistance, getting things a little about him again, he resolved, as much as possible, to decline worldly business, and give himself wholly up to the service of God.'[1] A circumstance which took place on the 6th of November 1673, must have greatly comforted him. His sufferings and ministry were a blessing to his son, Thomas, who not only became a member of his church, but was set apart as an occasional preacher, and exercised his ministerial gifts in the villages round Bedford. In six years after his liberation, he had published nine valuable treatises, among which were his controversial books with his Baptist brethren; and then he, having overcome all his scruples, published, although against the wish of some of his friends, the First Part of this greatest of all his labours, his *vade-mecum* of the heaven-ward pilgrim, by which his memory is embalmed and his name diffused throughout all the Christian churches of every sect and denomination.

CHAPTER V.

WAS BUNYAN ASSISTED IN THE COMPOSITION OF HIS PILGRIM?

To this question take his own reply—

'Some say the Pilgrim's Progress is not mine,
Insinuating as if I would shine
In name and fame by the worth of another,
Like some made rich by robbing of their brother.
Or that so fond I am of being sire,
I'll father bastards: or, if need require,
I'll tell a lie in print to get applause.
I scorn it; John such dirt-heap never was,
Since God converted him. Let this suffice
To show why I my Pilgrim patronize.
'It came from mine own heart, so to my head,
And thence into my fingers trickled;
Then to my pen, from whence immediately
On paper I did dribble it daintily.
'Manner and matter too was all mine own,
Nor was it unto any mortal known,
'Till I had done it. Nor did any then,
By books, by wits, by tongues, or hand, or pen,
Add five words to it, or wrote half a line
Thereof: the whole, and ev'ry whit is mine.
'Also for *this*[2] thine eye is now upon,
The matter in this manner came from none,
But the same heart and head, fingers and pen,
As did the other. Witness all good men;
For none in all the world without a lie,
Can say that this is mine, excepting I.
I write not this of any ostentation,
Nor 'cause I seek of men their commendation;
I do it to keep them from such surmise,
As tempt them will my name to scandalize.
Witness my name, if anagram'd to thee,
The letters make, Nu honey in a B.
'JOHN BUNYAN.'

'I dare not presume to say, that I know I have hit right in everything; but this I can say, I have endeavoured so to do. True, I have not for these things fished in other men's waters; my Bible and Concordance are my only library in my writings.'[3]

He who doubts the word of John Bunyan, knows nothing of the character and soul of a man who suffered nearly thirteen years' imprisonment in Bedford jail, rather than utter a falsehood or use the slightest simulation. Such objectors deserve chastisement in Doubting Castle, and should be flogged with the royal garter—*Honi soit qui mal y pense.* But such there have been from 1678 to a late period; and the same feeling which led the Scribes and Pharisees to reject the Messiah, because he appeared as the son of a carpenter, probably has led authors of great repute to express their doubts as to the originality of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' because the author was an unlettered man—the reason why, as his pastor says, 'the archers shot so sorely at him.'

Dr. Dibdin, in his *Typographical Antiquities*, describing Caxton's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, says—'This extraordinary production, rather than Bernard's *Isle of Man*, laid the foundation of John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress."'[4] The late Dr. Adam Clarke, in a Postscript to a *Life of Bunyan*, observes that 'his whole plan being so very similar to Bernard's religious allegory, called the *Isle of Man*, or, *Proceedings in Manshire;* and also to that most beautiful allegorical poem, by Mr. Edmund Spenser, oddly called the *Faëry Queen*, there is much reason to believe that one or other, if not both, gave birth to the "Pilgrim's Progress."'[5]

Mr. Montgomery, a devoted admirer of Bunyan's genius, considers that the print and the verses entitled *The Pilgrim*, in *Whitney's Emblems*, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, in 1585, might, perhaps, have inspired the first idea of this extraordinary work.[6]

Southey, who investigated this subject with great ability, came to a very pointed conclusion: 'It would, indeed, be as impossible for me to believe

[1] *Life*, 18mo, 1692; re-published by Ivimey, 1832, p. 31.
[2] The 'Holy War,' in which these lines were inserted.
[3] Preface to 'Solomon's Temple Spiritualized.'
[4] Vol. i. p. 153.
[5] *Bunyan's Pilgrim:* an Epic Poem by C. C. V. G., 1844, p. 44.
[6] Montgomery's *Christian Poet.*

that Bunyan did not write the "Pilgrim's Progress," as that Porson did write a certain copy of verses entitled the *Devil's Thoughts*.' Now, as these verses were doubtless written by Southey himself, he had arrived at a conviction that Bunyan was fully entitled to all the honour of conceiving and writing his great allegory. Still, he says, 'the same allegory had often been treated before him. Some of these may have fallen in Bunyan's way, and modified his own conceptions when he was not aware of any such influence.'[1] It is high time that these questions were fully investigated, and set at rest.

It must be kept in mind that Bunyan knew no language but his own; and that all his characters, as well as the trial by jury, are purely English. When he used five common Latin words in Dr. Skill's prescription, *Ex carne et sanguine Christi*, this perfectly unassuming author tells his readers, in a marginal note, '*The Latine I borrow.*' It is absurd to suppose that learned men read to him old monkish manuscripts, or the allegories of a previous age; for his design was unknown, he had formed no plan, nor had he any intention to have written such a book, until it came upon him suddenly. His first idea was inspired from one of his own works while composing it, and then the whole story flowed into his mind as quick as he could write it. Every attempt has been made to tarnish his fair fame; the great and learned, the elegant poet and the pious divine, have asserted, but without foundation in fact, or even in probability, that some of his ideas were derived from the works of previous writers.

Every assertion or suggestion of this kind that came to my knowledge, has been investigated, and the works referred to have been analyzed. And beyond this, every allegorical work that could be found previous to the eighteenth century, has been examined in all the European languages; and the result is a perfect demonstration of the complete originality of Bunyan. 'It came from his own heart.' The plot, the characters, the faithful dealing, are all his own. And what is more, there has not been found a single phrase or sentence borrowed from any other book, except the quotations from the Bible, and the use of common proverbs. To arrive at this conclusion has occupied much time and labour, at intervals, during the last forty years. The works read and analyzed commence with our monkish manuscripts, and continue through the printed books published prior to the Reformation, when the church, having no competition in the cure of souls, spoke out without disguise; and from that time to 1678, when our Pilgrim appeared. Many, if not all the works so examined, contain useful information; and some of them show what was taught by the Church of England when she refused the Bible to the laity, and was unreformed. And, as my readers ought to judge for themselves, while, in most cases, these rare volumes are beyond their reach, it may prove useful to print these analyses, and then every reader can form his own opinion as to the probability, or rather the impossibility, of Bunyan's having gained any idea, or phrase, or name, from any source but his own prolific imagination. My determination in all these researches has been to report the whole truth; and had it been discovered that some hints might have been given by previous writers, it would not have been any serious reflection upon the originality of a work which has no prototype. This idea is well represented by Mr. Montgomery: 'If the Nile could be traced to a thousand springs, it would still be the Nile; and so far undishonoured by its obligations, that it would repay them a thousand-fold, by reflecting upon the nameless streams, the glory of being allied to the most renowned of rivers.'[2] But there has been no discovery of any tributary spring; no borrowed phrases; no more hints, even, than such as naturally arise from the open treasury or storehouse of Holy Writ.

The greatest characteristic of original genius is its spontaneous exertion—the evidence of having written without labour and without the consciousness of doing anything remarkable, or the ambitious aim of doing a great work. The greatest efforts of genius flow as naturally as it is for common men to breathe. In this view, Bunyan's work comes nearer to the inspired poetry of the Hebrews in its character than any other human composition. He wrote from the impulse of his genius, sanctified and illuminated by a heavenly influence; as if, indeed, he had exerted no voluntary supervision over its exercise. Everything is as natural and unconstrained as if it had not been intended for public inspection. There has not been found any model with which it can even be compared.[3] It is a beautiful transparency, seen as the heavenly light shines through—the renewed spirit alone enjoys the picture in its perfection, with all its chaste but glowing colours. It can be fully appreciated only by him who possesses that spiritual light without which the things of God and heaven cannot be discerned.

Bunyan's works furnish ample proof that his mind was preparing, for many years, the plan and incidents which render this allegory so striking. This may easily be traced in his works, although it was not known to himself; for, however he was all his spiritual life employed in unintentionally pre-

[1] Southey's *Life of Bunyan*, p. xc.

[2] Introductory Essay to the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' p. xxv. Collins.

[3] Dr. Cheever.

paring the material, the design struck him suddenly. Twenty years before his great work appeared, he published a most pungent work, called 'Sighs from Hell.' The preface to this book alludes to a pilgrimage; and in it is found some similar ideas to those which occur in the conversation between Christian and Pliable. It thus commences: 'Friend, because it is a dangerous thing to be walking towards a place of darkness, the journey that most of the poor souls in the world are taking with delight, I have thought it my duty to tell thee what sad success those souls have had, and are like to have, by persevering therein. Why, friend, hast thou thy back to heaven and thy face to hell; and art thou running full hastily that way? I beseech thee, stop thy earnest race, and look what entertainment thou art like to have. Hark! dost thou hear the bitter cries of those who have gone before; shall not these mournful groans pierce thy flinty heart? O! sinner, sinner, there are better things than hell to be had, and a thousand times cheaper. O! there is no comparison; there is heaven, there is God, there is Christ, there is communion with an innumerable company of saints and angels.' How do these ideas remind us of Christian's encouraging words to Pliable!

In examining the following accounts of allegories composed by learned doctors, bishops, and divines, the simple Christian will rejoice and triumph in the amazing superiority of a poor unlettered preaching mechanic, guided only by his Bible. Sanctified learning is exceedingly valuable; yet the productions of an unlettered man, wholly influenced by the Holy Oracles, shines resplendently over the laboured, murky productions of lettered men, who, forsaking the simplicity of the gospel, are trammelled with creeds, confessions, canons, articles, decretals, fathers, and, we may almost add, grandfathers.

The first work, in the order of time, that claims our notice, has never been printed. It is called

The Pilgrim.

This ancient poem, a manuscript on vellum, illustrated with drawings, but very much damaged, is in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum; probably translated in the fifteenth century from the first of the *Three Pilgrimages*, a French manuscript. It is in the form of a dream, and it concludes by fixing the pilgrim as a monk in a Cistercian monastery. Soon after setting out, he is tempted by a golden image, but is driven from it by the appearance of a dead corpse. He then encounters an armed man, who endeavours to entice him to turn aside to see his mistress, and uses a magic circle and incantations. They hold a long conversation, in which is narrated the case of a Duke Fryse, who had consented to be baptized; he is represented with a girdle about his middle, otherwise naked, except his crown; but when he had got into the baptistery, he becomes alarmed by a voice which informs him that it is an unlucky day:—

'For hym thought he herde a cry
That affermed certeynly
For synne and for Inyquyte
How mo folk schulde dampned be
At the day of Jugemente
Gon to helle there to be brent,
Ye mo as in comparisoun
Thanne folk for ther savacyon
Scholde that day receyued be
To dwelle in heuene that fayre eyte.'

The duke, although a bishop has got him by one hand, with one of his legs in the baptistery, gets his liberty, and runs away. Had sprinkling been the practice in those days, the bishop might readily have managed the ceremony with a handful of water. The pilgrim then has a very long adventure with Heresy, who strives earnestly to draw him aside. She is engaged with a pair of scissors, cutting strips from Pelagians, Arians, and other 'Sectys founde false and vntrewe.' These she puts together, to form a new system of divinity. He becomes sadly puzzled; she had laid her nets so artfully, 'In loud, on water, and in the hayr.' He sees many attempt to pass, but all are entangled; at length by *fasting* and by great penance, he *slips* through the nets.

He is then assaulted by Satan, who tells him that he has devoured thousands of Christ's flock, and has so many arts that he cannot escape him. The devil, to terrify the pilgrim, narrates a recent adventure by which he had succeeded in destroying a holy hermit. He had transformed himself into an angel of light, and went to the hermit, warning him that Satan would soon overcome him if he was not courageous to resist; that he would appear to him in the shape of his father, and if he parleyed with the fiend, he must be lost; and exhorted him to smite the fiend at once with sword or knife. Soon after this, his father really came to visit him, when the deluded hermit plunged a dagger to his heart, and thus fell into the jaws of the fiend. The pilgrim, much terrified, kept crossing himself, at which Satan drew back; and by continuing to make the sign of the cross, he makes his escape. He is then stopped by Fortune and her Wheel, and by Idolatry, but evades them. A fortune-teller wishes him to have his nativity cast, but as he knows that many men are born at the same moment, some to fortune and many to misery, he knows that there can be no virtue in such consultations of the stars. He is then profited by images in churches, to remind us of the holy lives of saints:—

'And vn to folkes many on [a one]
Ful greet proffyte also they don.'

Sorcery endeavours to catch him with her crooked hook; and he is assailed by Worldly-gladness, but escapes. At length Grace Dieu visits him in a stately ship, having a palace and castle on deck. He embarks, and is shown a large baptistery, filled with tears from an eye in a rock. This bath is replenished with tears of repentance, by works of supererogation. Its virtues are thus described:—

'For it re-eureth euery wounde
Call this Baptym the secunde
That dothe away alle greuance
With which water Dame penaunce
Makyth a lye[1] I the ensure
To wasche away al ordure,
In whiche bath in certayne
The hooly womman Mawdelyne
Iwashen was tak heed her to
The Apostle Peter eke also
And many mo than I may telle
Were Iwashen in this welle

[1] 'A lye,' water impregnated with alkaline salt.

And so schalt thou by reed of me
Yeue thou lyste to purged be.'

Grace Dieu fills up the bath, and the pilgrim, naked, enters the baptistery to his middle, and is bathed and washed. She then tells him he may make his choice of monastic orders—Cisterces, Clunys, Charterhous, or Preechers Minours: he chooses to enter the Cistercian order. The porter, 'Drede of God,' at first refuses him; but Charity receives and shows him over the establishment: he is shown many books. The librarian says:—

'And my name zeue thou lyste be
Is called Agyographe,
Which is to scyne I the ensure
Of holy wrytynge the Scripture,
And at feyres and at feestis
I reste in skynnes off dede bestis.'

She expresses a clear notion of the Old Testament as enlightened by the *New*:—

'I mene as thus in sentement,
That the oolde testament
Were derke and cloudy off his syght
Zeue that it ne took his lyght
Claryfyed by entendement
Off the newe testament,
Whos schynynge in conclusyoun
Is cause off our Salvacyoun.'

He is shown a mirror, which exhibits the sins of the person who looks in it; he is also shown one of Flattery's mirrors, which exhibits the most defiled, as angels of purity. He is at length introduced to the chief prior, Obedience, and sits down to dinner:—

'And also as I dyde observe,
Noon other folke at mete serue
But folkes deede euere more
Where off I was abaschyd sore.'

Abstinence is the freytourer and butler; the servants were the skeletons of those who had founded and endowed the abbey. Wilful Poverty, in a state of nudity, sings a song, ending with—

'I slepe in Joye and sekerness
For theues may not robbe me.'

Unwilling Poverty sits grumbling and murmuring. Dame Chastity at last introduces the pilgrim to Prayer, who makes him welcome in these lines:—

'Wherefore callyd I am Prayere
Whiche that am the messagere
That flee to heuene with whynges lyght,
Fer aboue the sterres bryght
To fore the lord to present
Prayer made in good entente.'

He then speaks to the pilgrim about the servants, who were the spectres of the founders:—

'And eche wyght for his good dede
Is worthi to resseyue his mede
Lyke his meryte off equyte
These deede folk which thou dost se.'

Grace Dieu, Obedience, Latrya, and Prayer, then give him instructions for his future conduct in the monastery, where he remains until death strikes him, and he awakes from his sleep.

There is an ancient pilgrimage noticed in Skelton's *Ryght Delectable Treatyse upon a Goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell.* The author recounts his literary labours; *inter alia*—

'Of my ladys grace at the contemplacyoun
Owt of frenshe in to englysshe prose
Of mannes lyfe the peregrynacioun
He did translate, enterprete and disclose.'

No copy of this pilgrimage has been discovered and identified as his; and very high authority connects the second line with the 'peregrynatioun.' If so, it is in prose; but if the first *two* lines refer to the *Contemplation on the Virgin Mary's Grace*, a prose work, and Skelton being a poet, it would lead us to infer that the pilgrimage was in verse. The poem last described may prove to be the translation referred to by Skelton. Be that as it may, Bunyan never gained a hint from John Skelton, the satirist.

The Abbey of the Holy Ghost.

This curious allegory was written by John Alcocke, the founder of Jesus College, Cambridge, a learned and abstemious English bishop, in the reign of Henry VII.

The author represents the fall and recovery of mankind under the simile of an Abbey, the inmates of which are perfect in holiness and happiness. The abbess is Charity; the prioress, Wisdom; the sub-prioress, Mekenesse; and the nuns, Poverty, Cleanness, Temperance, Soberness, Penance, Buxomness, Confession, Righteousness, Predication, Strength, Pacience, Simplicity, Mercy, Largeness, Reason, Pity, Meditation, Orison, Devocion, Contemplation, Chastity, Jubilation, Honesty, Curtesy, Fear, and Jealousy. This abbey was conveyed by the Almighty to Adam, Eve, and their heirs for ever, upon condition that he withstood the temptation of the fiend *and that of his wife.* The deed is witnessed by angels and man, heaven and earth, sun and moon, stars, and all creatures. Geven at Paradise, the first day that man was made; in the year of the reigning of Almighty God, King of Kings, whose kingdom never began nor never shall have end. No persons were to be admitted until Conscience had cleansed the soul with grace of the Holy Ghost. Two maidens, called Love and Rightcousness, shall cast away from Conscience all manner of filth; Meekness and Poverty shall keep them poor in spirit.

The abbey was situated upon the waters of repentance. Joy and Mercy built the walls and strengthened them with alms. Patience and Strength are the pillars and buttresses. The nuns have each her place; Contemplation is the doctor; Devotion the butler [the bishop remarks, 'Alas! if I durst say, full many be in religion (nuns), but few be religious']; Oryson shall be chanter. St. Bernard saith, When we pray in good life, our good Angel danseth and maketh thereof a present to the Father of heaven. The abbey being so well furnished, a tyrant came, and in an evil hour, while the portress was absent, he put in his four daughters, who were all of shrewd manners; the fiend father of them all. Their names were Pride, Envy, False Judgment, and Lust; and these destroyed the abbey, and dispersed the inmates. The punishment of man was the loss of Paradise, to spend his days in sorrow, to eat grass that groweth on the earth, and never to come to bliss until the abbey was restored. When Adam and Eve died, their souls went to hell; and not only they, but all those that of them came for four thousand six hundred years; to hell

they went, every one. Then some of the nuns prayed the Holy Ghost for assistance. David, Isaiah, and others, endeavoured to re-edify the abbey; but in vain. At length Christ came, and sought out the abbess and her company for thirty-three years; and at last brought them together by hanging on the cross; after which he led them with him into hell,[1] and took out Adam and Eve his wife, and all his friends, and replaced them in the Abbey of the Holy Ghost in Paradise.

From this curious and very rare little volume, Bunyan could not have gained any idea; but in it are some translations of passages of Scripture made fifty years before any version of the Bible was published in English, which prove the great liberties the church took with the Scriptures; and the extent to which they misled the people, while the Holy Oracles were locked up in a foreign language. Matt. iii. 2: 'Shrive ye and do ye penaunce, and be ye of good belief; the kingdom of heaven nigheth fast.' John viii. 6: 'He stooped down and wrote on the ground with his finger all their sins, so that each of them might se how sinfull other was.' Matt. xxvi. 38: 'I have, he said, full much dread against that I shall die. Sit ye down, he said, and wake ye, and bid your beads till I come again to you.'[2]

The Pylgremage of the Sowle. Printed by William Caxton. 1483. Small Folio.[3]

Dr. Dibdin having, in his account of this very rare volume, stated that 'this extraordinary production, which, perhaps, rather than Bernard's *Isle of Man*, laid the foundation of John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress,"' I shall make no apology to the reader for the following specimens of its poetry and prose. Not daring to trust to the doctor's specimens, which occupy eight folio pages, my analysis is drawn from a careful perusal of the original edition by Caxton, compared with the manuscript written in 1413; the result is, to establish honest John's originality, and to excite great surprise that the learned doctor could have published so unfounded an insinuation.

As I laye in a seynt laurence nyght, slepyng in my bedde, me bifelle a full merneylous dreme.

Having finished my pilgrimage and laid aside my fleshly carrion, it appeared loathsome and dame Misericord buried it. The fowle horrible Satan cruelly menaced me and told me I was his prisoner—a youngling of full huge beauty appeared, and defends the soul of the pilgrim, who is taken to judgement. He is brought before Michael, while his good angel pleads for him Satan cries loudly against him. The devils complain that as soon as a pilgrim is born and washed in the salt lye (christened) Grace Dieu assigns them a guardian angel—we are ill used, let us cry a row so loud that in spite of them they shall hear our complaint. Peter the porter of heaven is called to testify whether the pilgrims have done penance—Call St. George for the Gentiles, for clerks St. Nicholas, for hermits St. Anthony, St. Benet for monks, for wedded folk St. Paul—not that he was ever married, but he taught the duties of marriage—for widows St. Anne, for maids St. Katherine. The Pilgrim is placed before the tribunal, and his guardian angel pleads that he had kept his belief, never lost his scrip, nor his *burden*,[4] and having persevered to the end, he ought to be safe. The cursed Satan acknowledged that the Pilgrim passed the water and was therein washed and fully cleansed of all rather fylthe,[5] but as soon as he knew good and evil he set little by that washing, but cast himself like a swine in ordure and fylthe. He was washed at a tender age unwillingly, and although by this laver the foul spot of sin original was utterly avoided, yet he has not kept the vow, and is more spotted with deadly sin than he was before he was washed; and as all heathen men that have never received this laver *belong to our Company* because they have it not, much more those that have received these gifts of Grace de Dieu and despised them must be ours. The soul pleads in verse, he appeals to Jesus. Some of the lines are striking:

> 'For though there ran a river from thy side,
> That all the world doth fully overflow,
> Thy grace is whole, as every man may know.'

He then appeals to Mary—

> 'Now be my help a blissful heaven's Quene
> Let somewhat of the grace on me be seen
>
> I am be-knowen that I have done amiss
> Eternal death deserved with my deed
> But gracious Lady Queen of Heaven's bliss
> Thou be my help and comfort in this nede
> I am that same that highly have mis-wrought
> Against thy child Jesus and eke thee
> Yet know I well that Lion is he not
> Nor thou nor might no Lioness be
> In thou there is no malice nor cruelty
>
> Though that I have thy son and the agrieved
> By thee is all my trust to be relieved.'[6]

He calls upon Michael—John Baptist, apostles and martyrs, and all saints.

Justice pleads against him, and will allow none to speak on his behalf. He then answers for himself, and accuses Satan of being a liar; but the fiend calls *the worm of conscience*[7] to bear witness against him, and he relates all his wickedness that was not purged with penance, and as he spoke, Satan wrote it all down in a great paper. The soul defends himself by having at all times borne his burdon and scrip,[8] by his natural frailty and the temptations of Satan and allurements of the world. Mercy pleads for him that he had been contrite, and made amends for sin, and had confessed; but when his good and bad deeds were weighed, the evil was heaviest. Then Mercy flew to heaven and brought back a pardon from Jesus, which is given in verse; *inter alia*:—

> 'At instance of mine own mother sweet
> To whom I may no manner of thiug deny
> And mercy also may I not forget
> Unto their good[9] myself I will apply
> This grace I grant them of my royalty
> That I shall them receive unto my peace
> Of hell pain I grant them full release.'

[1] Hence 'the descent into hell' in a Popish creed, falsely called 'the Apostles' Creed.'

[2] From a copy in the Editor's library, printed by Wynkin de Worde.

[3] British Museum, 21, d.

[4] The pilgrim's staff.

[5] 'Rather fylthe;' early pollution, original sin.

[6] Reader, this is *undisguised* Popery, published to the world before the Reformation, by the Church of Rome. Judge for yourself. Do Papists pray to the Virgin? Is she their intercessor and saviour?

[7] Syndieresys.

[8] His staff or vows.

[9] 'Bone' in the poem. The French word not translated.

Christ balances the wicked works of this sinner with—

'Of the treasure of my bitter passion
And of the merit of my mother dear
To whom none other hath comparison
With merit of my saints all in fear
That to my bidding full obedient were
Of plenty and of superabundance
A forset[1] full which putteth in balance.'

The balance is in favour of the soul, and his sentence is to bear all his sins as a burden into purgatory, and abide in the fire until all are burned and 'thou, clean purged of all thy foul sins, shall then be pardoned.' At this sentence Satan is sore annoyed, and has great anguish.

He meets a number of pilgrims from purgatory, who sing to the Trinity and to Mary a song of praise for their deliverance. The angels join in a song without comparison more lusty than he had heard before. Then came one pilgrim, conducted by a huge number of angels, each having in his hand some lusty instrument, as harp, organs, &c., some of which he could not scribe. It was a soul who, by extraordinary penance, had suffered his purgatory on earth. He then sees a number of pilgrims condemned to 'brenne withynne the fyre of helle, neuer to be relened.' An ugly company of devils seized them, saying, 'Goo we fast in to helle; there shall we fynde a warm duellynge place.' Our poor pilgrim is taken to purgatory, where, in three days, he imagines that he has suffered a thousand years' indescribable tortures. His guardian angel is with him in the fire, but being a pure spirit, suffereth not. In his torments, he is told that naught can help him but masses and the good 'dedes of hooly chirche.' He asks, What is the use of the pardons and indulgences granted by the church? His angel tells him that they abridge the time of punishment and pain; that for every deadly sin he must suffer seven years' purgation, and the thousand years that he had suffered was but as a moment, for his fardel of sins seemed to be as huge as ever, although the fire was so fierce, that if the great sea fell therein, it would be dried in a moment. At length, Grace Dieu sends from the church a quantity of prayers, masses, and good works, to comfort the pilgrims in purgatory—a packet to each prisoner, with the names of those who had purchased the masses for their relief. Every soul answered the summons, and greedily took the relief, all swimming in hot fire: it was ointment that relieved their horrid pains, and decreased their burden of sins. He then discovers the place in which Adam and the Fathers, to John the Baptist, were confined, till Christ descended into hell and released them. The prison also in which the souls of infants who had died without being christened—a dark and doleful place, where they will be shut up for ever. He inquires how it is possible for the God of love thus to condemn the innocent? His angel refers him to the words of Christ to Nicodemus: 'As seynt John recordeth, he seith, *that an innocent deyng without baptym is dampned withouted ende.*'[2] And they lay in endless darkness, and never know joy; and this pain shall be extended to all the most innocent souls not baptized. All these places of punishment are within enclosed all round by the earth. He is then led by his angel to the surface of the earth, the fire still burning within him, to every place in which he had committed sin; the punishment was according to the nature of his crime—sometimes shut up in thick ice, the pain being more intolerable than fire. This was for having used baths and stenes[3] for easement of his body. One soul who had been purged, could not escape, because his executors had neglected to pay his debts. He finds that one day's penance upon earth cleanseth from sins more than years of purgatory. In the journey he finds his bones, and has a long conversation with them, in which they mutually criminate each other.

His guardian angel then takes him into the very depth of the earth, to hell, the stink of which nearly caused his soul to burst. The unbaptized *innocents* he saw in a place: 'Hit was wonder merueylous blacke and derke ynowe:' ever flying about seeking, but never finding, a hole to escape. He then came to a darker place of 'fire horrible and wonder hideous.' There saw he the cursed fiends; some blew the fire; some, with iron forks, righted the brands; some, with sharp hooks, dressed the wretched souls into divers pains. Lucifer sat in a red-hot iron chair, chained with red-hot chains. The devils torment each other. The punishment of Pride is that a devil sits upon her head, and befouls her as much as he can. Hypocrites are trodden perpetually under foot by devils, ingulfed in fire and stink. The envious and backbiters were hung by red-hot iron hooks through their tongues over eternal flames. Judas thus hung, but as his mouth had kissed the king, his lips shined like gold; and his tongue was drawn out through his neck, and he hung in hottest flames. Traitors were broken upon wheels, fixed by hooks turning swiftly round; the same punishment was inflicted upon lawyers, proctors, and counsel, who, to fill their purses, had pleaded for the guilty against the innocent. Upon seeing a number of souls being devoured by wolves, but never eaten; others having molten brass poured down their throats, he swooned, but is revived by his angel. These were the punishments of extortioners. Angry people were tied up in bundles, and pitched into fiery furnaces; drunkards were laid upon burning coals, with sulphur, their throats slit, and tongues drawn through the slit; the lechours were laid upon beds of burning thorns, full of venomous and huge toads and worms, for ever biting and gnawing them. The boiling caldron and pit of hell was boiling full of heretics; and when our Lord shall renew the world, all their burning and stinking and horrible pains shall be renewed, and all the filth that may be found in every other place, shall be cast thereto. He then ascends to the earth, and sees the tree from which Eve plucked the apple, and which, after process of time, formed the cross on which the Saviour suffered. Then follows a number of dialogues between the Trinity, regarding the scheme of mercy. His purgation being finished, and sins consumed, his angel took him by the hand, and began to mount towards heaven. The angel shows him many mansions; tells him how saints' days are to be kept. In the feast of the Purification, the cherubims sing this song:—

'Heryed[4] be thou blysfull heuen quene
And worshyped mote[5] thou be in euery place
That moder art and very mayden clene
Of god our lord thou geten hast that grace
Thou cause of ioyes arte, and of solace
By meryte of thy great humylyte
And by the floure of thy vyrgynyte
Honoured be thou, blessyd lady bryght
By thy person embelysshed is nature
Of heuen blysse augmented is the lyght
By presence of so fayre a creature
Thy worthynesse passeth al mesure
For vnto thyn estate Imperyall
No preysynge is that may be peregal.'[6]

[1] 'A forset;' a bundle.
[2] Strange perversion of the words, 'Ye must be born again!'
[3] Brothels.
[4] 'Heryed;' praised—from which is derived *hurrah*.
[5] 'Mote;' must.
[6] 'Peregal;' equal.

In the feast of Ascension the father honoured the sone; and at the feast of Assumption, the Son honoured and worshipped his mother.

Song of angels on Easter day, to the Saviour, is—

'When thou were dead, to hell thou descended
And fetched them out that lay there in pain.'

The angel illustrates to him the doctrine of the Trinity, by the world being round, without beginning or end; having breadth, length, and depth, which three, by unity in measure, comprises one world. So in a body is matter, form, and substance; if one of these be missing, it is imperfect. So the matter is likened to the Father, the form to the Son, and the substance to the Holy Ghost. So to every perfect work, there must be might, cunning, and will. He then asks, that as these three are one, how came it that one was separated and became incarnate alone? This is accounted for, as a sunbeam does not leave the sun, but enliveneth the earth; so the Son illuminated the world, being clothed with man's flesh in the blessed maiden, and yet departed he not from his Father's presence. When properly prepared, the angel went to clear his way to heaven, and as he looked after him, a 'wonder huge light' descended from the high heaven, smiting on his eye, and awoke him from his sleep; whereof he was full sorry, after having seemed to live so many thousand years; the clock struck twelve, and the bell tolled midnight, and he remembered that he had not slept three hours while all these adventures had passed. Now Jesus give us grace to come to this bliss! Translated in 1413, and printed by W. Caxton, June 6, 1483.

There is, in the British Museum,[1] a very fine and curious MS. copy of this very singular work, illustrated with rude illuminated drawings. It finishes with, 'Here endith the dreem of the pilgrimage of the soule, translated owt of the Frensch in to Englysche. The yere of our Lord M.CCCC.XIII.' The translator craves indulgence, if 'in som places ther it be ouer fantastyk nought grounded nor foundable in Holy Scripture, ne in docteors wordes, for I myght not go fro myn auctor.'

The original work was written in verse by Guillaume de Guillonville, prior of Chaalis, about 1330.

The Booke of the Pylgrymage of Man. 4to, 26 leaves. Woodcut of Pilgrim, with staff and cockle-shell, and clasped book in his left hand.[2]

Here begynneth a boke, in Frenche called, le pelerynage de L'homme (in latyn, peregrinatio humani generis), and in oure Maternal tunge, the pylgrymage of mankynd, of late drawen and in compendiouce prose cõpoũded by the renerent father in god dane william[3] hendred Prioure of the honourable place and pryory of Leomynstre: and now newly, at the specyal commaundemente of the same Father renerent, I haue compyled the tenure of the same in Metre comprehended in xxvi. chaptours as cusuynge appereth.

THE TABLE.

First, the prologe, with the exposyon and enterpretacyon of the name of their sayd renerent father in God.
Item how man was made of viij partyes. Capitulo primo.
Item how almyghty god put adam into paradyce, and of his first age. Ca. . . . . ij
Item the secounde age of mankynde, and howe ye sonnes of noe Bylded the Toure of Babylon. Cap. . . iij
Item how man procedyd his thirde age, and of the synkynge of cyties. Ca. . . . . iiij
Item howe Moyses receyuyd ij tables of the lawe in the iiij age of man. Ca. v
Item howe kyng Salamon byldyd the temple of god in the Cytie of Jerusalem. Ca. vi
Item howe the vj age enduryd telle che commynge of oure sauyoure. Ca. . . . . vij
Item how mankynde endured and of the nombre of yeres from the begynnynge of the worlde to the byrthe of criste. Ca. . . . . viij
Item howe almyghty God was pylgrym for iij causes and howe he gaue mankynde ensample to do his pylgrymage. Ca. ix
Item which iij synguler poyntys apperteyne to a pylgryme. Ca. x
Item howe mankynde entereth the londe of June at the age of lx. Ca. xi
Item an exposicion autorysed by Scripture of ye conceppcion of seynt Johñ Baptyst. Ca. . . . . xij
Item howe mankynde entereth into a kyngdome namyd the londe of July and parte of the marterdome of seynt Thomas of cauntorbury. Ca. . . . . xiij
Item a parable of auctorytie of the hooly order of seynt Benet. Ca. . . . . xiiij
Item how mankynde enteryth the empyre of august and of the aboundaunte welth that there is. Ca. . . xv
Item howe mankynde enteryth and goeth thorowe the dukedome of September. Ca. . . . . xvj
Item howe mankynde enteryth into the londe of October at the age of a C. yere. Ca. . . . . xvij
Item how mankynde enteryth the barury of Nouembre. Ca. xviij
Item howe mankynde enteryth the lordshyp of December. Ca. xix
Item howe mankynde goth thorowe the londe of January and of the strastye that coste. Ca. . . . xx
Item howe mankynde enteryth the londe of February. Ca. xxi
Item howe man procedyth his pylgrymage in and thorowe the londe of Marche. Ca. . . . . xxij
Item howe Batayle was mayntaynd bytwene sol Justice and pluto duke o tenebris. Ca. . . . . xxiij
Item howe vyse toke the fowarde on his party, and howe sol Justicie fled. Ca. . . . . xxiiij
Item howe sol justicie turned agayne and dyscumfyte vyce and wanne the feld. Ca. xxv
Item the concluceyon of this boke. Ca. . . . xxvi

Here endeth the table.

'We hym folowynge a full good spede.
Shortly anone the skrymysche beganne.
And so sure for matter in dede.

[1] Addit. MSS., Bibl. Eg. 615. It was bought of Mr. Rodd, 1836; but appears to want the first leaf of the text.

[2] This rare book is in the library of Queen's College, Oxford. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Underhill, for the above analysis.

[3] Guillaime de Guilleville, moine de chaliz. It was printed in Paris by Allerard; not dated, but about the year 1500. Mr. Greswell, in his notice of this book, says, 'Not only in early ages, but in later also, mankind have been found less willing to be instructed by abstract reasoning, than by fables or similitudes. Hence the popularity of these old religious fictions. The "PILGRIM'S PROGRESS" of our day confessedly excels all others of its kind. And though some have endeavoured to trace its prototype in earlier works, it was a perfectly spontaneous and original effort of the genius of its unlettered author.' See *Annals of Parisian Typography*, p. 245.

Uyce with his felysshyp faste layed on
That voce mea was agast soone.
Thenne oure capteyne Sol iusticie.
With In manus tuas away dyd flye.
In to a darke vale that was nygh by.
But yet at the desyre and specyall request.
Of a gracyouse man callyd domine exaudi.
He came agayne and shortly in haste.
To ayde us there came one hyeng faste.
Whiche is callyd with all and some.
Benedictus qui venit ad prelium.'

So he sets out with *Beatus vir* for a guide, and enters the land of June—a royal land, full of pleasures and fruits, of which he eat plenteously in every lane; then came to a place held by the 'Pope of June,' where was the cleanest castell in Xtendom, called, 'castell of corpus xti:'—

'Of whiche indulgence by auctorytye
The founder is called by naturall sext
Of the romaynes romanus pontifex,'

where man could be healed from worldly wretchedness and sinful sore.

His guide then led him to *dominus illuminatio* for a safe-conduct in all the lands they should visit:—

'So for to purchas a parfyte wryte.
To soule justicie we toke our way.
Sealed to haue oure saffe condyte.
And he shortly sayde not nay.
But also haue us of his lyuery.
A fencyble garment Joyntly compyled.
With fayth and hope that we exiled.'

They then come to a monastery, &c.

Emprynted at London by me Richard Faques, dwellyng in Poulys churche yerde at the sygne of the Maydynhed.

The informacym for pylgrymes unto the holy lande, That is to wyt to Rome, to Jherusalem and to Many Other Holy Places. Imprinted by Wynkin de Worde. 1524.[1]

This rare volume is a hand-book for pilgrims; gives the routes, coin, conveyances, fees, and other instructions to those who were going on any distant pilgrimage. It also contains the narrative of a pilgrim in his journey to the Holy Land. Sixty-six pilgrims sailed from Venice in one ship; they visit Jerusalem and other places in the Holy Land. He gives the pronunciation of useful words to enable future visitors to ask for bread, wine, &c. It is a very rare tract, but there is nothing allegorical about the narrative, which is simply of the facts as they took place.

The next allegorical work in chronological order, representing life as a pilgrimage, is

The Historie of Graunde Amoure and la bell Pucel; called the Pastime of Pleasure, containing the Knowledge of the Seven Sciences, and the Course of Man's Life in this Worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, Grome of King Henry the Seuenth his Chamber. Printed by John Waylande, 1554. Small 4to.

Such is the rarity of this volume, that, although it wants six leaves, it bears this inscription on the fly-leaf, 'I bought this Volume at Mr. Bindley's sale, January 21st, 1813, for the inordinate sum of forty guineas. James Boswell' (Author of the *Life of Dr. Johnson*).

Mr. Hallam, in his *Literature of Europe*, gives a good account of this poem:—'From the title we might hardly expect a learned allegory, in which the seven sciences of the trivium and quadrivium, besides a host of abstract virtues and qualities, play their parts in living personality. It is rude, obscure, full of pedantic Latinisms, but learned and philosophical. The best, though probably an unexpected, parallel for Hawes, is John Bunyan; their inventions are of the same class, various and novel; their characters, though abstract in name, have a personal truth about them; they render the general allegory subservient to inculcating a system, the one of philosophy, the other of religion. I do not mean that the *Pastime of Pleasure* is equal in merit, as it certainly has not been in success, to the "Pilgrim's Progress." Bunyan is powerful and picturesque, from his concise simplicity; Hawes has the common failings of our old writers—a tedious and languid diffuseness, an expatiating on themes of pedantry in which the reader takes no interest, a weakening of every feature and every reflection, by ignorance of the touches that give effect. Hawes was educated at Oxford, and travelled much on the Continent, and held an office in the Court of Henry VII. He was the earliest of our learned and accomplished gentlemen.'

Hawes's work was the result of a learned education, great connections, an extensive knowledge of the world, and singular ability; still Mr. Hallam justly admits that the 'Pilgrim's Progress' is greatly superior as a work of genius, although Bunyan was not blessed even with the rudiments of education, no literary connections, and his travels extended not beyond his neighbouring villages. How extensive and prolific must have been the natural powers of Bunyan's mind! But compare the moral tendency of those two allegories: Hawes's inspiration is from beneath, strongly tinged with the smoke of the infernal pit; Bunyan is inspired by heaven, his whole course is illuminated from the celestial city. His pilgrims breathe a heavenly atmosphere; every line of his narrative has a holy, and, consequently, a happy tendency. Hawes derived his knowledge from worldly philosophers, Bunyan from the Bible.

The *Pastime of Pleasure* is a narrative of the adventures of a love-sick knight, in search of a lady named La Bell Pucel. He is directed to the Tower of Doctrine, where he is told that

[1] *Retrospective Review*, vol. ii. p. 327.

he must become proficient in the seven liberal sciences, in order to win his lady.

Walking in a gay meadow, he finds a statue, whose hands point to two paths, one of contemplative life:—

> 'And in the other hande, ryght fayre wrytten was
> This is the waye, of worldly dignitye
> Of the active lyfe, who wyll in it passe
> Unto the tower, of fayre dame beautye
> Fame shall tell him, of the way in certaintye
> Unto la bell pucell, the fayre lady excellent
> Aboue all other, in cleare beauty splendent.'

In pursuit of this beautiful virgin he chooses the path of active life, and sets out:—

> 'Thus all alone, I began to trauayle
> Forthe on my waye, by long continuaunce
> But often times, I had great maruayle
> Of the by pathes, so full of pleasaunce
> Whiche for to take, I had great doubtance
> But euermore, as nere as I myght
> I toke the waye, whiche went before me right.'

On his journey he falls asleep, and is awaked by the sound of a horn. A lovely lady, on horseback, rides swiftly up to him, accompanied by two greyhounds, with their names set in diamonds upon their collars—Grace and Governaunce. The lady proves to be Fame; she presents to him the two greyhounds, praises La Bell Pucell, and instructs him how to attain her in the Tower of Music, and she informs him that he will have great labour, and must pass through hard adventures before he will attain his object:—

> 'For by the waye, there lye in waite
> Gyantes great, disfigured of nature
> That all deuoureth, by their euil conceite
> Against whose strength, there may no man endure
> They are so huge, and strong out of measure
> With many serpentes, foule and odious
> In sundry likenesse, blacke and tedious
>
> But beyond them, a great sea there is
> Beyonde whiche sea, there is a goodly land
> Most full of fruite, replete with ioye and bliss
> Of right fine golde, appeareth all the sande
> In this faire realme, where the tower doth stand
> Made all of golde, enameled about
> With noble stories, whiche do appeare without.'

He at length arrives at the castle, when the portresse thus questions him:—

> 'Tyll that I came to a royall gate
> Where I sawe standyng the goodly portres
> Whiche axed me, from whence I came alate
> To whom I gan, in euery thing expresse
> All myne aduenture, chaunce and busines
> And eke my name, I tolde her euery dell
> When she hearde thys, she liked me ryght well.'

The portress, whose name was Countenaunce, introduced him into the castle, and in the Fair Hall, upon the arras, is portrayed the perils he will have to encounter; that Folly will beset his path, but that Correction will follow:—

> 'And in her hande, a strong knotted whippe
> At every iarte she made him for to skippe.'

He finds that he will have to destroy a giant with three heads, another more fierce with four heads, and a third still more terrible with seven heads, and at length he will win and wed La Bell Pucell. The principal officers in the castle are thus named:—

> 'The marshall, yclipped was dame Reason
> And the yeures, also observaunce
> The panter Pleasaunce, at euery season
> The good Butler, curteys continuaunce
> And the chiefe coke, was called temperaunce
> The lady chamberlayne, named fidelitye
> And the hye stewarde, Liberalitye.'

He is then sent in succession to Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and at length to Music. In the Temple of Music, he sees and falls deeply in love with La Bell Pucell. She returns his love, but informs him that he will have to brave many desperate adventures before they can be united. He promises to fit himself for all that may happen, and goes to Chivalry—he is taught by Minerva—harnessed and knighted:—

> 'For first good hope, his legge harneys should be
> His habergion, of perfect righteousnes
> Gyrde fast, wyth the girdle of chastitie
> His rich placarde,[1] should he good busines
> Brodered with almes, so full of larges[2]
> The helmet mekenes, and the shelde good fayeth,
> His swerde Gods worde, as S. Paule sayeth.'

Fortitude, Consuetude,[3] Justice, Misericorde, Sapience, Curtesye, Concord, and dame Minerva see him on his road, and bid him farewell. His first adventure is with a Kentish man, Godfrey Gobilion, who gives an account of his parentage in these lines:—

> 'Ich am a gentilman, of much noble kynne
> Though Iche be cladde, in a knaues skynne
>
> For there was one, called Peter Pratefast
> That in all his life, spake no worde in waste
> He weddid a wife, that was called Maude
> I trow quod I, she was a gorgious boude
> Thou liest, quod he, she was gentle and good
> She gaue her husbande, many a furde hode
>
> And at his meales, without any misse
> She would him serue, in clenly wise iwys
> God loue her soule, as she loued clenlines
> And kept her dishes, from all foulenes
> When she lacked clowtes, without any fayle
> She wyped her dishes, with her dogges tayle.'

The conversation that ensues between these worthies, on the misfortunes of lovers, exceeds for gross indelicacy the tales of Chaucer. Grand Amour continues his journey, and becomes a regular Jack the Giant-killer. His first adventure was with a monster twelve feet high, with three heads. These he decapitated; and is then attacked by a second and more formidable giant, fifteen feet high, with seven heads, named, Dissimulation, Delay, Discomfort, Variaunce, Envy, Detraction, and Doubleness; all these he cuts off, and is then received and entertained by seven fine ladies. His next fierce encounter is with demons. Pallas instructs him how to fight with them. He attacks and slays the great dragon—wins La Bell Pucell, and is married to her, and enjoys great happiness, until he is quietly removed by death to purgatory, where, having been purified, he goes to heaven.

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[1] 'Placarde;' a stomacher or breastplate, frequently ornamented with jewels.

[2] 'Larges;' a bounty bestowed, a large gift.—*Imp. Dict.*

[3] 'Consuetude;' custom, common law or equity, as distinguished from statute law or justice.

In vain have I endeavoured to discover the intention of the author in this allegory. His editor says, that it was to stimulate young men to study the seven liberal sciences! Its natural effect would be to stimulate them to licentiousness. These were the class of books given to the people by the church, in preference to the Bible.

We now come to a very rare pilgrimage, written in Italian, and entitled *Libro del Peregrino*, by J. Cauice, dedicated to Lucresse Borgie.

The edition in my library is '*El nouamente stampato et hystoriato*, small 8vo, with woodcuts, Venice, 1524.' I have also a translation into French, by T. Dassy, Secretary of State to the King of Navarre; it is called *Le Peregrin: traictant de L'honneste et pudique amour, par pure et sincere Vertu.* It is elegantly printed in black letter, with woodcuts, small 4to, Lyons, 1528, and from it the following analysis was made:—

The pilgrim, a native of Ferrara, at the age of twenty-two years on May-day, attended to hear a Dominican Friar preach. Divine love lay in ambush, and the eloquence of the preacher pierced his heart. He passed a restless night—*speaks in silence,* and at length cries out, O life more miserable than death! his thoughts wound him and he is wretched. Under the character of a lady named Geneure, the daughter of Angiolo (the Virgin Mary, queen of angels), to that time unknown to him, is personated that which alone can cure his wounded spirit. This lady is very wise and modest, young, but ancient in prudence, and very difficult to obtain. He becomes very desirous of obtaining her, and his pilgrimage is made with this object. Through the aid of Geneure's nurse, Violante, he corresponded with her, and sought an interview. He is directed to a subterraneous passage, by which he hopes secretly to reach her house in the night; but mistakes the chamber, and enters that of another young lady, named Lyonore (the lioness), the daughter of Petruccio (the flurty), and mistook her for Geneure. This sad adventure with Lyonore involves him in great trouble. It came to the knowledge of Geneure, and she weeps for her pilgrim's treason; but is comforted by her mother (the blessed Virgin), who tells her that it is natural to man to go astray. Geneure threatens to enter a nunnery, and submits to her mother that the vows of obedience and poverty are of sovereign virtue. The pilgrim, before Geneure entered upon her noviciate, met her accidentally at church, and proposes marriage, his faults are forgiven, they become united, and pass their time in great happiness, until death separated them.

If Bunyan had been able to have read this quaint old Italian or French story, he would never have devoted his valuable time to such a mass of rubbish; and if he had, not the slightest idea could have suggested itself to have assisted him in composing the adventures of his Pilgrim. In fact, he dared not to have spent an hour over a book, which, under the title of *The Pilgrim*, contains all the looseness of an Italian love-story.

This book was for some time very popular. I have two Venice editions, in 8vo, printed in italics, 1524 and 1527. I have seen also a similar edition not dated, and one of 1538. There is also a very handsome one of the French translation, printed by Gallist, Du Pres, Paris, 1528, and another in 1540. Niceron thus accounts for its popularity, 'Ce livre faisait en France, au commencement du regne de François I., les délices de la jeunesse, et donnait lieu aux prédicateurs d'on blamer fortement la lecture comme dangereuse.'[1]

It is a matter of great regret that those who write and publish for the millions, too frequently circulate opinions and supposed facts without personal investigation. Mr. Chambers, the popular publisher at Edinburgh, whose works find readers as far as the English language is known, has joined those who appear to detract from Bunyan, by charging him with plagiarism.

In his *Encyclopedia of Literature*,[2] speaking of Gawin Douglas, the Bishop of Dunkeld, a celebrated Scottish poet, he observes, 'The principal original composition of Douglas is a long poem, entitled, *The Palace of Honour.* It was designed as an epilogue for the conduct of a king, and therefore addressed to James IV. The poet represents himself as seeing, in a vision, a large company travelling towards the Palace of Honour. He joins them, and narrates the particulars of the pilgrimage. The well-known "Pilgrim's Progress" bears so strong a resemblance to this poem, that Bunyan could scarcely have been ignorant of it.'

With some trouble I found a copy of this very rare tract by Douglas. It is a *short poem*, but being in the ancient Scottish dialect, it is quite long enough to weary an Englishman's patience. Had it been Douglas's long poem, a translation of Virgil, it would have defied any attempt of mine to read it; but, by the aid of a good modern glossary, I read it through, and, to my extreme surprise, found that it has not, either in the plot or detail, the slightest similarity whatever to the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and that it is written in terms that a poor unlettered minister could not have understood.

The principal character in the story is represented as being in a desert, when, hearing the noise of an approaching cavalcade, he gets into a stock [a hollow tree], and sees them pass. He then follows them to the Palace of Honour, and gives a description of what took place. Had Bunyan seen and read the following stanza, *and understood it*, how indignant would he have felt at the author's notion of baptismal regeneration:—

> 'Ze bene all borne the sonnis of Ire I ges
> Sine throw Baptisme gettis grace and faithfulnes.
> Than in zone Carwell surelie ze remane,
> Oft stormested with this warldis brukilnes
> Quhill that ze fall in sin and wretchitness
> Than schip brokin sall ze drown in endles pane
> Except be faith ze find the plank agane
> Be Christ, wirking gude warkis I vnderstund
> Remaine thairwith, thir sall zow bring to land.'[3]

[1] *Hist. des Hommes illustres*, 44 tom. Paris, 1725.
[2] Vol. i. p. 44.
[3] Ibid.

Surely Mr. Chambers could not have imagined that the representation of a large party going *up a hill* of polished marble, and on *the summit* seeing the infernal regions as narrated in the following verses, could have aided Bunyan in his solemn account of the Christian's feeling in the *Valley* of the Shadow of Death:—

'As we approchit neir the hilles heid
Ane terribill sewch birnand in flammis reid
Abhominabill, and how as hell to se
All full of brintstane, Pick and bulling Leid,
Quhair mony wretchit creature lay deid.
And miserabill catiues zelland loude on hie
I saw, quhilk den micht weill compairit be
Till Xanthus the flude of Troy sa schill
Birnand at Venus hest contrair Achill.
Amid our passage lay this vglie sicht
Nocht braid bot sa horribill to euerie wicht
That all the warld to pas it suld haue dreid.
Weill I considderit na vppermair I micht
And to discend sa hiddeous was the hicht
I durst not auenture for this eird on dreid.
Trimbland I stude wt teith chatterand gude speid
My Nymphe beheld my cheir and said let be
Thow sall nocht aill, and lo the caus (quod sche)
To me thou art commit, &c.'

There may be as much poetic beauty in these lines as there is melody in the drone of the bagpipe, but there is not the slightest similarity, nor even any idea in the whole poem, that could by possibility have aided the author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.'

The Pryke of Conscience.[1]

A very curious old English poem; it is theological and descriptive, but not allegorical.

The Myrrour of Lyfe, by William of Nassyngton, 1418.[2]

An ancient English poetical treatise on religion; excepting the title, it has no pretence to allegory.

Castellum Amoris. Le Chateau D'Amour, by Robert Grosteste.

A fine copy of this curious poem, in Norman French, is in the British Museum.[3] It narrates the creation and fall of man; the four daughters of God, Mercy, Truth, Patience, and Peace, unite to devise the means of man's restoration. The divisions are—I. The Prophets predict. II. The Saviour is born in the great Palace of Love. III. The Palace is described with its keepers. IV. Satan attempts to overcome the keepers. It is a very curious poem, and is called at the end, *Scala Cœli*. I venture to give a specimen of this singular composition, and have selected the following, because it treats upon the subject of baptismal regeneration, which at present occupies so much of the public attention. The author was evidently of that party who pretend to believe that the God of love will send a poor babe to everlasting misery, if its parents neglect or refuse to have it christened!! As the French is old and contracted, a translation is added:—

'O baptize treslour fussent	'They were then baptized
Et nomi Deu pater et	In the names of God the Father
Deo fiz.	and of the Son
Et du saynt espiritz	And of the Holy Ghost
Kar qi baptize ne serra	For whoever is not baptized
Ca en cel ne entera	He in heaven shall not enter
Mes ci creaut cy baptize	But those created in this baptism
Serront mys a sauuete.'	Shall be put into salvation.'

Scala Perfeccionis Englyshed. The Ladder of Perfeccion, written by Walter Hilton, about 1380.

This was one of the most popular of the monkish writings, and so much esteemed in the reign of James II., as to have been published by the court to promote the influence of popery in these realms; it was then very much altered, and *not* improved.

The only allegory in it is the Ladder, placed upon the earth to ascend by steps to heaven. It was intended for monks and nuns, to guide them in devotional exercises, so that their affections might be gradually raised from earthly things. It is the most scriptural of all the monkish manuscripts, but the evangelical truths are omitted in the more modern printed editions. Thus he says, if we were only infected by original sin, and had escaped the pollution of actual transgression, we must have perished but for the sufferings of Christ.[4] To speak for thy profit and my own, 'say I thus that thou neuer so moche a wreche, hadest thou done neuer so moche syn, for sake thi self and al thi werkes gode and bad, cry mercy and aske oneli saluacion be vertue of the precious passion mekeli and trusteli and with outyen doute thou schalt haue it, and fro this original syn and al other that thou have done thou sal be saf.'[4] Dr. Dibdin considers this a wild and dangerous exposition of the consoling doctrines of the Christian religion made by an enthusiastic writer![5] Hilton gives a faithful warning against placing dependence upon happy feelings, unless they arise from a living faith. 'I had rather feel, and have a stedfast desire and a pure spiritual union with my Lord Jesus, though I cannot see him with my ghostly eye, than to have without this desire the fruit of all the bodily penance of all living men, or all the visions and revelations of angels' songs and sounds.' 'Jesus leadeth the soul into itself. The secret voice of Jesus is fully true, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they know me." There is no feigning in it, nor fantasy, nor pride, nor hypocrisy; but softness, meekness, peace, love, and charity. And it is full of life, love, and grace; and, therefore, when it soundeth in the soul, it is sometime of so great might, that the soul suddenly layeth off hand all that there is, praying, speaking, reading, or thinking, and all manner of bodily work, and listeneth thereto, fully hearing and perceiving, in rest and in love, the sweet steuen[6] of this spiritual voice, as it were ravished from the mind of all earthly things. Sometimes Jesus showeth himself as a master, sometimes as a father, and sometimes as a lovely spouse; and it keepeth the soul in a wondering reverence, and a lovely beholding of him, that the soul liketh never so well as then.'[7]

It is delightful to meet with such beams of the Sun of righteousness in a dark age, like the day-spring from on high, breaking through a dismal night with its cheering rays.[8]

[1] Brit. Mus. Bib. Egert. 846. B.
[2] Brit. Mus. Eg. 657.
[3] Brit. Mus. Roy. Lib. 17, c. viii.

[4] Copied from a fine and perfect MS. in the Editor's library, chap. xliv.
[5] *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 37.
[6] Melody, from 'streuen,' or strain.
[7] Cap. xliv. part 2.
[8] It is very surprising that so little appears to be known of this good man; he was a Carthusian monk of Sion, or Shene, and author of about twelve different works.

The Pilgrimage of Perfection; supposed to be written by William Bond. 4to, printed by Pynson, 1526.

A fine copy of this rare book is in the extensive and valuable library of my kind friend, the Rev. J. H. M. Luxmoore, rector of Marcweil, near Wrexham, by whose permission the following analysis was made:—

This work is more particularly intended for the monastic orders, to promote what, in those days, were called pious feelings; by which it was intended to treat the gifts of providence, the comforts, and even necessaries of life, with contempt; to abstain from reasonable enjoyments; to retire into solitudes where no relative duties could be performed; lacerating the body; submitting the soul, with blind obedience, to the will of men; a looking forward with dread to the future; contemplating the God of love, not as the forgiver, but as the avenger of sin; and to which may be added, that climax of pride, fanaticism, and folly, in which Jews, Mahometans, and all antichrist glory—that there is no salvation out of the pale of their own sect.

The volume commences with the tree of grace and the tree of vice; under the branch of avarice, a nun is told to **Note pt a pin or a nedell kept contrary to pe commaundement of their soucraine it is dampnable.**

It is divided into two parts: first, 'sheweth howe the lyfe of euery cristian is as a pilgremage: second, the iourney of religion—man is never contented in the cage of this world; wherfore it appereth that ther is an hyer cage and another place for his full contentation.'—'As the iewes spoyled Egipt of their richesse, so the christians have spoyled both iewes and philosophers of the noble veritees of philosophy;'

'In heuen euery man and woman shalbe as an emperour and empresse.'

The journey begins with the sacrament of baptism, professing by it to be pilgrims; openly forsaking the devil, pomps, mortal sins, honours, riches, and pleasures; for daily sustenance, is given the blessed body of our Lord in the sacrament, by which these pilgrims are raised above nature to immortal glory. Jn. vi. 53 is thus translated:—'Except ye eat the flesh of the son of the virgin, and drink his blood, ye cannot have life in you;' but it is silent as to the cup being denied to the laity. 1 Pe. ii. 2, 3, is thus translated:—'As infants and young children: whom our mother, holy church, hath brought forth, by the regeneration of baptism in the faith of Christ Jesus.'

Then follow very extensive instructions to the pilgrims, without any attempt at allegory. Many portions of Scripture are given, but they are strangely translated. The Lord's prayer:—'O father in heuen delyuer vs frō all euyll of peyne and synne. Suffre vs nat to be ouerthrowen in temptacion. Forgyue vs our offences as we forgyue them that hath offended vs. Gyue vs our dayly sustenaunce and necessaryes. Thy wyll be fulfylled in erthe, as it is in heuen. Thy kyngdome come to vs. Thy holy name be santifyed.' 1 Co. iii. 13:—'But yet (as saynt Poule sayth) the fyer of purgatory must proue his workes.' When suffering pain from fasting, he adviseth that such pain be allayed by using these words:—'Ah, caryon carion and wormes meate: what vauntage shalte thou haue, ever to stuffe and fyll the greedy gutte of thy bely with delicate meetes and drinkes which damn the soule.' Praying to our blessed Lady and to the saints is ordered, because Job was commanded to 'call to some of the sayntes of heuen, and they wil answere,' Job v. 1. In the ten commandments, the second is omitted, and the tenth is divided into two, to make up the number. The Virgin Mary can obtain blessings for us, because 'The mother of God, sheweth to her son her pappes and brestes, with the which she gaue hym sucke!! therefore make supplication to her, to have mercy on this present churche militant, releue, socoure, and helpe it.' The heavenly anthem is translated:—'Glory be to god in heuyn, and peace in erthe to man or woman, that hathe a good wyll,' Lu. ii. 11. The pilgrimage is divided into seven days, and on the seventh the soul approaches to perfection; and here the feelings or experience of the pilgrims strongly remind us of some modern sects, such as the Irvingites—'Some in this vnwont ioye haue been compelled to syng, some to wepe, some coude nothinge speke; but Jesu, Jesu, Jesu. Some coude nat saye so moche, *but onely expresse suche voyces, that be nat in use to signifye any thyng:* one Masseus in such ioye coude speke nothing but v v v.' With the Quakers, 'Some other in such jubile, trymbled or quaked in all the ioyntes of their bodyes.' Like the Ranters, 'Some were constrayned to leape and daunce for ioye, and some to clappe their handes.' Some have arrived at so high a state of mortification, that if asked 'whether they coude be contented, for the love and pleasure of god, and to fulfyll his wyll, to lye for euermore in the paynes of hell, without remedy, they wolde answere: ye with all their hertes.' In such a state was St. Bernard, who was ravished before the cross when the body 'losed itselfe from the crosse, and halsed[1] and kyssed hym most swetely;' the holy Brigit was lifted up in the aire, and her face was made to shyne brighter than the sonne!!!

The reader need not be told that Bunyan could have had no help from this impure source.

The Pype, or Tonne of the lyfe of perfection. 4to, 1532.

This is an allegorical work for the instruction of nuns, written by the old wretch of Sion;[2] and although it is not a pilgrimage or a dream, it is a guide to female pilgrims. Under the idea of wine being kept in a pipe or tun, is represented:—1. The life of perfection, as *the wine;* 2. Religion, *the pipe;* 3. Essential vows, obedience, wilful poverty, and chastity, *the staves;* 4. Holy rules, *the hoops;* 5. Ceremonies, *the wickers,* by which the hoops are made fast. If these wickers fail, the hoops open, the cask falls to pieces, and the wine is lost; *all depends upon the ceremonies.* This curious book was published to prevent the spread of heresy 'by newe fangle persones,' aided by the New Testament, which had then been about six years in circulation in England; for 'Luther, with all his discyples, depraue all maner of religyons, except onely (as they call hit) the religyon of Christe. Wherefore I thought it necessary to answer the perilous poison of such blaterers.' The work is divided into three parts: 'Of Obedience,' 'Wylfull Powertie,' and 'Chastite;' being the three great vows made by the nuns to whom it is addressed. 1. Of Obedience. Without implicit obedience, there is not the slightest hope of salvation. This related, not only to the obedience due by nuns to the pope, the priest, and the abbess, but also to the obedience due by a wife to her husband. If married ladies acted in the same spirit then as they do now, might not the sorrowful inquiry have been made, 'Lord, are there [even a] few that be saved?' 'Kynges as sone as they were conuerted and baptized, left their dyademes and were

[1] 'Halsed;' bowed the head, embraced, saluted.

[2] Richard Whytforde, a monk in the monastery of Syon, near Richmond, on the banks of the Thames.

subiects unto the clergie, and under theyr obedience;' a peculiar kind of antinomianism reigned in the church; 'I say, that no temporall lawe maye bynde any spirituall persone. This have we said vnto Tyndale that arche heretike.' Some of the rules and examples show that nuns were sad women, who could 'braule and chide; eat and drynke to excess'—'they be in right great jeoperty of nawfrage[1] and wracke of chastite.' Obedience in ecclesiastical payments is enforced by a very odd translation of Nu. xviii. 22:—'Those persones that wolde nat be obedient duely to pay theyr tythes, were judged by our Lord vnto deth;' and whether God, or the vicar of God, gave any manner of commandment, it is all one, and by like reverence to be performed; 'our lorde god, in maner makyng the prelates and soureynes equall with hymselfe.' The extent of obedience is thus illustrated:—'that man that in obedience to his soureyne dyd caste his owne chylde quicke into a hole flamynge ouen has now laude, prayse, thanke, and grace, because he was obedient as he would have had indignation of god and vengeaunce if he had not obeyed.' 2. Of Wylfull Pouertie. This vow was so strict that no monk or nun was to consider their clothes their own, but the property of the establishment; and, to terrify the poor votaries, a story is told, fol. cc., of a monk that did appear after his death to one of his companions, showing that he was in marvellous great pains, 'for bycause he gaue a payre of olde showes vnto a pore body without leaue.' All the efforts and threats to prevent the monks from getting money was in vain; and our unhappy author laments that there are few monasteries in England but where the monks lend and borrow; play for money at all manner of games; dice, cards, bowls, and sometimes at worse or more inconvenient things; while the nuns enjoy their gains, make good cheer, sing and laugh, play and sport, and be as merry as lay people. We close our account of this singular volume by extracting a curious version of Ps. cxxxvii. 9:—'Blessed be that person that doth hold and restrain his children, and that doth thrust and crush their head unto the stone, that is unto Christ and his passion and death.'

No one can for a moment suppose that Bunyan could have gained a hint from this volume.

Viaggio Spirituale, nel quale, facendosi passaggio da questa vita mortale, si ascende alla celeste. Del R. P. Cornelio Bellanda, di Verona, 4to, with the Aldine mark. Venetia, 1578.

This spiritual pilgrimage, from mortal life to the celestial, has nothing in it allegorical, but in ten chapters treats of penance, confession, the judgment, heavenly blessedness, &c. It is a very rare volume, elegantly printed by Aldus, jun.[2]

The Vision of Pierce Plowman.

'I am inclined to think,' says Mr. D'Israeli, in his *Amenities of Literature*, 'that we owe to Piers Ploughman, an allegorical work of the same wild invention from that other creative mind, the author of "Pilgrim's Progress." How can we think of the one, without being reminded of the other? Some distant relationship seems to exist between the Ploughman's *Dowell* and *Dobet*, and *Dobest*, Friar *Flatterer*, *Grace*, the Portress of the magnificent Tower of *Truth*, viewed at a distance, and by its side the dungeon of Care, *Natural Understanding*, and his lean and stern wife *Study*, and all the rest of this numerous company, and the shadowy pilgrimage of the "Immortal Dreamer" to the "Celestial City." Yet I would mistrust my own feeling, when so many able critics, in their various researches after a prototype of that singular production, have hitherto not suggested what seems to me obvious.' Such a notice by so popular a writer, led me very closely to examine this severe satire. It is written in language that to Bunyan would have been almost as impenetrable as Hebrew or Greek. It is a very curious poem, composed about the time of Wicliff, by one of the Lollards, said to be by Robert Langland. In a poetical vision or dream, he exposes and reproves vice, and extols Christian virtue. 'The printer [R. Crowley, 1550] states, that it was written in the time of Edward III., when it pleased God to open the eyes of many to see his truth, giving them boldness of heart to open their mouths, and cry out against the works of darkness. This writer feigneth himself in dreams most Christianly to instruct the weak, and sharply rebuke the obstinate blind. He godlily, learnedly, and wittily rebuked vice in all classes.' There is nothing in this very interesting book that could, in the slightest degree, have aided Bunyan, if he had been able to read it. It presents a melancholy picture of the state of the clergy, and of society generally, at that time; and, according to his account, pilgrims were very sad story-tellers.

'Pilgrames and Palmers plyght hem togyther
For to seke S. James and sayntes at Rome
They went forth theyr way, wyth many wyse tales,
And had leaue to lye all hyr lyfe after.'

The hermits appear to have had a still worse propensity—

'Hermets on a heape wyth hoked staues
Wenten to Walsingham, and her wenches after.'

Mr. D'Israeli must have been dreaming when he imagined the slightest resemblance between *Piers Plowman's Vision* and the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' either in the plan, or in any of the details of this curious poem.

Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*

Were told on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas-à-Becket; and it is evident that these pretended holy journeys were full of vice and profligacy.

Erasmus, *On the Religious Pilgrimages.*

The very droll colloquy of Erasmus, called the *Religious Pilgrimage*, is preceded by an account of a shipwreck, when all the passengers and crew are calling each on his patron saint, promising pilgrimages and offerings. Among them—'one vowed to *St. Christopher*, in the great church at *Paris*, "as loud as he could bawl," that he might be sure to be heard, a *wax candle*, as big as himself, and he was rather a mountain

[1] 'Naufrage;' shipwreck.

[2] In the Editor's library. See *Renouard Annales, de l'Imprimarie des Alde*, vol. i. p. 397.

than a statue: a friend gave him a touch. *Have a care what you promise*, says he, *for if you should sell yourself to your shirt, you are not able to purchase such a candle.* Hold your tongue, you fool, says t'other, softly, for fear the saint should hear him; *let me set foot* a land once, and he has good luck if he get so much as a tallow candle of me!!' This pilgrimage has a long letter from the Virgin Mary, written by one of her secretaries, in droll terms, complaining that it is of no use that hundreds should pray to her at once, for she could only hear one at a time, and had no power to assist her worshippers.

No one can suppose that Bunyan gained any hint from such satirical works as these.

Spenser's *Faëry Queen.*

To this work Dr. Adam Clarke considered Bunyan to have been indebted for some ideas in his 'Pilgrim,' or 'Holy War.' It must require no ordinary degree of penetration to discover that which is, to many, perfectly concealed.

This is a very long but elegant allegorical poem, composed of seven legends: 1. The Knight of the Red Cross, or Holiness. This gallant knight, properly caparisoned and accoutred, rides forth with Truth, represented as a fair lady; his first adventure is with a monstrous dragon called Error, who is slain. They take refuge in the cell of an aged sire, who acted the part of a holy hermit, but proved to be a most unholy enchanter; he calls spirits from the vasty deep, and transforms them into a gallant knight and a beautiful woman. He kindles a flame of jealousy in the breast of the red cross knight, so that he abruptly quits his fair companion, and in his journey meets with a knight called 'Sans Foy;' they fight, and Sans Foy is killed, and a lovely lady, his companion, is taken captive; she proves to be 'Falsehood.' He is taken prisoner by the contrivance of Falsehood, and is thrown into a dungeon in the castle of Giant Orgoglio, where he lies in despair for three months. Truth induces Prince Arthur to attack the Giant, whose body disappears when he is slain after a fearful combat; he relieves the red cross knight from a cell—

> 'Where entred in, his feet could find no floor,
> But all a deep descent, as dark as hell,
> That breathed ever forth a filthy banefull smell.'

He is then led to a house of holiness, and is taught repentance. Our knight then seeks and fights the old dragon fiend for three successive days, and kills him. He visits the infernal realms; sees what the classic poets have described; meets again with his lady Truth, and his adventures close with their marriage. The next legend is that of Temperance narrating the exploits of Sir Guyon. He attacks and overcomes Furor, Incontinence, and Mammon. He recounts from a friar's book 'a chronicle of Briton's Kings.' His startling description of our forefathers is a good specimen of his versification and stanzas:—

> 'But far in land a salvage nation dwelt
> Of hideous giaunts, and halfe-beastly men,
> That never tasted grace, nor goodness felt;
> But wild like beastes lurking in loathsome den,
> And flying fast as roebucke through the fen;
> All naked without shame or care of cold,
> By hunting and by spoiling liveden;
> Of stature huge, and eke of corage bold,
> That sonnes of men amazed their sterness to behold.'

Temperance is besieged, but relieved by Prince Arthur. Then follows the legends of Britomartis, or Chastity: all the chapters are headed with poetical contents; as—

> 'The witches sonne loves Florimell,
> She flyes; he faines to dy.
> Satyrane saves the squyre of Dames
> From Gyauntes tyranny.'

The other legends are of friendship, justice, courtesy, constancy, and mutability. The first legend of Holiness is the only one that bears the slightest resemblance to any part of the 'Pilgrim' or 'Holy War.' In this we have a battle with the old dragon fiend, a descent into hell, and being a prisoner in a giant's castle. It is not at all likely that Bunyan could have found time, even had he the inclination, to have read the *Faëry Queen.* His poetry is from the school of Francis Quarles, and not of Spenser. The knightly hero *seeks* the old dragon fiend; the pilgrim is sought by Apollyon. Apostolic injunctions would naturally lead our allegorist Bunyan to portray the dreadful combat. 'The devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour,' WHOM RESIST. Clothed in the armour described in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and wielding the sword of the Spirit, his final success was certain—'resist the devil, and he will flee from you.' Such texts, with his own experience of the saint's conflict with the powers of darkness, naturally suggested the fight with Apollyon, without the aid of any uninspired author.

All Spenser's imagery of the Infernal Regions is taken from Ovid, Virgil, and Dante. But the pilgrims' fears, while passing through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, depict the author's personal feelings, and the experience of David. 'The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold upon me: I found trouble and sorrow.' Ps. cxvi. 3. The strong language of Job (ch. xv.), 'A dreadful sound is in his ears; he believeth not that he shall return out of darkness;' and the emotions of the psalmist, 'an horrible pit and the miry clay,' led to an intensity of *feeling*, under doubts and fears, which knightly poetry, however elegant, could never have engendered. Spenser was a philosopher well acquainted with heathen literature, from which his images are drawn. While Bunyan, shut out of the enticing treasures of human learning, possessed in that Inspired Volume, which was his daily solace under severe privations, the most noble model for his allegorical imagery, he neither wanted, nor could he have gained, the slightest hint from Spenser.

Le Voyage du Chevalier Errant. Par. F. J. de Cartheny. Written about the year 1311. 8vo, Anvers, 1557. Published in English under the title of The Voyage of the Wandering Knight. Showing the whole course of Man's Life; how apt he is to follow Vanity, and how hard it is for him to attain to Virtue. Devised by John Cartheny, a Frenchman; and Translated out of French into English by W[illiam] G[oodyeare] of Southampton,

Merchant; a work worthy the reading, and dedicated to Sir. F. Drake, Knt. London, Printed by Thos. Snodham, 4to. No date, but about 1611. (*See* Herbert, p. 1022.)

The knight determines to seek the palace of true felicity, and first tries riches, pleasure, and honours; but he adds, 'I was as very a fool in this as he who hoped to catch fish by angling in the air, or hunt the hare with hounds in the open sea.' Under the guidance of Folly, he obtained from an armorer named Evil-will, a shirt of lasciviousness, a doublet of lewd desires, hosen [1] of vain pleasures, armour of ignorance, a corslet of inconstancy, vambraces [2] of arrogancy, gauntlets of idleness, a gorget of licentiousness, a helmet of lightness, a buckler of shamelessness, a gilt-cap of vain-glory, a girdle of intemperance, a sword of rebellion, and a lance, named Hope of Long-life. 'Then Pride prepared me a galloping horse, called Temerity. At last Folly apparelled herself lightly with a cloak of feathers, and mounted upon a jenet; and opening her feathers and wings with the wind, away she flew; and I also, at a wild adventure, set spurs to my horse, and away we went both.'

During their ride, Folly tells him her triumphs in such gross terms, that the knight found fault with this insatiable empress, and calls her some very unpolite names; but not having received God's grace, he was unable to forsake her. They come to two paths, one a goodly green meadow; the other rocky, narrow, and full of mountains; and here met with two elegant ladies, on chargers richly caparisoned. Lady Voluptuousness pictures to him the pleasures of idleness, with all worldly delights; and Lady Felicity, the advantages of industry and virtue. As the husbandman could expect no corn unless he prepared the ground and sowed the seed; so that man is marvellously misinformed who thinketh to achieve true blessedness unless he prepares his way by virtue and good deeds. But while Reason preferred the good advice of Felicity, Folly prevailed, and led him to the palace of Voluptuousness. The palace is minutely described, with all its wanton and luxurious enjoyments. After leading *a beastly life* eleven days, he goes out hunting, accompanied by his gay ladies; when suddenly the palace sinks into the earth, yielding such an air of brimstone, that the like hath not been felt. The knight 'sunk into a beastly bog up to his saddle,' and his companions changed into serpents, snakes, toads, and venomous worms. He fell into despair, howled, and scratched his face; he tried in vain to get out, and found 'that after a man be once sunk in sin, he will not be able to recover himself unless he have the help of God's grace.' After bitter repentance, he prays; and a splendid lady, called God's-Grace, relieved him, and he left Temerity his horse, and Folly his governess, in the bog to fish for frogs. 'Thus you see that God's grace draweth us from sins without any merit of ours; howbeit not without an inward heart-grief and sorrow for sin, which is a special gift of God's grace.' His new guide showed him the ruins of the palace of worldly Felicity converted into a great bed of iron, red hot, upon which his late companions were tormented. He is then led to the school of repentance, which is surrounded with a moat, called Humility. Here all his follies are brought to his remembrance; he sees what torments he had deserved for them, and was half in despair. Portions of Scripture are exhibited, which comfort and convert him. Understanding, now preaches him a sermon on the history of Mary Magdalene. The knight then receives the communion, and is carried to the palace of Virtue. The third part of the voyage describes the happiness which his felt in company with Lady Virtue. At length Faith, from the top of a tower, shows him the city of heaven. It concludes with a prayer, the creed, and ten commandments, and an exhortation to perseverance until the knight shall attain the glorious city of paradise.

Although this work was doubtless intended for good, yet such is the indelicacy of many of its scenes, that it was more calculated to excite evil passions than to lead an inquirer to happiness. The way of salvation is confined to moral observances, without that spring of virtue which flows from faith in Jesus Christ, and its consequent evangelical obedience. There is no similarity between this Voyage and the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' except it be the foresight of the heavenly paradise, which has been, and is, one of the enjoyments of the real Christian from the Revelations of John to the present time.[3] There is no ground for supposing that the persecuted Bunyan ever saw this *Chevalier Errant.*

Whitney's *Emblems.* 4to, Leyden, 1586; pp. 179. The cut over one of the emblems represents a man swimming, with a pack upon his back.

'Desire to haue, dothe make vs muche indure,
In trauayle, toile, and labour voide of reste:
The marchant-man is caried with this lure,
Throughe scorching heate, to regions of the Easte:
Oh thirste of goulde, what not? but thou canst do:
And make mens hartes for to consent thereto.

'The trauailer poore, when shippe doth suffer wracke,
Who hopes to swimme vnto the wished lande,
Dothe venture life, with fardle on his backe,
That if he scape, the same in steede maye stande.
Thus, hope of life, and loue vnto his goods,
Houldes vp his chinne, with burthen in the floods.'

Another emblem has a cut, representing a pilgrim with his staff leaving a globe [the world] behind him, p. 225. Peregrinus Christianus loquitur.

Adue[4] *deceiptfull worlde, thy pleasures I detest:*
Nowe, others with thy showes delude; my hope in heauen doth rest.

Inlarged as followeth:—

'Even as a flower, or like vnto the grasse,
Which now dothe stande, and straight with sithe dothe fall,
So is our state: now here, now hence wee passe:
For, time attendes with shredding sithe for all.
And deathe at lengthe, both oulde, and yonge, doth strike:
And into dust dothe turne vs all alike.

'Yet, if we marke how swifte our race dothe ronne,
And waighe the cause, why wee created bee:
Then shall we know, when that this life is donne,
Wee shall bee sure our countrie right to see.
For, here wee are but straungers, that must flitte:
The nearer home, the nearer to the pitte.

[1] Stockings.

[2] Armour for the arms.

[3] Mr. Lowndes, in his *Bibliographical Manual*, says that Bunyan, in his 'Pilgrim's Progress,' was much indebted to this Wandering Knight!!

[4] Adieu.

O happie they, that pondering this arighte,
Before that here their pilgrimage bee past,
Resigne this world: and marche with all their mighte
Within that pathe, that leades where ioyes shall last.
And whilst they may, there, treasure vp their store,
Where, without rust, it lastes for euermore.

This worlde must chaunge: That worlde, shall still indure.
Here, pleasures fade: There, shall they endlesse bee.
Here, man doth sinne: And there, hee shalbee pure,
Here, deathe hee tastes: And there, shall neuer die.
Here, hathe hee griefe: And there shall ioyes possesse.
As none hath seene, nor anie harte can gesse.'

These are the poems from which Mr. Montgomery conceives Bunyan might perhaps have inspired his first idea!

The other of Whitney's Emblems upon pilgrimage, is under a cut representing Mercury and two men travelling upon a road.

'The trauaylinge man, vncertaine where to goe,
When diuers wayes before his face did lie,
Mercurius then, the perfect pathe did showe,
Which when he tooke, he neuer went awrie,
But to his wishes, his iorneys ende did gaine
In happie howre, by his direction plaine.

'This trauailinge man: doth tell our wandringe state,
Before whose face, and eeke ou euery side,
Bypathes, and wayes, appeare amidd our gate,
That if the Lorde bee not our onlie guide:
We stumble, fall, and dailie goe astraye,
Then happie those, whome God doth shew the waye.'

The Pilgrimage to Paradise. Compiled for the Direction, Comfort, and Resolution of God's poore distressed Children in passing through this irksome Wildernesse of Temptation and Tryall. By Leonard Wright. 4to, London, 1591.

Full of sound instruction, but not allegorical.

Benoist (Father-Confessor to Mary Queen of Scots), *le Chevalier Chrestien.*

This is a dialogue between a Christian knight and an infidel, whom he attempts to instruct in the knowledge of God and the Romish faith. It has cuts representing the knight's horse, and the various parts of his armour and habiliments, which are spiritualized. Some of these instructions to an infidel are curious, 'Comme l'Eglise, second Paradis, à esté plantée et est contenue en la Vierge, monde mystique.'[1] 'De la descente de Jesus Christ en enfer, ou il a remporté encore une autre victoire sur Satan, brisant ses prisons, et deliverant les Peres qu'il y tenoit captif.'[2] This is the true meaning of the descent into hell in what is called the Apostles' Creed. Among other curious discoveries which the author makes is, that if Adam had not been persuaded to sin by his wife, his posterity would not have been corrupt.[3]

The Pilgrimage of Princes. By L. Lloid, one of Queen Elizabeth's Sergeants-at-Arms.

There is nothing allegorical in this entertaining volume. It is a pilgrimage to the characters and works of princes, which are curiously exhibited. A few are in poetry, such as that of King Herod:

'When *Herod* reigned in Juda king
His life so loathsome led,
On sucking babes and infants blood,
This cruel tyrant fed.
To seek our Saviour Christ, he kill'd
The Babes of Juda land;
And thought our God could not escape
His fomie bloody hand.
Of worms this Herod was devoured,
Of vermin loe, and mice:
His bones, his flesh, was all consumed
And eaten up of Lice.'

The Plaine Man's Path-way to Heaven. By Arth. Dent. 1601.

There is a rare tract under this title in black letter, with a woodcut of the author, 12 leaves; but the book that was made a blessing to Bunyan is a small octavo volume. This little book made a considerable part of the worldly goods which Bunyan's first wife brought as her portion, and it became one of the means by which he was awakened from the dreary sleep of sin, and therefore an invaluable portion. It is singular that no one has charged him with taking any hints from this book, which is one of the very few which he is known to have read prior to his public profession of faith and holiness in baptism.

The author, in his epistle, calls it a 'controversie with Satan and Sinne.' It is a dialogue between 'a Divine, an Honest Man, an Ignorant Man, and a Caviller.' They commence about buying a good cow, then worth *four pounds*, and are drawn into religious conversation. The author is so high a Calvinist, that, speaking of infants, he says, 'some, no doubt, are saved through the election of grace.' He commences with the new birth: arguments are adduced to show why good and worthy men are lost, because they esteem a preacher no more than a shoemaker, nor the Scriptures than their old shoes. He places lying among the principal sins, which he calls the Beelzebubs of the world. He introduces very familiar illustrations and well-known proverbs. Speaking against pride, he says, 'How proud many (especially women) be of baubles. For when they have spent a good part of the day in tricking and trimming, pricking and pinning, pranking and pouncing, girding and lacing, and braving up themselves in most exquisite manner, out they come into the streets with their pedlar's shop upon their backs and take themselves to be little Angels—they are one lump of pride—the time will come when they and all their gay clouts will be buried in a grave — what will all this profit them when their bodies are buried in the dust and their souls in hell-fire? what then will they say of these doubled and redoubled ruffs, strutting fardingales, long locks, fore tufts, shag haire and new fashions?" He complains of two marks being paid for a pair of stockings [£1, 6*s.* 8*d.*]! 'What say you to our artificial women, which will be better than God hath made them? they like not his handy work, they will mend it—they will have other complections, other hair, other bones, and other . . . . than God made them.' Modern refinement prevents one of these words from being copied; but the monstrous deformity shown by some ladies of our day, appears

[1] Edit. Rouen, 1609, 8vo, p. 97. [2] P. 160. [3] P. 48.

then to have been in fashion. Dent calls such ladies pictures, puppets, and peacocks. Had Bunyan been a plagiarist, how readily might he have borrowed an idea from Dent of the Muck-rake. 'The gripple muck-rakers had as leve part with their blood as their goods. They will pinch their own backs and bellies to get their god into their chest.' But Bunyan's Muck-rake is all his own. 'Mony lazie lozels and luskish youths do nothing but walk the streets, sit on stalls, and frequent Ale houses. Many rich women do ordinarily lie in bed till nine of the clock, and then forsooth rise, and make themselves ready to goe to dinner. And after they have well dined, they spend the rest of the day, and a good part of the night also, in playing, prattling, babbling, cackling, prating, and gossipping. Fie on this idle life.'[1]

The enmity of the natural man against those who bear the image of Christ is thus expressed: 'It is a wonder to consider how deadly the wicked hate the righteous, and almost in every Thing oppose themselves against them: and that in most virulent and spiteful manner. They raile and slander, scoffe and scorne, mocke and mowe at them, as though they were not worthy to live upon the earth. They esteeme every pelting Rascall, and prefer euery vile Varlet before them. And though they have their liues and liberty, their breath and safety, and all that they haue else by them [for their sakes], yet for all that, they could be content to eate their heart with garlicke: so great, so fiery, so burning and hissing-hot is their fury and malice against them. They may be compared to a man that standeth upon a bough in the top of a tree, and with an axe choppeth it off, and therewithall falleth down with it, and breaketh his necke.'[2] Dent, speaking of the entrance by the strait gate, says: 'It must be done by great strife against the world, the flesh, and the Diuell—none can enter in without vehement crowding and almost breaking their shoulder-bones —many which seek shall not bee able to enter.' How different to Bunyan's description: 'Knock, and it shall be opened unto you.' Yet both are right: one places his obstacles long before the pilgrim arrives at the gate; then, having overcome the world and the flesh, the devil shoots at him; the other reserves all the Christian's opposition to the time when entering the gate. Dent's language is picturesque: 'We haue all the Diuels in hell against vs, with all their horns, heads, marvellous strength, infinite wiles, cunning devices, deepe slights, and methodical temptations. Here runs a sore streame against vs. Then haue we this present euill world against us, with her innumerable baits, snares, netts, gins and grins to catch vs, fetter vs and entangle vs. Here haue wee profittes and pleasures, riches and honour, wealth and preferment, ambition and couetousnesse. Here comes in a Camp-royall of spiritual and inuisible enemies. Lastly we haue our flesh, that is, our corrupted nature against vs: wee haue our-selues against our-selues.' This book was written fifty years after the Reformation; but so slow were the clergy to teach, or the people to learn, that when a farmer is asked, 'What is the end of receiving the sacrament?' he answered, 'To receive my maker.' And when asked how many sacraments there were, his answer was, 'Two, Bread and Wine!' Bunyan must have felt the force of such language as the following: 'Every sin that a man committeth is as a thorn thrust deep into the soul; which will not be got out again but with many a sigh, and many a sorrowful Oh! Oh! Every sin is written with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond upon the conscience, which, if not felt in this life, then with woe, and alas! when it is too late.' The farmer being deeply affected with a sense of his danger, Atheist advises him to read '*The Court of Venus, The Palace of Pleasure, Bevis of Southampton, Ellen of Rummin, The Merry Jest of the Friar and the Boy, The Pleasant Story of Clem of the Clough, Adam Bell, and William of Cloudesley, The Odd Tale of William, Richard, and Humphrey, The Pretty Conceit of John Splinter's Last Will*—excellent books against heart qualms and dumpishness.' To which the zealous minister replied: 'They are good to kindle a fire—they were devised by the devil, seen and allowed by the Pope, printed in Hell, bound by Hobgoblins, and published in Rome, Italy, and Spain.'[3]

[1] P. 170.

[2] P. 221.

This volume must have been exactly suited to the warm imagination of Bunyan. It had proved invaluable to him as a means of conversion; but, after a careful and delightful perusal, no trace can be found of any phrase or sentence having been introduced into the 'Pilgrim's Progress.'

The copy which the Editor has used in extracting the above account is the nineteenth impression, 1625, and has the name of M. Bunyonn written on the bottom of the title; probably the very volume which his wife brought him as her dowry.[4]

The result of long, anxious, and expensive inquiries is, that, from the first idea to the completion of his 'Pilgrim's Progress,' it entirely flowed from Bunyan's own soul. Well might he say—

'Manner and matter too was all mine own.'

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Pilgrimage*. Written by himself, and published in his remains.

'Give me my scalop shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet;
My bottle of salvation.
My gown of glory, hope's true gage,[5]
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.
Blood must be my body's only balmer,
No other balm will there be given;
Whilst my soul, like a quiet Palmer,[6]
Travelleth towards the land of Heaven.
Over the silver mountains,
Where springs the nectar fountains,
There will I kiss the bowl of bliss;
And drink mine everlasting fill
Upon every milken hill.
My soul will be a dry before,
But after it will thirst no more.
I'll take them first to quench my thirst,
And taste of nectar's suckets,
At those clear wells, where sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by saints in chrystal buckets.
Then by that happy blestfull day,
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,
That have cast off their rags of clay,
And walk apparelled fresh like me;
And when our bottles and all we
Are fill'd with immortality,

[3] Pp. 371, 372. Edit. 1625.

[4] In the Editor's library.

[5] 'Gage;' a pledge or challenge to combat.

[6] 'Palmer;' a pilgrim, from their carrying a branch of palm, especially on return.

Then the blest parts we'll travel;
Strowed with rubies thick as gravel.
Ceilings of diamonds, sapphire flowers,
High walls of coral, and pearly bowers.
From thence to Heaven's bribeless hall,
Where no corrupted vices brawl;
No conscience molten into gold,
No forg'd accuser bought or sold,
No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent journey,
For there CHRIST is the king's attorney;
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And he hath Angels,[1] but no fees;
And when the twelve grand million jury
Of our sins, with direful fury,
'Gainst our souls, black verdicts give,
Christ pleads his death and then we live.
Be thou my speaker (taintless pleader,
Unblotted Lawyer, true proceeder)
Thou would'st salvation c'en for alms,
Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.
And this is my eternal plea
To him that made heaven, earth and sea,
That since my flesh must die so soon,
And want a head to dine next noon,
Just at the stroke, when my veins start and spread,
Set on my soul an everlasting head.
Then am I ready, like a Palmer, fit
To tread those blest paths which before I writ,
Of Death and Judgement, Heaven, and Hell,
Who oft doth think, must needs die well.'

The Plain Man's Pilgrimage, or Journey towards Heaven, wherein if he walke carefully he may attain to everlasting life. By W. W[ebster]. 18mo, 1613.

First, To set out on the journey, we must get rid of covetousness. Second, For speed, we must begin young—give God the heart, and number our days. We have a long journey to go in a short space of time—a day. A short life is like a winter's day; a long life like a day in summer. One of his similes is far beyond ordinary comprehension. 'For as the windows of the temple were large within and narrow without; so they which are within the church have greater light than they which are without.' Another extract will show the doctrinal views of the author. 'We must put on his (Christ's) righteousness, which is as strange a vesture to us, as our flesh was to him; it requires great cunning to wear it cleanly and comely, from foyling[2] and rending it, lest it should be taken from us again.'

The author gives much good advice as to searching the Scriptures and prayer, but there is nothing allegorical in this rare little volume.

The Pilgrim.

This old comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher, could afford no hint to Bunyan, and it is very probable that he never wasted one of his precious minutes over a play.

To a late period, and even to the present day, in Roman Catholic countries, the word *pilgrim* is only understood as relating to a meritorious pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint. In the *Glossographia Anglicana*, 1719, the meaning of the word *pilgrim* is 'one that travels upon account of religion, to visit holy places; to pay his devotion to the relics of dead saints.' The principal places were Rome, Loretto, Jerusalem, Compostella, and the local shrines with which every country in Europe abounded. In former times it was a duty inculcated upon all classes, from the king to the peasant, from the archbishop to the humblest clerk, all bent beneath the custom of the times; and two visits to a neighbouring shrine were considered equivalent to one at double the distance. Such as were unable to go in person, gave money to have the duty performed by proxy. A dream or vision, a penance ordered, or a vow made in the hour of danger, were frequently the prelude to a pilgrimage, and the belief was general, that if they were not made during life, they might, with greater trouble, be performed after death.

'Some went for payment of a vow
In time of trouble made,
And some who found that pilgrimage
Was a pleasant sort of trade.'[3]

Frequently two hundred thousand pilgrims were at Loretto at one time. They formed processions round the palace of our Lady, on their bare knees, five, seven, nine, or twelve times. We can scarcely credit the accounts of the number of devotees who practised all sorts of vices, going and returning, to secure the pardon of sin, by visiting the shrine, and invoking the aid of the saint—so besotted and intoxicated were mankind made by the Church. In six months, from January to June, 1435, the King of England granted licenses to two thousand eight hundred and fifty pilgrims, to Compostella alone; and it is impossible to give any idea of the myriads of Europeans who perished on pilgrimages, especially to the Holy Land. The church constantly prayed for these votaries, as the Church of England now prays for those who travel by land or by water.

The Rev. W. Acworth, at a meeting of the Bible Society, related an anecdote, which may be useful to travellers in popish countries:[4] 'A gentleman who had travelled before me from Rome, had with him some Bibles, Testaments and tracts, on the top of which he had placed good old John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. When the package was opened, the Douanniers examined this book, and not being very good English scholars, they knew not what to make of the title, Bun—Bun—Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress! "What is that?" said one;

[1] 'Angels;' gold coins, one-third of a sovereign, afterwards raised to ten shillings; or the spirits of heaven.
[2] 'Foyling;' pressing, creasing, rumpling.
[3] Southey.
[4] *Report*, May 1836, p. 392.

"Oh," replied the other, "'tis some work on the advantage of pilgrimages;" and consequently the whole were immediately allowed. Now, I had my regular passport; but I venture to say, that good John Bunyan's Pilgrim was a better passport for the Bible than any other which could have been found on that occasion.'

The Pilgrim's Practice, containing many Godly Prayers. By Robert Bruen. 8vo, Lond. 1621.

The Pilgrim's Profession.—This is accompanied by *The Pearl of the Gospel; with a glass for Gentlemen to dress themselves by.* By Thomas Taylor, D.D. 8vo, 1624.

There is nothing allegorical in these volumes.

The Pilgrim of Casteele; written in Spanish, translated into English; 4to, 1623; and republished many times.

This is a romance, probably invented in English. It represents a lover in the disguise of a pilgrim. He suffers shipwreck, and is picked up by some fishermen, who mistook him, when covered with weeds and mud, for a fardel of cloth; but found it to be the pilgrim in a trance. They restore him to strength, and he enters upon some very extraordinary adventures. In his journey, he gives a good illustration of the then popular faith in haunted houses. Being benighted, he found a lodging in a hospital, deserted 'in regard of a strange noyse which every night was there heard, which hath happened ever since the death of a stranger who came thither to lodge, nobody hath dwelt there.' The pilgrim having made the sign of the cross, laid down to sleep, but in the deep silence he awoke, for 'his bed did move as a ship or a horse, which did carry him; he opened his eyes, and saw horsemen enter by two and two into the chamber, who, lighting torches which they held in their hands at the candle which he had left burning, cast them against the ceiling of the chamber, where they stuck fast with their bottoms upward, which dropt down burning flames upon his bed and upon his clothes. He covereth himself as well as possibly he could, leaving a little hole to look out at, that he might see whether his bed did burn or no; when as instantly he saw the flames out, and that upon a table which was in a corner of the chamber, four of them were at primero, they passed, discarded, and set up money, as if they had truly played. At length they, debating upon a difference, fell into a quarrel in the chamber, which made such a noise with clashing of swords, that the miserable pilgrim called for help upon our lady of Gadalupe; when the clattering of swords, and all other noise ceased, and he was all of a sweat with fear. Presently he felt that the bed and the clothes were pulled away from him by the uttermost corners, and he saw a man come in with a lighted torch in his hand, followed by two others, the one with a great brazen bason, and the other sharpening a little knife. Then began he to tremble, and all his hair to stand on end; he would have spoken, but was not able, when they were near him, the torch was put out; and the pilgrim, thinking that they would kill him, put his hands forth against the knife, when he felt that they laid hold on him, he gave a great cry, and the torch instantly kindled again, and he saw himself between two mastiff dogs, who held him fast in their teeth. JESUS, cried out the pilgrim; at which name all those fantastic illusions vanished away, leaving him so weary and so affrighted that he could stay there no longer. He then went to a holy hermit, who had a stone for his pillow, his staff for a companion, and a death's head for his looking-glass; who learnedly attributed all these midnight revels to 'angels fallen from the lowest quire, who suffer less pains than other, as having not so much sinned, but do take pleasure to displease men with frightings, noises, rumours, subtilties, and such like things, which they do in the night in houses, which thereby they make altogether unhabitable, not being able otherwise to hurt but by these foolish and ridiculous efforts, limited and bound by the Almighty.'

It appears by numerous stories in this book, that the Pilgrim's habit was frequently assumed by run-away lovers, of whom this volume contains many romantic accounts. It contains nothing allegorical, but *professes* to be a relation of matter-of-fact adventures.

The most curious book which has fallen under my notice, upon these painful pilgrimages, is

The Pilgrim of Loretto performing his Vow made to the Glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God. By L. Richeome. 4to, Paris, 1630. Dedicated to Mary, Queen of Charles I.

This work is intended to show the merits and advantages of pilgrimages to holy places; because the Jews were pilgrims to Jerusalem three times a year. The kings, or sages, made their pilgrimage, guided to the star of the world. Our Lord was a pilgrim in Egypt, and he has left many places to which Christians should undertake holy pilgrimages, and obtain the fruits of his graces; among these, Loretto is the most famous. This chapel is forty feet long, twenty wide, and twenty-five high, built of ordinary small stones, hard and squared long, of the colour of brick; the walls adorned with paintings of sacred stories, a stone altar—'breathing as it were something divine.' The image of the Blessed Virgin, crowned with precious stones; her gown of cloth of gold, with a sky-coloured mantle. On her left arm the little child Jesus, having a countenance full of grace and majesty. In the year 1291, the 9th of May, this house was at night carried by angels from Galilee into Selavonia, and remained there four years. On the night of the 19th of November, 1294, it was removed, first into the Mark of Ancona, to a forest, the property of a lady named Loretto; but the forest being infested with thieves, it was removed to a hill hard by. In less than a month, it was again removed to Recanata, and there remains. Dr. Franklin says that three removes are as bad as a fire; but this house, with all its contents, was bodily removed, without injury, four times; and to prevent scepticism, the author recounts some wonders performed by angels—'we know by their naturall force, they roule about the huge frames of the celestiall Bodys, from East to West with an admirable swiftness and constancy now these six thousand yeares togeather, without any paine or difficulty: a work without comparison more difficult, than to carry a house once or twice, from one country to another, although it be miraculous, and admirable for the rarenes.' He adds the testimony of Francis Prior, which, *if true*, decides the fact—'he had often heard of his grandfather, that he did see the house of the blessed Virgin, when being carried in the air it lighted in the forest;' besides which, it was honoured with innumerable miracles. The result was, that emperors, popes, and princes presented gifts to the Virgin, until the massive gold and silver plate, diamonds, and baubles accumulated to

an incredible value; it has been thought that millions of pounds sterling would not have paid for them, at a fair valuation.[1]

This pilgrimage is completed in forty days; thrice seven going, being the number of penance and purgation; nine to spend at Loretto, for the orders of angels, the intellectual light; and ten to return, it being the number of perfection. The pilgrim is to use his rosary of sixty-three beads, the age of the Virgin when she died; saying upon the small beads an Ave Maria, and upon the larger, every tenth, a Paternoster. Having confessed and communicated, three pilgrims commence the pilgrimage; and the first day's meditation was on the condition of man, as a pilgrim and stranger upon earth. It closes with a canticle, of which this is the last stanza:—

> 'Merrily then, let's march apace
> Unto this blessed Virgin's Hall,
> There shall we see the heaven's grace
> Inclosed in a Chappel small:
> And learne to be of this mayde-wife
> Perfect Pilgrimes all our life.'

Similar instructions are given for each day's meditation. After the ten commandments follow the five, which were forgotten or omitted in the decalogue, and are called the Commandments of the Church. 1. To keep the feasts. 2. To hear mass. 3. To fast Lent, &c. 4. To confess. 5. To take the sacrament at Easter: to which are added, 6. Not to marry in times forbidden; and 7. To pay tithes.

When they had arrived at Loretto, themes were given for this nine days' meditation, during his sojourn there: as, a meditation upon the holy eucharist; on the conception of the blessed Virgin; on her ancestors; presentation; espousal of Joseph and Mary, both being virgins to the time of their death; the incarnation; nativity, &c. Before leaving Loretto, they pray to the Virgin; the close of this prayer is—'*to stirre us up to yield honour, praise, and immortal thanks to the Sonne and the Mother, who with their honour have made thee so honourable.*'

On their return, these pilgrims were mistaken for thieves, and narrowly escaped death. Many miracles are talked over; and among them, one narrated by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in 1526, in his book against Œcolampadius, of a priest who lived many months without food or hunger, and in the midst of snow, without feeling cold, BY LICKING A STONE.

The best sentence in the volume is in the thirty-fifth day. The meditation is upon the preaching of John: 'he that in his preaching maketh himselfe admired, and not Jesus Christ, and draweth the harts of his hearers after himselfe, and not after Jesus Christ, is a thiefe, employing his Maisters money and guiftes to his owne uses, and not to his Maisters honour.' The three pilgrims being benighted, climbed an oak to pass the night. One of them said, 'If it rains, what shall we do?' 'We will doe,' answered another, 'as they do in Normandy.' 'And what do they there?' replied he. 'They let it rain,' quoth the other. At eleven o'clock at night, they are alarmed by a horrible spectacle. A monstrous old goat, with a black candle burning blue between his horns, read in a book, making a circle, when sixty-six sorcerers and witches came riding through the air, to this devil's ball. As they arrived, they did the old goat homage, by kissing under his tail, and commenced dancing. Upon a bank they made an altar, and parodied the sacrifice of the mass. At length, the old goat caught sight of the pilgrims; in a moment the dance was dashed; three of them were turned into fierce wolves, who mounted the tree to devour the pilgrims; but *they* made the sign of the cross, and said, '*Jesus Maria;*' the wolves fell down like sacks of corn, and the assembly vanished, leaving a most horrible stench behind them;[2] as if the plague had there burnt all the rags of her infection. All this is narrated, not as an allegory, but as a matter of fact. When such abominable stories were believed, we can hardly wonder at the brutal severity of our laws against poor old women, called witches.

In the morning, among gobbets of flesh and other foul matters, they found a piece of turnip, cut to resemble a host,[3] with a silver chalice and paten; these they carried to the nearest monastery, from which they had been stolen.

A merchant, who had befriended the pilgrims, when in the most imminent danger of being murdered, vowed to devote himself to religion, and was instantly carried, by invisible agency, through the air, for many miles to a monastery, where he took the vows.

The pilgrims meet some *beset with pretended reformation*, and recover them to holy church, by narrating some miracles; among others, one of a priest who was captured by the Turks, and on his refusing to turn Mahometan, they took out his bowels and heart, and put them into his hands, leaving him to be devoured by wild beasts. But in fulfilment of a vow that he had made to the blessed Virgin, he got up and walked to Loretto, with his heart and bowels in his hands; recounted to the officers of the church what had happened, showed them his empty body and *his life* in his hand, and fulfilled his vow! A painting of this miracle is preserved in the chapel. The pilgrims, on the fortieth day, return in safety, and become monks. This curious and rare volume ends with the Litany, Rosary, and Corone of the blessed Virgin, in English: being the official prayers to Mary, as sanctioned by the church. These illustrate the dispute as to whether or not she is an object of worship with the Romish Church. The following is 'The Oblation of the Assumption:'—

'O Soueraigne Lady and Virgin, the honour of mankind, and beauty of the heavens, I humbly offer unto thee 10. *Aves* and one *Pater-noster*, to the glorious mystery of thy Assumption; when by the B. Sonne, thou wert called to his euerlasting glory, & deseruedst at thy happy passage to haue present the holy Apostles thy seruants, & wast receiued body and soule into the heauenly habitations of the celestiall spirits, as Queene of the Angels & mother of their Lord & maister.'

The lady who, with considerable talent and great humility, published Bunyan in epic poetry, under the signature of C. C. V. G., in a note to a *Key*, says, 'It is a certain fact, and one not very generally known, that a complete design of a Pilgrim's Progress is to be found in Lucian's "*Hermotimus;*" it is not to be imagined that Bunyan could have seen it there, from the limited educational advantages he possessed; yet, the obvious allegory occurred to his mind, unschooled as it was, in a similar arrangement with that suggested by Lucian."'[4]

Mr. Tooke thus translates the passage:[5] 'Hermotimus, of Cladomena, of whom it is related, that his soul often quitted him, and after having wandered a long while about the world by itself, re-

[1] See *Library of Learning*, 8vo, p. 405.

[2] Pp. 356, 357. This volume is of extreme rarity; it is in the Editor's library.

[3] 'Host;' the consecrated wafer.

[4] This also struck Mr. Southey. See his Letter to Sir E. Brydges in his *Autobiography*, vol. ii. p. 285.

[5] Lucian's *Works*, translated by Tooke, with Wieland's Notes, 4to, 1820, vol. ii. p. 268.

turned again into its body, and that Hermotimus was several times taken for dead, and always rose again.' To this Mr. Wieland adds a note: 'It was a singular gift that he had of being able to leave his body, and come into it again; and as a proof that his soul, while its body lay for dead, was actually out of it, he knew, not only to give account of the remotest places, and of what he had there seen and heard, with accuracy, and in conformity to truth, but also foretold sundry future events, as earthquakes and other calamities, which actually came to pass. And this he carried on so long, that his faithful wife was induced to deliver up his body to his enemies, during one of these emigrations of the soul, who immediately burnt it; and thus for ever stopped all re-entrance to the poor soul. The learned Bishop Huet directly pronounces this beautiful story to be an old wife's tale.' Where the poor burnt-out soul obtained another habitation, we are not told. This notion of the soul wandering about without the body has been lately revived, among other absurdities called *Mesmerism;* but what idea Bunyan could get from this absurd story, is far beyond my comprehension.

Bernard's *Isle of Man*: or, the Legal Proceedings in Manshire against Sin.

This interesting little volume was very popular. The author, a Puritan member of the Church of England, who, profiting by the personal respect felt for him by his bishop, escaped punishment, and was permitted to enjoy his living of Batcomb. The purity of his life; his zeal for the conversion of perishing sinners; and his obedience to the dictates of his own conscience, would, but for such protection, have subjected him to persecution. The late Dr. Adam Clarke[1] considered that there was much reason to believe that *The Isle of Man*, or Spenser's *Faëry Queen*, gave birth to the 'Pilgrim's Progress' and 'Holy War.' Dr. Southey[2] imagines that Bunyan had seen this book, because his verses introductory to the Second Part have some similarity to Bernard's *Apology for his Allegory*, which closes the volume. Such authorities induced me to a careful re-perusal of a book which had given me much pleasure in bygone days.

Sin is the Thief and Robber; he stealeth our graces; spoileth us of every blessing; utterly undoeth us, and maketh miserable both body and soul. He is a murderer; spares no person, sex, or age; a strong thief; no human power can bind him; a subtle thief; he beguiled Adam, David, yea, even Paul. The only watchman to spy him out is Godly-Jealousy. His resort is in Soul's Town, lodging in the heart. Sin is to be sought in the by-lanes, and in Sense, Thought, Word, and Deed Streets. The hue and cry is after fellows called *Outside*, who nod or sleep at church, and, if awake, have their mind waudering; Sir Worldly-wise, a self-conceited earth-worm; Sir Luke-warm, a Jack-on-both-sides; Sir Plausible Civil; Master Machiavel; a licentious fellow named Libertine; a snappish fellow, one Scrupulosity; and one Babbling-Babylonian; these conceal the villain Sin. To escape, he pretends to be an honest man; calls vices by virtuous names; his relations, Ignorance, Error, Opinion, Idolatry, Subtilty, Custom. Forefathers, Sir Power, Sir Sampler, Sir Most-do, Sir Silly; Vain Hope, Presumption, Wilful and Saint-like, all shelter and hide him. The Justice, Lord Jesus, issues his warrant, God's Word; to the Constable, Mr. Illuminated-Understanding, dwelling in Regeneration, aided by his wife Grace; his sons Will and Obedience, and his daughters, Faith, Hope, and Charity, with his men Humility and Self-Denial, and his maids Temperance and Patience. Having got his warrant, he calls to aid his next neighbour Godly Sorrow, with his seven sons Care, Clearing, Indignation, Fear, Vehement Desire, Zeal, and Revenge; these are capable of apprehending the sturdiest thief. He goes to the common inn, an harlot's house called Mistress Heart, a receptacle for all villains and thieves, no dishonest person being denied house-room. Mistress Heart married her own father, one Old-man, keeping riot night and day, to prevent any godly motion from lodging there. The house has five doors, Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling, and Feeling. Eleven maids, impudent harlots, wait upon the guests, Love, Hatred, Desire, Detestation, Vain-hope, Despair, Fear, Audacity, Joy, Sorrow, and Anger, and a man-servant Will. The Dishes are the lusts of the flesh, served in the platter of pleasure; the lust of the eyes in the plate of profit; and the pride of life. The drink is the pleasures of sin; their bed-room is natural corruption. 'In this room lyeth Mistress Heart, all her maids, her man, and all her guests together, like wild Irish.' The bed is impenitency, and the coverings carnal security; when the constable enters, he attaches them all with *apprehensions of God's wrath*, and carries them before the judge, who examines the prisoners, and imprisons them until the assizes, in the custody of the jailer, New-man. 'If any prisoner breaks out, the sheriff Religion must bear the blame; saying, This is your religion, is it?' The keepers and fetters, as vows, fasting, prayer, &c., are described with the prison.

The second part is the trial of the prisoner, and judgment without appeal; the commission is Conscience; the circuit the Soul; the counsel for the king are Divine Reason and Quick-sightedness; the clerk Memory; the witness Godly Sorrow; the grand Jury Holy Men, the inspired authors; the traverse jury Faith, Love of God, Fear of God, Charity, Sincerity, Unity, Patience, Innocency, Chastity, Equity, Verity, and Contentation; all these are challenges by the prisoners, who would be tried by Nature, Doubting, Careless, &c., all freeholders of great means. This the judge overrules; Old-man is put on his trial first, and David, Job, Isaiah, and Paul, are witnesses against him. He pleads, 'There is no such thing as Original Corruptions; Pelagius, a learned man, and all those now that are called Anabaptists, have hitherto, and yet do maintain that sin cometh by imitation, and not by inbred pravity.[3] Good, my lord, cast not away so old a man, for I

[1] Postscript to Wetherall's *Life of Bunyan*, prefixed to *The Pilgrim, an Epic Poem*, by C. C. V. G., Parsons' Town, 1844.
[2] *Life of Bunyan*, p. xci.
[3] Acts xxviii. 22. This slander was thus published in 1683. In the face of the Baptist Confession of Faith, printed in 1646, presented to Parliament, and many times reprinted, the eleventh Article in which is—'In the beginning God made all things very good; created man after his own image; full with all meet perfection of nature, and free from all sin; but long he abode not in this honour, Satan using the subtlety of the serpent to seduce, first Eve, then by her, seducing Adam, who, without any compulsion, in eating the forbidden fruit, trans-

am at this day 5569 years old.' He is found guilty, and his sentence is—'Thou shalt be carried back to the place of execution, and there *be cast off, with all thy deeds, and all thy members daily mortified and crucified with all thy lusts*, of every one that hath truly put on Christ.' Mistress Heart is then tried; Moses (Gen. viii. 21), Jeremiah (xvii. 9), Ezekiel, Matthew (xv. 9), and others, give evidence, and she is convicted, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment under the jailer, Mr. New-man. All the rest of the prisoners are tried; the juries called in due order; prisoners plead; witnesses are called; defence heard, verdict given, and sentence passed. One among the prisoners, named Papistry, has a long trial with numerous scriptures brought to testify against him: his sentence closes the book—'That thou, the Master of Iniquity, with the Old Serpent called the Devil, or Satan thy father, with thy lewd mother that great whore, drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, which sitteth upon a scarlet-coloured beast; as also with that false prophet, the son of perdition, thy guide and governor, shall be cast alive where the dragon is, into the lake of fire burning with brimstone, there to be tormented with all the marked ones in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb; without rest day and night, the smoke of which torment shall ascend up for ever and for ever, without mercy or hope of redemption.' The contents form a key to the allegory.

There is not the slightest similarity between this and the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and the only resemblance it bears to the 'Holy War,' is making the senses the means of communication with the heart or soul—an idea usual and universal in every age, the use of which cannot subject a writer to the charge of plagiarism. A correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[1] imagines the following strange genealogy or descent: Bunyan from Bernard; from Fletcher's *Purple Island;* from Spenser's *Faëry Queen;* from Gawin Douglas's *King Hart;* from the *Old Mysteries and Moralities. He might have added*, from the dreams of the Fathers!!!

Scudder's *Christian's Daily Walk*, 1625.

This excellent book was much read by the Puritans and nonconformists, and was strongly recommended by Dr. Owen and R. Baxter.

The sum of it is a Christian's directions to walk with God. The moral actions of man's life are aptly resembled by the metaphor of walking; no man while he liveth here is at home. There are two contrary homes to which every man is always going, either to heaven or to hell. Every action of man is one pace or step whereby he goeth to the one place or the other; so that God's own children, while they live in this world as pilgrims and strangers, are but *in the way*, not *in the country* which they seek.

The book that has been most noticed as likely to have been seen by Bunyan, is

Bolswert's *Pilgrimage of Duyfkens and Willemynkens*, 8vo, Antwerp, 1627.[2]

It was translated into French, and became somewhat popular. This book was noticed by two gentlemen from Yorkshire, who called to see my extensive collection of early English Bibles and books, about twenty-four years ago. Among other books they noticed a very fine copy of this rare volume of Bolswert's, the prints in which reminded them of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim,' and on their return to the north, a paragraph was inserted in a provincial paper stating that our 'Pilgrim's Progress' was a translation. The falsehood of such a statement has been fully proved by Mr. Southey, to whom the identical volume was lent, for the purpose of fully entering into the question, and there appears not to be the slightest similarity in the two stories.

The cuts which struck my visitors were—A man sleeping, and a pilgrim leaning over the bed; through the open door two pilgrims are seen walking; they stoop on the bank of a river, at the head of which, in the distance, the sun is setting. Another cut represents the pilgrims with fools' caps on their heads, driven by a mob, and one of them before a man sitting with his secretary at a table; a third shows the alarmed pilgrim in a circle of lighted candles, while a necromancer produces goblins and sprites from an overhanging hill; a fourth shows the two pilgrims going up a steep mountain, when one of them falls over the brink. The story is, that Dovekin goes to Willemyuken to awake her, and she sets out; they wash in a river which has its source in Rome, and, taking *the Netherlands in its way*, flows on to Jerusalem. They are infested with vermin at a kermes;[3] go through a number of ridiculous adventures, until one is blown from a rock, and is lost; the other arrives at Jerusalem, and is married.

This short analysis is by Mr. Southey; but a translation of this pilgrimage into French lately fell into my hands, and on an attentive perusal of it, the object of the writer becomes perfectly apparent.

Dovekin—Colombelle, the dove—is one who, without inquiry, obeys the church. Willemynken—Volontairette, self-willed, or without restraint—will not submit without inquiry. These two sisters set out on pilgrimage: Colombelle is happy in every adventure, until blessed with a splendid husband and great wealth; while Volontairette gets into perpetual dangers and difficulties, until she meets a violent death.

The whole object is to prevent inquiry; to keep the mind enslaved to priestcraft; to obstruct that research into scriptural truth which the Holy Ghost enjoins, 'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.' 1 Th. v. 21. 'Beloved, believe not every spirit,

gressed the command of God and fell, whereby *death came upon all his posterity*, who *now are conceived in sin, and, by nature, the children of wrath, the servants of sin, the subjects of death, and other miseries in this world, and for ever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free.*' How marvellous, that a pious clergyman, while presenting to the world the Trial of Sin, should be guilty of so great a piece of iniquity, as this gross and uncalled-for misrepresentation!

[1] January 1844, p. 32.

[2] Bolswert was an engraver of great eminence. He illustrated Sucquet's *Via Vitæ Eternæ;* the plates to this book are beautifully engraved, and are remarkable for his prolific imagination in drawing devils.

[3] 'Kermes;' a Flemish fair.

but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world.' 1 Jn. iv. 1. It is almost a wonder that a tale so suited to the same popish puseyite sect in this country, has not been published in English.

We now come to a similar class of books published during Bunyan's life.

Wholesome Repast for the Soule in her Pilgrimage towards Jerusalem which is above. By John Hodges. A pocket volume, 1638.

This is a series of meditations on passages of Holy Writ, arranged in the order of the alphabet.

The Soule's Progresse to the Celestiall Canaan, or Heavenly Jerusalem. By way of godly meditations and holy contemplations. Accompanied with divers learned exhortations and pithy perswasions, tending to Christianity and Humanity. In two parts. First, on the Nature of God, and second, on the sum of the Gospel. By John Wells, small 4to, 1639.

True Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Superstition, late of the parish of Ignorance, in the County of Blind Devotion. 4to, 1642.

The Last Will and Testament of Sir J. Presbyter; with his admonitions to legions of perjured friends. 4to, 1647.

The two last belong to a series of satirical attacks upon Episcopacy.

A Spiritual Duel between a Christian and Satan. By H. J., 1646; with a frontispiece representing a Saint armed, supported by Faith, Hope, and Charity, fighting Diabolus, attended by Mundus and Caro. Flame is proceeding from the mouth of Diabolus.

This is a long and dreary conference between a sinner and Satan, with soliloquies and prayers extending over 425 pages, not relieved by anything allegorical.

The Christian Pilgrim in his Conflict and Conquest. By John Castaniza. Printed in Paris, 1652.

A curious, but not allegorical volume of popish instructions, with fine plates.

The Pilgrim, from Quarles's *Emblems.*

'*O that my ways were directed to keep thy statutes.*'—Ps. cxix. 5.

1.

'Thus I, the object of the world's disdain,
With pilgrim face surround the weary earth:
I only relish what the world counts vain;
Her mirth's my grief; her sullen grief my mirth;
Her light my darkness; and her truth my error:
Her freedom is my goal; and her delight my terror.

2.

'Fond earth! proportion not my seeming love
To my long stay; let not thy thoughts deceive thee;
Thou art my prison, and my home's above;
My life's a preparation but to leave thee;
Like one that seeks a door, I walk about thee;
With thee I cannot live; I cannot live without thee.

3.

'The world's a lab'rinth whose anfractuous[1] ways
Are all compos'd of rubs and crooked meanders;
No resting here; he's hurry'd back that stays
A thought; and he that goes unguided, wanders;
Her way is dark, her path untrod, unev'n;
So hard's the way from Earth; so hard's the way to Heaven!

4.

'This gyring[2] lab'rinth is betrench'd about
On either hand with streams of sulph'rous fire
Streams closely[3] sliding, erring in and out,
But seeming pleasant to the fond descrier;
Where, if his footsteps trust their own invention,
He falls without redress, and sinks without dimension.

5.

'Where shall I seek a guide? where shall I meet
Some lucky hand to lead my trembling paces?
What trusty lantern will direct my feet
To 'scape the danger of those daug'rous places?
What hopes have I to pass without a guide?
Where one gets safely through, a thousand fall beside.

6.

'An unexpected star did gently slide
Before the wise men, to a greater light;
Backsliding Isra'l found a double guide;
A pillar and a cloud—by day, by night;
Yet in my desp'rate dangers, which be far
More great than theirs, I have no pillar, cloud, nor star.

7.

'O that the pinions of a clipping[4] dove
Would cut my passage through the empty air;
Mine eyes being seal'd, how would I mount above
The reach of danger, and forgotten care!
My backward eyes should near commit that fault,
Whose lasting guilt should build a monument of salt.

8.

'Great God, that art the flowing spring of light
Enrich mine eyes with thy refulgent ray:
Thou art my path, direct my steps aright;
I have no other light, no other way:
I'll trust my God, and him alone pursue;
His law shall be my path, his heavenly light my clue.'

'S. August Soliloq. Cap. iv.

'O Lord, who art the light, the way, the truth, the life; in whom there is no darkness, error, vanity, nor death: the light, without which there is darkness; the way, without which there is wandering; the truth, without which there is error; the life, without which there is death. Say, Lord, Let there be light, and I shall see light, and eschew darkness; I shall see the way, and avoid wandering; I shall see the truth, and shun error; I shall see life, and escape death. Illuminate, O illuminate my blind soul, which sitteth in darkness, and the shadow of death: and direct my feet in the way of peace.'

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[1] 'Anfractuous,' winding about.
[2] 'Gyring,' full of turnings.
[3] 'Closely,' slily, secretly.
[4] 'Clipping,' swift flying.

'Epig. 2.

'Pilgrim, trudge on, what makes thy soul complain,
Crowns thy complaint; the way to rest is pain:
The road to resolution lies by doubt:
The next way home's the farthest way about.'

Under the Commonwealth, a great effort was made to purify the Church, by an examination of all those clergymen who, either from profane conduct, ignorance, or want of talent, were a scandal to their profession; or whose violent attachment to monarchy led them to foment rebellion against the Government, and who were unfit for the work of the ministry; all such were ejected from their livings; and pluralists were strictly limited to one living, the selection being left to themselves. These triers and judges are all named in an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, October 20, 1645, and September 26, 1646. The description of characters they were to try, is thus given:—

'All persons that shall blasphemously speak or write any thing of God, his holy word, or Sacraments. An incestuous person. An adulterer. A fornicator. A drunkard. A profane swearer or curser. One that hath taken away the life of any person maliciously. All worshippers of images, Crosses, Crucifixes, or Reliques; all that shall make any images of the Trinity, or of any Person thereof. All religious worshippers of Saints, Angels, or any mere creature. Any person that shall profess himself not to be in charity with his neighbour. Any person that shall challenge any other person by word, message, or writing to fight, or that shall accept such challenge and agree thereto. Any person that shall knowingly carry any such challenge by word, message, or writing. Any person that shall upon the Lord's day use any dancing, playing at dice, or cards, or any other game; Masking, Wake, Shooting, Bowling, playing at foot-ball, or stool-ball, Wrestling, or that shall make, or resort unto any plays, interludes, fencing, Bull-baiting or Bear-baiting, or that shall use hawking, hunting or coursing, fishing or fowling, or that shall publickly expose any wares to sale, otherwise than as is provided by an ordinance of parliament. Any person that shall travel on the Lord's Day without reasonable cause. Any person that keepeth a known stewes or brothel house, or that shall solicit the chastity of any person for himself or any other. Any person, father or mother, that shall consent to the marriage of their child to a papist, or any person that shall marry a papist. Any person that shall repair for any advice unto any witch, wizard, or fortune teller. Any person that shall assault his parents, or any magistrate, Minister, or Elder in the execution of his office. Any person that shall be legally attainted of Burretry, Forgery, Extortion, or Bribery. And the severall and respective Elderships shall have power likewise to suspend from the sacrament of the Lords Supper all ministers that shall be duly proved to be guilty of any of the crimes aforesaid, from giving or receiving the Sacrement of the Lords Supper.' With power to appeal to the provincial Assembly, to the Nationall, and from thence to the Parliament.[1]

The commissioners, called triers, ejected many from their livings who had been a disgrace to their calling. The character of the clergy was at a very low standard. Bunyan called them proud, wanton, drunkards, covetous, riding after tithe-cocks and handfuls of barley.[2] And the exclusion of such from their livings, has been since called *the sufferings of the clergy!* To ridicule the efforts of these triers, and, at the same time, some of the Calvinistic doctrines, a small volume was published, entitled *The Examination of Tilenus in Utopia*, London, 1658; said to have been written by Bishop Womack;[3] and merely because the names of the supposed triers are Dr. Absolute, Mr. Fatality, Mr. Fri-babe, Dr. Damn-man, Mr. Take o' Trust, Mr. Narrow Grace [Philip Rye], Mr. Know-little [Hugh Peters], Dr. Dubious [R. Baxter], &c., therefore it has been asserted[4] that Bunyan must have read and profited by this book, in composing his allegorical works.

It is neither a 'Pilgrim's Progress,' a 'Holy War,' nor a 'Heavenly Footman;' and to imagine that Bunyan was assisted by this book, merely because the triers are named after some doctrinal or practical bias, is as absurd as to suppose that the boys in a grammar-school were aided by Bunyan, because they nick-named their master, 'Dr. Flog'em,' for his unmanly and absurd attempts to drive Latin by force into his pupils.

In the *Journal* of George Fox, one of the founders of the Society of Friends, under the year 1659, is the copy of a long letter sent by him to these triers. In this he calls upon them to dismiss all ministers who are 'evil beasts, slow bellies, given to wine and filthy lucre, proud, and that have fallen into the condemnation of the devil.' He instances one Ralph Hollingworth, priest of Phillingham, whose parishioner, Thomas Bromby, a thatcher, having refused to pay a sum under six shillings for tithe-dues, instead of preaching the glad tidings of salvation to him, and his wife and family, sent him to jail, and had then kept him there eight and thirty weeks.

We now come to a short *Pilgrimage*, which has in it one feature similar to the perseverance of Christian. It is one of the delightful poems of George Herbert's, in his pocket volume called *The Temple*, entitled,[5]

The Pilgrimage.

'I travel on, seeing the hill, where lay
My expectation.
A long it was and weary way
The gloomy cave of Desperation
I left on the one, and on the other side
The rock of Pride.

[1] An original copy, in possession of the Editor, pp. 5–7.

[2] 'Vindication of Gospel Truths,' vol. ii. p. 178.

[3] Southey's *Life of Bunyan*, p. 92.

[4] A most intelligent bookseller, and a great admirer of Bunyan, lent me two volumes, observing that it was universally admitted that the triers had aided our Author; but if he had ever read the triers, it must have tried his patience, and satisfied him that there was not the slightest ground for such an admission.

[5] Eleventh edition, pp. 135, 136.

'And so I came to Phansies meadows strewed
With many a flower;
Fain would I here have made abode,
But I was quicken'd by my hour.
So to cares cops I came, and there got through
With much ado.

'That led me to the wild of Passion; which
Some call the world;
A wasted place, but sometimes rich,
Here I was robb'd of all my gold,
Save one good Angel,[1] which a friend had ti'd
Close to my side.

'At length I got unto the gladsom hill,
Where lay my hope,
Where lay my heart; and climbing still,
When I had gain'd the brow and top,
A lake of brackish waters on the ground
Was all I found.

'With that abash'd and struck with many a sting,
Of swarming fears,
I fell, and cry'd, Alas my King!
Can both the way and end be tears?
Yet taking heart, I rose, and then perceiv'd
I was deceived.

'My hill was further: So I slung away,
Yet heard a cry
Just as I went, *None goes that way*
And lives: If that be all, said I,
After so foul a Journey death is fair,
And but a chair.'

The only similarity is that Christian goes up the hill Difficulty; he hears the cry of Timorous and Mistrust:—'Just before us lie a couple of lions; if we came within reach, they would presently pull us in pieces.' Christian's reply was—'If I go back, I shall perish. If I can get to the celestial city, I am sure to be in safety there. I must venture.'

A Dialogue between Life and Death. Very requisite for the contemplation of all transitory Pilgrims, and pious-minded Christians. 1657.

This little book consists of only twenty-four leaves, and might have been seen by Bunyan as a religious tract previous to his writing the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' It contains nothing allegorical as to pilgrimages, nor any idea that could have assisted our author in composing his great work.

It is a Dance of Death, illustrated with very rude cuts, and printed with a homely rhyme to each.

A Spiritual Journey of a young man towards the Land of Peace to live essentially in God, who met in his journey with three sorts of dispute. With some proverbs or sentences, which the old age spake to the young man. Also a Spiritual Dialogue, whereunto is annexed a round or chorus dance, whereunto the vain heathenish lusts, with their wicked confused loose minds and thoughts (as well in confusion as in a show of holiness), assemble from all corners of the earth, and dancing hand in hand, skip and jump to Hell. Translated out of Dutch. London, printed by J. Macock, 1659. Small 4to.

There is nothing allegorical in this volume; it consists of disputations, proverbs, and dialogues, the whole intent of which is to show that an illuminated uniform spirit must be sought, not from the Bible, but from inward light, and that to seek knowledge from the Scripures without that spirit is like journeying by night with a lantern in which there is no light—fighting with a scabbard without a sword—quenching thirst with a vessel in which is no wine, or being contented, when hungry, with a cupboard or bin without bread.

Reading's *Guide to the Holy City; or, Directions and Helps to an Holy Life.* 4to, Oxford, 1657.

The Pilgrim's Pass to the New Jerusalem. By M. R. Gent, London, 1659, small 8vo.

This volume contains a series of meditations on passages of Scripture, intended to convey the consolations of a good hope, through faith in the Redeemer, to his pilgrims. It contains nothing allegorical.

Pordage's *Mundorum Explicatio, or the Explanation of an Hieroglyphical Figure;* wherein are couched the mysteries of the Eternal, Internal, and External Worlds, showing the true progress of a Soul from the Court of Babylon to the City of Jerusalem; from the Adamical fallen state, to the regenerate and Angelical. A Sacred Poem. 8vo, 1661.

There is nothing allegorical in these volumes.

Jesus, Maria, Joseph; or, The devout Pilgrim to the ever blessed Virgin Mary. 12mo, Amsterdam, 1663.

This is a mere guide to devotees, in their approaches to the Virgin Mary.

Philothea's Pilgrimage to Perfection. Described in a Practice of Ten Days' Solitude. By Brother John of the Holy Cross, Frier Minour. Small 8vo, Bruges, 1668.[2]

A rare volume, published during the time that Bunyan was writing his 'Pilgrim's Progress;' and it is not at all probable that he saw this Roman Catholic production; but if he had seen and read it, he could not have gleaned a hint to use in his wondrous 'Dream.' It is dedicated to the Countess Dowager of Sussex.

In this, Brother John Cross has made a wonderful discovery—that countesses, being the more refined images of God, above the vulgar, have, by their noble descent, a clearer aptness to

[1] 'Angel;' a gold coin, in value one-third of the ancient sovereign.

[2] In the Editor's library.

sublime thoughts and actions! What could such a man have thought of the son of a carpenter, of fishermen, of publicans, of tent-makers, or of tinkers? The pilgrim's name is 'Philothea;' she enters on her pilgrimage with the author's good wishes, expressed in the language of Holy Toby: '*Walk well, God be in thy way, and his holy Angell accompany Thee.*' The journey is divided into ten days' solitary employment, that the pilgrim might be ravished into the heavenly paradise, to hear and see what we are loath to leave and cannot utter. To attain this, very minute directions are given as to time, place, posture of body, method, choice of a guide, &c. The guide he describes as 'a medicine of life and immortality.' 'Woe be to him that is alone,' says Brother John, probably feeling under his state of celibacy. His qualification is knowledge, charity, and discretion; he will securely lead thee to rest and peace. Her exercises are to be vocal prayer, reading spiritual books, corporal mortifications, and manual labour; use only one meal a day; to this, add a hair cloth next the skin, and occasional floggings. These are general instructions, which are followed by objects for meditation on each day's journey, so as to arrive at perfection in ten days; solitude, humility and austerity, patience and charity, vileness by sin, the sacrament, mortification, flight from earth, spiritual life, God speaking to man, love's ascents and descents, the soul's repose in God, union with Christ, and ending with meditations upon the Passions.

An Hue and Cry after Conscience; or, The Pilgrim's Progress by Candle-Light, in Search after Honesty and Plain Dealing. Represented under the Similitude of a DREAM. Wherein is discovered the The Pritty manner of his setting out. His Pleasant Humours on his Journey. The Disappointment he met with after all his Search. Together with his flight at last into another Country, where he is still on his Rambles. Written by John Dunton. 1685, 18mo.

The advertisement to the reader says, that, as the author's previous work was of the pilgrim's journey to an heavenly country, so now of all sorts of wicked pilgrims, of either sex, that are either posting directly to hell, or madly dancing and frolicking upon the brink of destruction. Progressing by candle-light, all manner of vice and roguery is painted to the life, in its proper colours; and then brought to light as a fatal spectacle to the thinking and gazing part of mankind, together with the most eminent cheats of all trades and professions.

This is a display of vice, villany, and deceit of every description, without any continuous plot; and it adds one to a thousand proofs of the degraded and debauched state of society in the reign of Charles II., and of our happy exemption from such scenes. Morality and purity have extended, as voluntary efforts to spread Divine truth increased; awful was the state of society when none but state-paid priests were permitted to teach the glad tidings of salvation.[1]

Bishop Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim.* 4to, 1687.

Whoever has patience to wade through ten pages of Bishop Patrick's *Parable*, must be fully convinced that his Lordship's limping and unwieldy *Pilgrim* will never be able, with all his hobbling, to overtake, or even to get within sight of John Bunyan by many a thousand miles—a striking proof that exquisite natural ability casts a brighter and more captivating lustre, than the deepest acquired parts. The bishop's *Pilgrim* has only one description which has the slightest similarity to Bunyan's style.

'A gentleman rides up to the pilgrims, 'very civil and inviting,' but they observed that he had a sword by his side, and a pair of pistols before him, together with another instrument hanging at his belt, which was formed for pulling out of eyes. They told him—'We are strongly possessed against those who would make us believe we cannot see our way unless we let them pull out our eyes, and who are not content to labour by reason to bring them to their bent, but shoot them to death if they stiffly refuse, as if they were but rogues and thieves.' The learned bishop does not approve of the Roman Catholics using force, pulling out of eyes, or shooting churchmen; while, at that very time, his own church, if dissenters refused, to use his own phrase, to have their eyes pulled out, sent them to prison, tormented them, and, in some eases, they hung, drew, and quartered them! On getting rid of him, another man, more sad and melancholy, crossed their way, with a dagger by his side and a pistol peeping out of his pocket—he represents the Presbyterians or Independents; and to him the Episcopalian says, 'I retain my own eyes, but use also those of "the Conductors of Souls; and am glad with all mine heart that I have met with one both to teach and to watch over me." Your dagger will soon grow to a sword; you pretend to liberty, and will give none.' How true is the saying, "with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged."'

The very crime which the learned bishop imputes to others, was most prominently his own; for at that time no Church was more hostile to the Christian's duty of seeing with his own eyes, or judging for himself from a personal examination of the Sacred Scriptures. The bishop exclaims against those who persecuted his Church, but veils the infamous Protestant persecutions by which that same Church was spotted as with a leprosy.

After all, Patrick, with some excellencies, is but a sorry pedlar, dealing in damaged wares; for, instead of Christian experience formed from Scripture, we find scraps from the philosophers and heathen mythology. Patrick and Bunyan were writing their pilgrims about the same time: they do not appear to have anything in common. Patrick was a learned man, and his elaborate work requires the pains to read it which he took in its composition; while Bunyan's story flowed freely from his rich imagination, and the reader enjoys it with the same flowing pleasure.

The sixth edition of the *Parable of the Pilgrim* has a finely executed frontispiece, representing a pilgrim leaving a city, and going a roundabout way to the New Jerusalem, which shines forth in the clouds.[2]

[1] A copy of this book is preserved in Dunton's *Works*, No. 799. A 3, in the British Museum.

[2] London, 1687.

Patrick's *Pilgrim*, slightly abridged, was published in the Englishman's Library; and still more abridged, in a neat pocket volume, at Oxford, by Parker.

CHAPTER VI.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EDITIONS OF THE 'PILGRIM'S PROGRESS' PUBLISHED DURING THE AUTHOR'S LIFE, WITH NOTICES OF THE MORE PROMINENT MODERN EDITIONS.

The first edition of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' was published in a foolscap 8vo, in 1678. This volume is of extraordinary rarity; only one copy being known to exist, and that in the most beautiful preservation, in the original binding, clean and perfect. It was discovered in a nobleman's library, and, judging from its appearance, had never been read. It is now in the cabinet of H. S. Holford, Esq., of Weston Birt House, Tetbury, Gloucestershire. To that gentleman the public are deeply indebted for his liberal permission, given to me on behalf of the Hanserd Knollys Society, not only to copy it for publication by that Society, but also to correct the proof-sheets of the edition by a careful comparison of them with the original. Having with great care and labour edited that edition, I can certify that it is an accurate reprint, not merely verbal, but literal, including the punctuation, and the use of capitals and italics. The volume contains 253 pages, with a black-letter head-line. It has no portrait or cuts. In it are some words and sentences which were omitted in all the subsequent editions until that in 1847, by the Hanserd Knollys Society.

The second edition was published also in the year 1678. The title is nearly similar to the first, with the words, 'The second Edition, with Additions.' And to this very considerable additions had been made. A copy of this book, wanting the verses at the end, is in the British Museum; and a very fine and perfect one is in the library of W. B. Gurney, Esq., Denmark Hill.[1] It is comprised in 276 pages, and has no portrait or cuts. It has many more typographical errors than the first edition, but the spelling is greatly modernized and improved.

The third edition appeared in the following year, 1679, by the same publishers. A most beautiful copy of this rare volume, bound in olive morocco, to all appearance new, is in the library of the Rev. * * *[2]

It contains 287 pages, with a portrait of the author, engraved by R. W[hite]. f. marked upon the rock, but no other cut or illustration. This portrait is well engraved, and a credit to the eminent artist, who was a personal friend of Mr. Bunyan's. It is very superior to the miserable imitations which *ornamented* later editions. In this a considerable addition was made; and this completed the allegory. From that time to the author's decease, every edition presents some little additions of side-notes or references.

The fourth edition is by the same publishers, in 1680; it contains 288 pages, and has the portrait. A copy of this is in the Editor's possession. Another copy of this same edition, lent to me by Mr. Pickering, bookseller, Piccadilly, has on the back of the portrait, *An Advertisement from the Bookseller:*—

'The *Pilgrims Progress*, having sold several Impressions, and with good Acceptation among the People, (there are some malicious men of our profession of lewd principles, hating honesty, and Coveting other mens rights, and which we call *Land Pirates*, one of this society is *Thomas Bradyl*, a Printer, who I actually found printing my Book for himself, and five more of his Confederates,) but in truth he hath so abominably and basely falcified the true Copie, and changed the Notes, that they have abused the Author in the sence, and the Propriator of his right (and if it doth steal abroad, they put a cheat upon the people). You may distinguish it thus, The Notes are Printed in Long Primer, a base old letter, almost worn out, hardly to be read, and such is the Book it self. Whereas the true Copie is Printed in a Leigable fair Character and Brevier Notes as it alwaies has been, this Fourth Edition hath, as the third had, the Authors picture before the Title, and hath more then 22 passages of Additions, pertinently placed quite thorow the Book, which the Counterfeit hath not.

'*N. P.*'

'This is Brevier, and the true Copy.'	'This is Long Primer Letter.'

The additions alluded to are quotations from Scripture, and side-notes. Dunton had a high opinion of Braddyll, and calls him a first-rate printer, active, diligent, and religious.[3] Ponder certainly did not unite in these encomiums.

The fifth edition is also by Ponder, and was published in 1680; it contains 221 pages. This has the portrait, and one woodcut on page 128—the Martyrdom of Faithful, with the verse beneath. A fine copy is in possession of my excellent friend Mr. Pickering.

The sixth has not been found in a perfect state.

The seventh, in very beautiful preservation, is in the library of R. B. Sherring, Esq., Bristol. It was published by Ponder, 1681, containing 286 pages, handsomely printed, with the portrait, and the cut of the Martyrdom of Faithful, *on a separate leaf*, between the pages 164 and 165. It was a copy of this edition which Bunyan used in writing

[1] The same book was lent to Thos. Scott by Mrs. Gurney, Holborn. See Preface to the 'Pilgrim's Progress, with Notes, by the Rev. Thomas Scott.'

[2] Lent to me by my worthy friend, Mr. Leslie, Bookseller, Great Queen Street.

[3] *Life and Errors of John Dunton.*

his Second Part, all the references in which, made to the First Part, correspond with this edition. On the back of the portrait is a manuscript memorandum, that the book was given to Thos. Hayward Aug., 1682. Pretium 1*s.* 6*d.*

There were two eighth editions in 1682; they have 211 pages, and two leaves of a list of 'Books,' printed for Ponder, the publisher. A fine copy of one of these is in Sion College Library; and the other, somewhat imperfect, is in the Editor's possession. On the back of the frontispiece is the following *Advertisement:*—

'The *Pilgrims Progress* having found good Acceptation among the People to the carrying off a Seventh Impression, which had many Additions, more than any preceding: and the Publisher observing, that many persons desired to have it Illustrated with Pictures, hath endeavoured to gratifie them therein; And, besides those that are ordinarily Printed to the fifth Impression, hath provided Thirteen Copper Cuts curiously Engraven for such as desire them.'

Of these cuts, which were sold for one shilling, nothing is known, unless they are the set of neat engravings inserted, four in a sheet, in Chandler and Wilson's edition of Bunyan's Works, 2 vols. folio, 1737, very fine impressions of which appeared in an early German translation, published in London, under which are the *English* verses; they are sixteen in number, but if the three 'that are ordinarily printed to the eighth impression' be deducted, the number then agrees with the advertisement. The whole of these designs were cut in wood, and with the verses were printed in the thirteenth edition.

This eighth edition looks as if it was printed with a Dutch type; sheet D, pp. 49–72, differs from the rest of the volume, and it is very singular, that in the two following editions the same difference is found in sheet D, which is a sharper type, and more closely printed.

Gay, in his *What-d'ye-call it?* a farce, represents a man about to be shot, when a countryman offers him a book to pray by; he takes it, and says:—

'I will, I will.
'Lend me thy handkercher. [Reads and weeps.] "The Pilgrim's Pro—"
'I cannot see for tears! "Pro— Progress,"—Oh!
'"The Pilgrim's Progress—eighth—edi-ti-on,
Lou-don—print-ed—for—Ni-cho-las Bod-ding-ton:
With new ad-di-tions never made before,"
Oh! 'tis so moving, I can read no more!'

This farce was first acted in 1715, and proves that the 'Pilgrim' was then a most popular religious book. The late Mr. Heber, and Mr. Wilson, supposed that this referred, not to the eighth by Ponder, but to the *eighteenth* edition, which was printed for N. Boddington; but might it not more probably refer to the *eighth edition* of the 'Pilgrim,' Part II., which was printed by that celebrated publisher, a fine copy of which is in the Editor's collection?

There are two ninth editions, both bearing the imprint of N. Ponder; the first of these is dated 1683, 212 pages. A copy of this is in the Editor's library, and another in possession of L. Pocock, Esq., Montague Street. It has a different portrait, but the same woodcuts as the eighth, with the addition of Doubting Castle on p. 145, numbered 135.

Another and *distinct* edition is called the ninth, also by N. Ponder, with the same cuts as the last, on 212 pages, but with a different type; this bears the date of 1684. A copy is in the extensive library of Joshua Wilson, Esq., Highbury. On the back of the portrait there is the advertisement of the thirteen copper plates, in addition to those 'ordinarily printed to the eighth impression.'

The tenth edition, by Ponder, 1685, on 200 pages, is in the Editor's collection. In the title the name is spelt *Bunian*, but he signs the Apology as usual, *Bunyan*. This has the frontispiece, and two woodcuts only; that of Doubting Castle is omitted. On the reverse of the title is this *Advertisement:*

The Pilgrims Progress from this World to that which is to come; The Second Part: delivered under the similitude of a *Dream*, wherein is set forth the Manner of the setting out of Christian's Wife and Children, their Dangerous Journey, And Safe Arrival at the desired Country, by *John Bunian*. *I have used Similitudes.* Hos. 12. 10. Price One Shilling.

The eleventh edition was in 1688, as advertised at the end of 'The Water of Life.'

Twelfth, in the Editor's collection, dated 1689, also by Ponder.

The thirteenth edition has fourteen woodcuts, with the verses under each; the last of which affords a curious proof of the extreme carelessness with which this popular work was published. This cut, in the former copies, represented the pilgrims triumphantly rising on the clouds to the Celestial City, attended by angels, with a crown over Christian, and under this was a suitable verse. Imagine this cut exchanged for one in which you see the two pilgrims in distress, wading through the river of death; one sinking in despair, the other standing firm, and holding his companion's chin above water; and you read, under this picture, the same verse that was placed under that of their triumphal ascent:—

'Now, now, look how the holy Pilgrims rise;
Clouds are their Chariots. Angels are their Guide.'

A more complete travesty could hardly have been devised.

Bunyan gives a hint, in the verses with which the First Part is concluded, of his intention to continue the allegory. This was not done until 1684, and the great popularity of his work induced unworthy men to publish continuations, intended to cheat the public into a belief that they came from

the pen of Bunyan. He thus warns the public, in the verses prefixed to the Second Part:—

> 'Tis true, some have, of late, to Counterfeit
> *My* Pilgrim, to their own, my Title set;
> Yea, others, half my name and Title too;
> Have stitched to their Books, to make them do;
> But yet they, by their *Features*, do declare
> Themselves not mine to be, whose ere they are.'

No trace has been found of the book or books which appeared before 1684, under Bunyan's initials or half his name. The only counterfeit which has been discovered is in the library of the Baptist Mission House, wanting the frontispiece.[1] It was published under the following title:—'The Second Part of the **Pilgrims Progress**, from this present World of Wickedness and Misery to an eternity of Holiness and Felicity, exactly described under the similitude of a Dream, &c. *They were Strangers and Pilgrims on Earth*, Heb. xi. 13—16. *Let us lay aside every weight and the sin that doth so easily beset us*, Heb. xii. 7. London, for Thomas Malthus at the Sun in the Poultry 1683.' The frontispiece has two whole-length portraits, one sleeping with his head resting on his hand—both in clerical garb.

The author dedicates, with some pomp, his little work to Jehovah, and signs it T. S. There are two poems at the end of the volume by R. B., and the author's Apology for his Book. It is very probable, from this Apology, that the author was one of those who, when consulted about publishing Bunyan's First Part, said, 'No.' He calls Bunyan's volume 'a necessary and useful tract, which hath deservedly obtained such an universal esteem and commendation;' and he then destroys all his commendation by discovering a four-fold defect in that discourse: First, nothing is said of man in his first creation; second, nor of his misery in his lapsed state, before conversion; third, briefly passing over Divine goodness in reconciling sinners; and, fourthly, the reading of it occasioned, in vain and frothy minds, lightness and laughter.

Such carping criticism is utterly unworthy of comment. Bunyan finds his pilgrim fallen from his first creation into a state of misery, and under a sense of his danger, crying, 'What shall I do to be saved?' He unfolds, in multitudinous variety, instances of Divine goodness in reconciling sinners, and almost irresistibly leads his reader to accompany the poor pilgrim in his way to the celestial city, full of the solemnity of his heavenly calling.

Who the author of this *Pilgrim's Progress* is, it may be difficult to ascertain. He dreams that multitudes are dancing in the broad way to misery, and only two or three toiling on the narrow up-hill path to happiness. He accounts for this, first, from infant baptism leading them to imagine that they are in the right path, and that no profaneness can prevent them attaining that eternal inheritance which they vainly imagine to be a right conferred upon them in their christening; secondly, they delight in sin; thirdly, preferring to go to hell with a multitude, rather than to heaven with a few; fourthly, because their reward is of merit, and not of gift; fifthly, 'many refuse the narrow way because of its simplicity: they must have their glorious colleges and splendid ministers, their beautiful quires, and raised altars, with hangings of arras and tapestry, furnished with the finest silver and gold of Ophir, a gaudy and pompous worship and musick to delight their spirits,' &c. He found these people dancing with mirth and jollity round a bottomless pit to the outeries and screeches of the damned, and playing with the flames of hell. One of these madmen becomes alarmed at the preaching of Boanerges, and Conscience and Judgment do their utmost to terrify him. Then comes Affection, and promises the poor penitent wings to fly above the clouds. Will huffs and hectors, and must have him leave off canting and whining; but after a long dialogue, Will consents to go on pilgrimage. They meet with Apollyon, and have other adventures: a poor, spiritless copy of the inimitable First Part by Bunyan. After passing more than half his pilgrimage, his old heart is taken out, and a new one given to him. Under the idea of a feast, where the guests are fed on dishes of gospel mysteries, sauced with eternity, the author states his peculiar notions. He at length arrives at the River; Faith and Hope support him; he is received by the Shining Ones, and enters the city. In all probability, this book never reached a second edition, being totally eclipsed by the real Second Part, in 1684.

The author of this forgery, in his Apology, refers to a custom among the Puritans of giving the mourners at a funeral a book instead of rings, gloves, wine, or biscuit. 'This,' he says, 'would prevent trifling discourse, as is too commonly used on such occasions. Among those few who have practised this, abundance of good hath been done by that means; and who knows, were it more generally used at our burials, what good might be effected thereby?'[2]

At length, in 1684, Bunyan published the Second Part of his 'Pilgrim's Progress,' in a similar volume to his first. It has 224 pages. For the use of a fine copy of this rare book, we are indebted to the kindness of the executors of the late Lea Wilson, Esq. In this volume seven pages are in a larger type than the rest, from p. 100 to 106 inclusive; p. 106 is numbered 120. It has only one cut—the dance round the head of Giant Despair. The next edition which we have been fortunate enough to obtain has a similar title to the first; it has no indication of what edition it is, but bears the date of 1687. These two editions were published by N. Ponder in the Poultry. The sixth edition appeared in 1693, by Ponder and Bod-

[1] A perfect copy is also in the Editor's library.

[2] One of these books is the memorial of a most valuable Seventh-day Baptist: *The Last Legacy of Mr. Joseph Davis*, who departed this Life, Feb. 16, $170\frac{8}{7}$, being a Brief Account of the most Material Circumstances of his Life and Profession. Written by himself, and given at his Funeral to his Friends and Acquaintances, &c. Within a black border. Another book used for this purpose was Dr. Bates's *Everlasting Rest of the Saints in Heaven*. My copy has, within a black border, 'In remembrance of Mrs. Mary Cross, the late wife of Mr. John Cross, &c. &c. This book she had a particular respect for; and therefore it is hoped it will by her Friends be more acceptable than Gloves.' It is bound in black, with a gilt skull and cross-bones on the cover. Another of these volumes was Dr. Bates's *Four Last Things*, with his Portrait. On the title is printed, 'Recommended as proper to be given at Funerals.' Second edition, 1691. It is dedicated to Rachel Lady Russel. See the bookseller's advertisement, as to custom of giving a book at funerals.

dington, in Duck Lane; the seventh in 1696, by Ponder; the eighth by Boddington, in 1702; the ninth is by N. Boddington, at the Golden Ball, in Duck Lane, 1708.[1]

Since that time, innumerable editions have issued from the press; but before giving a short account of the most prominent of these, we must not forget an impudent forgery, called the Third Part of this popular allegory.

It was probably the intention of Bunyan to write a Third Part. Christian's four boys, with their wives and children, are represented as remaining to be a blessing to the church. He closes his Second Part with these words: 'Should it be my lot to go that way again, I may give those that desire it, an account of what I here am silent about; meantime I bid my reader, *Adieu.*' His design might have been to display the difficulties of maintaining a course according to godliness in the busy scenes of life, among mechanics, tradesmen, and others. His death, in 1688, cut short his labours.

The extensive circulation of Bunyan's Works, and his extraordinary fame as an author, excited the cupidity of contemptible scribblers to forge his name to productions quite unworthy of his great natural and acquired talent. He had scarcely entered into rest, before a tract appeared, which might, from its title, have imposed upon those not well acquainted with his style of writing. It is a quarto tract, entitled, 'The Saint's Triumph, or The Glory of the Saints with Jesus Christ. Describing the joys and comforts a believer reaps in heaven, after his painful pilgrimage and sufferings on earth. With weighty encouragements to draw poor doubting Christians to Christ. Laying open the main lets and hinderances which keep them from him. With helps to recover God's favour. To which is added; The Glorious Resurrection in the last day, for them that sleep in Jesus Christ. Discoursed in a Divine ejaculation, by J. B. With a bold woodcut portrait of John Bunyan on the title-page. London Bridge, printed for J. Blare, at the Looking Glass, 1688.' Neither the style, nor sentiments, nor the use of Latin quotations, have the slightest similarity to our great author's works.

In a very few years there was published:—

The Pilgrim's Progress, &c., the Third Part—to which is added, The Life and Death of John Bunyan, Author of the First and Second Part: this compleating the whole Progress.

This Third Part made its appearance in 1692; and although the title does not directly say that it was written by Bunyan, yet it was at first generally received as such. In 1695,[2] it reached a second edition, and a sixth in 1705. In 1708, it was denounced in the title to the seventh edition of the Second Part, by a 'Note, *the Third Part, suggested to be* J. Bunyan's, is an imposture.' It is surprising that so contemptible a production could for one moment have been received by the public as written by Bunyan. The late Rev. John Newton, in very happy language, asserts that 'a common hedge-stake deserves as much to be compared with Aaron's rod, which yielded blossoms and almonds, as this poor performance to be obtruded upon the world as the production of Bunyan.'[3] Dr. Ryland justly observes, that 'when the anonymous scribbler of the Third Part of the Pilgrim's Progress tried to obtrude his stuff on the world as the production of Mr. Bunyan, the cheat was soon discovered; every Christian of taste could see the difference as easily as we can discern the superior excellence of a Raphael or a Titian from the productions of a common dauber: and we can as easily distinguish Bunyan from all other writers, as we can discern the difference between the finest cambric and a piece of hop-sacking.'[4] The author of this forgery is as yet unknown.

A much more respectable attempt was recently made towards a Third Part, under the title of 'Pilgrims of the nineteenth century; a continuation of the "Pilgrim's Progress," upon the plan projected by Mr. Bunyan. Containing a history of a visit to the town of Toleration; with an account of its charter, and a description of the principles and customs of its inhabitants. Under the similitude of a DREAM. By Joseph Ivimey. 1827.' The object of this volume is to show the advantages which resulted from the Act of Toleration, by the adventures of Christian's children; but what they had to do with the nineteenth century, may be difficult to ascertain. It is full of political allusions, and proclaims the author's peculiar sentiments. Bunyan's object was to win souls to Christ, under the influence of whose presence the most highly-liberal principles, both political and religious, will be fostered. Intolerance, fanaticism, and bigotry fly from the presence of the Saviour as naturally as the shades of night vanish before the rising sun. There is much valuable and interesting information in Mr. Ivimey's volume to Protestant dissenters, but even that is much encumbered. He is so delighted with Toleration as almost to forget that it is only one step towards liberty. When Christianity shall have spread its genial influences over our rulers, all sects will be equally cherished in running the race of benevolence and charity; then the burning of Christians

[1] All these editions are in the Editor's library.

[2] The first edition is in the British Museum, but it has no title. The *Life* which is appended to it has the date 1692.

[3] Preface to the first edition of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' with Mr. Newton's *Notes*. 12mo, London, 1776. Many times reprinted.

[4] Preface to Bunyan's Works. 8vo, 1792.

for their obedience to God, or tolerating them to love and worship their Maker, according to the dictates of their consciences, but still compelling them to support what is in their conviction Antichristian, will be equally wondered at as gigantic grievances, and an intolerant abuse of governing powers.

For many years the 'Pilgrim's Progress' was continually printed on very ordinary paper, and innumerable were the copies that issued from the press; the woodcuts, when worn out, were replaced by an inferior set. Each Part was published separately, in the ordinary shilling chap-book form; these are sometimes met with bound together, and forming a stout volume. Thus Part First, twenty-second edition, with new cuts, 1727, with Part Second, the thirteenth edition, with five cuts and a note, stating that the Third Part is an imposture; and then Part Third, thirteenth edition, 1743. Another copy has Part First, the twenty-third edition, 1731; Part Second, the fourteenth edition, 1728; and Part Third, the twelfth edition, not dated. The first edition of the *Three* Parts, uniformly printed, which has fallen under our notice, is by J. Clarke, 1743; a MS. memorandum gives the price of the volume, 1*s.* 6*d.* The most wretched set of cuts are to an edition printed for D. Bunyan, in Fleet Street; another, with similar cuts, is sold by J. Bunyan above the Monument, meaning higher up Fish Street Hill than where the Monument stands. In 1728, there appeared a handsome edition of the Two Parts, 'Adorned with curious sculptures by J. Sturt.' The editor of that edition states, that the former were printed for the poorer sort at a cheap rate [in a small type], so that many worthy Christians by age and infirmities were deprived of the benefit of it. This was duly weighed by persons of distinction and piety, who determined to have it handsomely printed, and they generously contributed, by large subscriptions, to secure its being a correct edition. In comparison with all that had preceded it, this shone forth an elegant 8vo volume, fit, at that period, to ornament any library or drawing-room. The engravings are from the old designs, and well executed. This was for many years considered to be the standard edition, and was frequently reprinted; in 1775, two editions of this volume were published, after which that with Mason's *Notes* superseded it. Who the editor was is not known; but this book very sadly abounds with gross errors. When Faithful joined Christian, in the conversation about the old man who offered Faithful his three daughters, the editor has altered it to 'one of them.' In Part II. p. 63, 'lines' is put for 'lions;' another and very serious error occurs in the catechising of James by Prudence; she asks him, 'How doth God the Son save thee?' the answer and the next question is left out; and it appears thus: 'By his *illumination*, by his *renovation*, and by his *preservation*.' The lines that were omitted are: '*James.* By his Righteousness, Death, and Blood, and Life. *Prud.* And how doth God the Holy Ghost save thee?' Mr. Mason, in his edition with notes, took as his standard this erroneous copy, and put a note at the bottom of the page [69]:

(*f*) I cannot prevail on myself to let this part pass by, without making an observation. Mr. Bunyan expresses himself very clear, and sound in the faith; but here it is not so: for what is here ascribed to the Son, is rather the work of the Spirit; and indeed the work of salvation effected by the Son of God is entirely left out. I am, therefore, inclined to think that here is a chasm, though not, perhaps, in the author's original work, but by its passing through later editions. It really seems defective here in the explanation of salvation by the distinct offices of the Holy Trinity.

In the next edition with Mason's *Notes*, he, having discovered his error, very properly inserted the missing lines, but as improperly continued his note reflecting upon Bunyan;[1] and it was continued in many subsequent editions in which the text was correctly printed.

A line is omitted in Sturt's edition, Part II. p. 185, and in many subsequent ones. 'How were their eyes now filled with celestial visions,' should be, 'How were their ears now filled with heavenly noises and their eyes delighted with celestial visions.' But a more unaccountable error occurs in the First Part, p. 95, where Bunyan says 'the Brute[2] in his kind serves God far better than he' [Talkative], the printer has strangely altered the word 'Brute' for 'Brewer.' It is easier to account for an error in printing a missal in Paris, in the rubric of which should be, '*Ici le prêtre ôtera sa calotte*' (here the priest shall take off his cap); but in printing, the *a* was exchanged for *u* in *calotte:* the printer was ruined and the books burnt. It is quite impossible to notice all the errors; they abound in almost every page of all these interesting editions. Some of these errors have been continued through nearly all the modern editions, with other serious alterations. Thus, when the pilgrims, in the Second Part, leave the Delectable Mountains, they in a song record the goodness of God in giving them, at proper distances, places of rest, 'Behold, how *fitly* are the stages set!' the word 'stages' is altered in many to 'tables;'[3] and in other editions to

[1] In possession of S. J. Button, Esq., Racquet Court; of Mr. Gammon, Bethnal Green; and of the Editor. This singular note, by Mr. Mason, is reprinted in an edition of which many thousand copies were sold, published by Plummer and Brewis, Love Lane, Eastcheap. 12mo, 1813.

[2] It is correct in the edition of 1728, of which Lord Ashburnham and the Editor have very fine copies.

[3] With Scott's *Notes* and Montgomery's *Essay*. Glasgow, by Collins.

'stables.'[1] When the pilgrims escape from Doubting Castle, they sing, 'Out of the way we went,' &c.; one line of these verses is left out in all the modern editions—an omission which ought to have been seen and supplied, because all these songs throughout the volume are uniformly in stanzas of six lines. In Hopeful's account of his conversion, Bunyan says, 'I have committed sin enough in one duty to send me to hell;' this is altered to 'one day.'[2] In the conversation with Ignorance, Christian observes, 'When OUR thoughts of our hearts and ways agree with the Word;' meaning when we sit in judgment upon our thoughts, and our opinion of our thoughts agrees with the Word: but the strength and meaning of this serious passage is lost by altering the words to 'when THE thoughts of our hearts,' &c. This alteration has been very generally, if not universally, made. Another very extraordinary error has crept into many editions, and among them into the elegant copies printed by Southey, and that by the Art-Union with the prints in oblong folio. It is in the conversation between Christian and Hopeful, about the robbery of Little Faith. Bunyan refers to four characters in Scripture who were notable champions, but who were very roughly handled by Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt; they made David (Ps. xxxviii.) groan, mourn, and roar. Heman and Hezekiah too, though champions in their day, had their coats soundly brushed by them. *Peter* would go try what he could do—they made him at last afraid of a sorry girl. Some editor not acquainted with Heman (*see* Ps. lxxxviii.), and not troubling himself to find who he was, changed the name to one much more common and familiar, and called him 'Haman.'[3] More recent editors, including Mr. Southey and the Art-Union, probably conceiving that Haman, however exalted he was as a sinner, was not one of the Lord's champions in his day, changed the name to that of Mordecai.[4] A most unwarrantable and foolish alteration. In the Second Part,[5] 'This Vision' is put for 'This Visitor.' The marginal note, 'The Light of the Word' is changed to 'The Light of the World.'[6] This error is perpetuated by Southey and others. A copy of Sturt's edition, with *every* error marked in the text, appears to be more covered with spots than a leopard's skin.

This wondrous Dream has been translated into nearly all the languages of the world. To Mr. Doe's enumeration of one hundred thousand copies in English having been circulated in the life of the author, must be added all the editions in North America. There were then also translations into French, Flemish, Dutch, Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish; and, since then, it has been read by the Christian Hebrews in the holy city, Jerusalem, in their own language, without points; and probably beside the waters of Jordan and Tiberias; and far may it spread![7] It has also been translated into Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Danish, German, Estonian, Armenian, Burmese, Singhalese, Orissa, Hindoostanee; Bengalee, by Dr. Carey, 8vo, Serampore, 1821; Tamil, Marathi, Canarese, Gujaratti, Malay, Arabic, in a handsome 8vo volume, with woodcuts, printed at Malta; Romaic,[8] Samoan, Tahitian, Pichuana, Bechuana, Malagasy, New Zealand.[9] And in Dr. Adam Clarke's library was a copy in Latin, entitled *Peregrinatis Progressus*, a J. Bunyan Lat. edit. a Gul. Massey, 4to. A copy of the Welsh translation, published before Bunyan's decease, but which had not come to his knowledge, is in the library of Miss Atherton of Kersell Cell, near Manchester. That lady, not understanding the Welsh language, most readily and kindly furnished me with some particulars of this rare volume, extracted in Welsh; and it appears that the title-page exactly follows the English editions. The preface is signed S. H. It has the marginal notes and references. Licensed by R. Midgley, 23rd of November 1687. Printed in London by J. Richardson, 12mo, 168⅞, the 10th of January. 'The translator advises such as desire to learn to read Welsh, to buy the *Primer* and *Almanack* of Mr. Thomas Jones, because the letters and syllables are in them.' The late Mr. Thomas Rodd informed me that he possessed a copy in Welsh, translated by Thomas Jones, published in 1699, small 8vo. The Dutch edition was very neatly printed, with superior cuts, t'Utrecht, by Jan van Paddenburgh, 1684.

The French translation is a neat pocket volume, with copper-plates, very superior to any embellishments in the early English copies, Amsterdam, chez Boekholt, 1685. The frontispiece represents our pilgrim with his burden on his shoulders, knocking at the wicket-gate. The title is, *Voyage d'un Chrestien vers l'Eternité*, par Monsieur Bunjan F.M. en Bedtford. The 'Lecteur ami' comprises fourteen pages. In it he describes

'The author of this book, Mr. John Bunyan, is, at this time, an upright and faithful minister at Bedford, in England

[1] Editions with Mason's *Notes*, and in the first with Sturt's *Plates*, 1728.

[2] Sturt's edition, p. 167.

[3] Editions by Birds and Co., Edinburgh, 8vo; Mosley, Gainsborough, 1792, &c.; London, with Newton's *Notes*, 1776; and by D. Bunyan, 1768.

[4] It occurs also in an edition by Hodson and Deighton, London, 1792.

[5] Sturt's edition, p. 9.

[6] P. 178.

[7] *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1844. It is in a small 12mo, the price of which is 6*s.*!

[8] Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress,' Romaic, by S. J. Bilson. 8vo, Melitæ, 1824. Brit. Mus. Addl. Books.

[9] See *Lists by Tract Society*, in *Report*, 1847; and in *The Pilgrim*, a tract. Also, copies in possession of the Editor.

—a man of unexampled piety and devotion; such an one as Demetrius, of whom John speaks in his 3rd Epistle and 12th verse. Every one bears witness that, in this little volume, and in his other works, appear a manifest and peculiar wisdom, very great experience, and a penetrating sight into spiritual things. The design of our author is simply to present *a penitent soul seeking God on his journey towards Eternity*. How he turns from his former state of perdition, leaves his home, and sets his steps towards the Jerusalem on high; his adventures by the way; his view of those that choose for themselves bypaths that lead to hell; we doubt not but that some, in turning over these leaves, will read their own experience ingeniously drawn out, and their own portrait placed before their eyes, as if they saw themselves in a glass. The Christian traveller, the true citizen of Zion, is skilfully portrayed to the life. If a hypocritical professor should have his eyes illuminated, he will here see himself under another name than that of Christian—his foolish imaginations overthrown—his hopes perish, and all his expectations swept away like a cobweb. If any one judge that this mode of writing is not sufficiently solemn for such spiritual matters, and doubt the propriety of representing them as a dream and under such images, they should recollect that our author was unintentionally led to this manner of writing, and found himself very much embarrassed as to the propriety of publishing it to the world; and did not venture to print it until persuaded by many learned and pious men. Our Bunyan wrote allegorically, in the hopes that Divine truth might reach the very depths of the heart. Many great theologians have treated the most important truths in the same figurative manner, following the footsteps of our great and sovereign Rabbi Jesus Christ, who taught by similitudes, as also the prophets were constrained by the Holy Spirit to speak. Oh that our readers may find themselves to be true citizens of Zion, with their feet in the Royal Highway, that they may be fortified, consoled, and instructed; and, if convinced of backsliding, may return to the paths of peace, to love King Jesus, the Lord of the Hill. And may many take our Christian by the skirt of his robe, and say, we will go with thee. May it arrest the attention of the Flemings as it has that of the English, among whom, in a very few years, it has been printed many times.'

This interesting preface, which we have somewhat abridged, ends with a quotation from Acts xx. 32.

Bunyan's language is so purely English, his style so colloquial, his names and titles so full of meaning, that it must have been a most difficult book to translate. This is seen on turning to the fifth question put by Prudence, on the Pilgrim's arrival at the Palace Beautiful.

'*Pru.* Et qui est ce, je te prie, que te rend si désireux de la montagne de Sion?

'*Chres.* Quoy, demandes tu cela? O mon Dieu! comme le cerf brâme apres le décours des eaux fraisches, ainsi mon cœur[2] désire apres toy le Dieu, le Grand Dieu vivant. C'est là où j'attends de voir en vie celuy que je vis autrefois mort, et pendu sur la croix; c'est là où j'espère d'être unefois déchargé de toutes ces choses, qui me causent tant de peine, tant de douleur, tant de dommage, & m'en ont causé jusques à ce jour icy; c'est là, a ce qu'on ma dit, qu'il n'y aura plus de mort; c'est là où je jouiray d'une compagnie, a laquelle je prendray le plus grand plaisir. Car, pour te dire la vérité, je l'aime; voire

[1] Uniformly spelt, in this book, *ceur*.

'Je t'aimeray en toute obeissance.
Tante que vivray, O mon Dieu, ma puissance.

Je dis, je l'aime, à cause qu'il a illuminé les yeux obscurcis de mon entendement par une lumière divine, procedée des rayons du soleil de sa grace, lumière qui m'a servi de guide pour me conduire en ce chemin; mais aussi je l'aime, pource qu'il ma déchargé de mon fardeau: & je me trouve las a cause de mon mal intérieur; ah que mon cœur soupire apres ce lieu, où je serai delivré de mourir; après cette compagnie, où l'on chantera à jamais, saint, saint, saint, est l'Eternal des armées.'

The answer in English is one hundred and two words; in French, extending to two hundred and twenty.

The Slough of Despond is called *Le Bourbier Mésfiance;* Worldly-Wiseman, *Sage Mondain;* Faithful, *Loyal;* Talkative, *Grand Jaseur;* Pickthank, *Flatteur;* My Old Lord Letchery, *Mon vieux Seigneur Assez Bon;* No-good, *Vautrien;* Live-loose, *Vivan Mort;* Hate-light, *Grand Haineux;* Bye-ends, *Autrefin.* The poetry would have seriously puzzled the worthy translator; but instead of attempting it, he supplies its place from French psalms or hymns. The copper-plates are rather fine specimens of drawing and engraving. Sweeping the room at the Interpreter's house, and Attempting to awake the Sleepers on the Enchanted Ground, are new designs.[2]

There is a copy in the British Museum somewhat modernized, Rotterdam, 1722;[3] and a very handsome edition, with plates by an eminent Dutch engraver, printed at Rotterdam, 1757;[4] and one with woodcuts, 12mo, Basle, 1728,[5] &c. &c. These are French Protestant translations; besides which, there have been many editions of a Roman Catholic translation into French. This is greatly abridged, and, of course, Giant Pope is omitted; and so is the remark about Peter being afraid of a sorry girl. They are very neat pocket volumes, printed in Paris, 1783; at Rouen, 1821, &c. &c., entitled, *Le Pélérinage d'un Nommé Chrétien Traduit de L'Anglois.* In the preface, the Roman Catholic translator calls the English nation *judicieuse et eclairée.* The Editor bought a copy of this book in a convent in France. The lady-abbess assured him that it was a most excellent work to promote piety and virtue!—a sentence which first led him to the discovery that the old lady had a remarkably sweet voice.

Dr. Cheever accounts thus for the extensive popularity of our 'Pilgrim:'—

'It is a piece of rich tapestry, in which, with the Word of God before him as his original and guide, and with all these heavenly materials tinged in the deep feelings of his own con-

[2] A fine copy is in the library of S. J. Button, Esq., Racquet Court, Fleet Street.

[3] British Museum, 1113, b.

[4] In possession of Mr. Thornton, the Cottage, Clapham Common.

[5] A fine copy in possession of the Editor.

verted heart, he wove into one beautiful picture the spiritual scenery and thrilling events of his own journey as a Christian pilgrim. It is all fresh and graphic from his own experience, vivid with real life, freshly portrayed from the Word of God; nor can you tell that Bunyan was of any sect, save that he was a living member of the church of Christ.'

This work has afforded the deepest interest to the painter; and it has also excited the poet to sing our Pilgrim's adventures, both in rhyme and blank verse. The ornamental embellishments were at first good woodcuts for a chap-book,[1] faithful copies of which will be found in this edition; these dwindled down, in succeeding editions, to the cheapest and most contemptible cuts that can be conceived. The worst of these is in an edition of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' by a namesake of the author, Mr. D. Bunyan. The next series were the copper-plates to Sturt's edition; fine impressions of these designs are found, four on a page, in the first complete edition of Bunyan's Works, 1737. Since then, many beautiful sets of engravings have been published in the editions by Heptinstall and Scott, between 1788 and 1793, the most beautiful being a series of sixteen elegant designs by Stothard, engraved by Strut.[2] These were reduced, and published in 4to, with Sonnets by George Townsend, *Prebendary of Durham*. Thus, at length, we find that Bishop Bunyan keeps company with other dignitaries. Twenty-four original outlines were published by Mrs. Mackenzie; and a set of very beautiful engravings, with a valuable letterpress accompaniment by J. Conder. The edition by Southey is elegantly illustrated. The Art-Union has favoured the public with a series of illustrations in oblong folio, some of which, however elegantly designed, would probably puzzle even the keen, penetrating eye of Bunyan to discover what work they were intended to illustrate.[3] A more serious defect is observable in this oblong edition. Bunyan's terms are considered as too vulgar, and two of his words are exchanged for the more polite term of 'harlot;'[4] while, on the corner of page 36, an indecent cut is exhibited! The *Introduction* and *Life of Bunyan*, by Godwin and Pocock, are well written and handsomely illustrated. A similar series of outline engravings to the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' by the daughter of a British Admiral, were given to the subscribers to the Sailor's Home in Well Street, London. They were on tinted paper, the same size as those by the Art-Union, but very inferior both in design and engraving. A large sheet of beautiful woodcuts was lately published by that eminent artist, Thomas Gilks. The most elegant edition for a drawing-room or library that has been published is one just finished, by Mr. Bogue. It is not only a correct text, but is rich in illustrative woodcuts and borders, and has a deeply-interesting Memoir of Bunyan, from the pen of Dr. Cheever.

In 1844, a very handsome edition of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' was published in folio, on fine paper, for purposes of illustration. It has a Memoir of the Author, by the Rev. Thomas Scott.

CHAPTER VII.

VERSIONS, COMMENTS, AND IMITATIONS OF THE 'PILGRIM.'

The earliest poetical attempts to promote the circulation of the 'Pilgrim' is of the First Part, done into verse by Francis Hoffman, printed by R. Tookey, 1706. Not only is the prose versified, but he has, according to his taste, versified Bunyan's verse. Thus, the long controversy as to the propriety of publishing the work, in Hoffman's verses, is—

> 'One Part said, Print it; others it decry'd;
> Some said, it would do good, which some denied:
> I, seeing them divided to Extreams,
> Could from them hope no Favour but the Flames;
> Resolving, since Two Parties could not do't,
> Being Third my-self, to give the casting Vote,
> And have it printed.'

It has a smart hit at occasional conformity. Thus Apollyon says—

> ' "T is with professors, now in Fashion grown,
> T' espouse his cause a while to serve their own;
> Come, with me go occasionally back,
> Rather than a preferment lose, or lack.'[5]

Judging from these and other specimens, it is not surprising that the work was never republished. It has some woodcuts, and is very rare.[6] Many attempts have been made to render Bunyan's 'Pilgrim' a popular work in poetry, but all have failed. The most respectable is by J. S. Dodd, M.D., 8vo, Dublin, 1795. This is in blank verse, and with good engravings; it has also an index, and all the passages of Scripture given at length; not only those that are directly referred to, but also a number of others which might have suggested ideas to the author that he embodied in his work. The notes are well written, and short. They were reprinted, without acknowledgment, in an edition of the 'Pilgrim,' in three parts, published by Macgowan; London, 1822.

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[1] Books sold by hawkers.

[2] Sturt and Strut were men of a different era.

[3] The meeting of Christian and Faithful, one of them with a crucifix; the destruction of By-ends, &c.

[4] See page 47.

[5] Page 60.

[6] A perfect copy in the library of W. B. Gurney, Esq.; and another in the library of Lord Ashburnham. Mr. Pickering has one without the translator's name: this is merely a new title, probably to make the rhyme pass as Bunyan's. It is referred to by Mr. Southey in his *Life of Bunyan*, p. xcvii.

George Burder, the well-known author of the *Village Sermons*, published, in 1804, Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress,' Part the First, versified, which passed through several large editions, and was much used in Sunday-schools; it has woodcuts. A very handsome edition of this has been lately published, with the Second Part, by the author of *Scripture Truths in Verse*, and is profusely ornamented with woodcuts. T. Dibdin also published Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress,' metrically condensed, in six cantos. This embraces only the First Part. The author claims having kept the simplicity of the original, and a rigid observance of every doctrine enforcing the certainty of the one only road to safety and salvation.[1] The late Isaac Taylor, of Ongar, published *Bunyan Explained to a Child*, being pictures and Poems founded upon the 'Pilgrim's Progress;' two very neat and interesting little volumes, each containing fifty cuts.[2]

Dr. Adam Clarke considered that our Pilgrim might be more read by a certain class if published as an epic poem.

'The whole body of the dialogue and description might be preserved perfect and entire; and the task would not be difficult, as the work has the complete form of an epic poem, the versification alone excepted. But a poet, and a poet only, can do this work, and such a poet, too, as is experimentally acquainted with the work of God on his own soul. I subscribe to the opinion of Mr. Addison, that, had J. Bunyan lived in the time of the primitive fathers, he would have been as great a father as any of them.'[3]

A lady who wrote under the initials, C. C. V. G., has recently made the attempt, and she does not appear to have been aware that Dr. Dodd had gone over the same ground. It is a highly respectable production, divided into six cantos, but includes only the First Part.

The Pilgrim's Progress Versified. By the Rev. W. E. Hume, B.A. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 1844-5.

In this poetic attempt, each part is divided into six cantos. At the first glance, it appeared more like a parody than a serious effort to convey the sense; but the author seems to be in earnest. A very few lines will show the poetic talent which is displayed. The pilgrim about to start:

'Trembling he was, and tears I well could track,
Till broke he forth, and cried, "What shall I do, alack!",

On Ignorance arriving at the gates of the Celestial City,

'They told the King, but down he would not run.

The first part ends thus:

'The way to hell, from gate of heaven, was there,
E'en as from Ruin's town. I woke—had dream'd, declare.'

[1] Post 8vo, Harding and King, 1834.
[2] Post 8vo, London, 1835.
[3] Postscript to a *Life of Bunyan*, 1844.

A Free Poetic Version of the First Part of the Pilgrim's Progress. In Ten Books. By J. B. Drayton. With a Memoir, and Notes selected and abridged from the Rev. T. Scott. 12mo, Cheltenham. No date.

This first appeared under the title of *Poetic Sketches from Bunyan*, fcp. 8vo, 1821. 'To tempt those who slight the original as a coarse and illiterate production to give it a perusal, and they will find that its merits are of the highest order—conceived in the true spirit of poetry—like a rude but luxuriant wilderness.' The Christian's burden is called 'a sordid pest.' His description of the Interpreter will give an idea of Mr. Drayton's style:

'Meek was his mein,
Yet fiery keen,
The ordeal inquest of his eye,
And blent with hoary majesty,
A stately wand he bore;
But, ere he taught his mystic lore,
He asked the Pilgrim's late abode,
His errand, and his destined road.'

When Christian met the men running from the Valley of the Shadow of Death, his inquiry is anything but poetic—

'Hold! What's the Damage?'

Little interest has been excited by these endeavours to versify the 'Pilgrim.' All the attempts to improve Bunyan are miserable failures; it is like holding up a rushlight to increase the beauty of the moon when in its full radiance. His fine old vernacular colloquial English may be modernized and spoiled, but cannot be improved. The expression used to denote how hard the last lock in Doubting Castle 'went,' may grate upon a polite ear, but it has a deep meaning that should warn us of entering by-path meadows.

Bunyan's poetry, interspersed throughout the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' displays the perpetual bent of the writer's mind. No show, no attempt at parade, all his object is to fix truth upon the conscience; and some of his homely rhymes ought never to be forgotten. The impression made in childhood 'sticks like burs.' Who that has once read the lay of the Shepherd's boy, will ever forget the useful lesson?

'He that is down need fear no fall,
He that is low no pride:
He that is humble ever shall
Have God to be his guide.'

Mr. Burder of Coventry divided the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' Part I. into twenty, and Part II. into fifteen chapters, with short notes at the end of each;[4] it has been several times republished; but this innovation was not well received.

Numerous have been the editions with notes, to illustrate the author's meaning, by men of some eminence; but Montgomery's beautiful description at once shows that, doctrinally or experimentally considered, they are not needed. 'Bunyan's alle-

[4] Brit. Mus. 113, b.; Editor's library.

gory is so perfect, that, like the light, whilst revealing through its colourless and undistorting medium every object, yet is itself concealed.'

A Key to the Pilgrim's Progress; designed to assist the admirers of that excellent book to read it with understanding and profit, as well as pleasing entertainment. By Andronicus.

This contains some useful information; it passed through two editions in 1797.

A Course of Lectures Illustrative of the Pilgrim's Progress, delivered at the Tabernacle, Haverford West. By Daniel Warr. 8vo, 1825.

These lectures, twenty in number, embrace only the First Part. They proved acceptable to those who heard them, and were published by subscription. Nine hundred and twenty-eight copies were subscribed for at 8*s.* each.

Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of Bunyan. By Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D., of New York.

This is the work of one of Bunyan's kindred spirits. If there was any foundation for the Chinese theory of the transmigration of souls, one might imagine that Bunyan had been again permitted to visit the church on earth, in the person of Dr. Cheever. The numerous editions of these lectures which have been sold on both sides of the Atlantic has proved how acceptable a work it is; to give its beauties would be to copy the whole; they that have read it will read it again and again with renewed pleasure. They who have not read it may safely anticipate a choice literary treat.

Attempts to explain the spiritual meaning of such a writer have sometimes deserved the reproof contained in the following anecdote:—'A late eminent and venerated clergyman,[1] published an edition of Bunyan's Pilgrim,[2] which he accompanied with expository notes. A copy of this work he benevolently presented to one of his poor parishioners. Some time afterwards the poor man was met by the clergyman, who inquired, "Well, have you read the Pilgrim's Progress?" the reply was, "Yes, sir." It was further asked, "Do you think you understand it?" "O, yes, sir," was the answer, with this somewhat unexpected addition, "And I hope before long I shall understand the notes!"'[3] Still there can be no doubt but that notes from other of Bunyan's treatises, and from eminent authors, must be highly illustrative and interesting.

[1] Thomas Scott, author of the *Commentary on the Bible*, and other valuable works. Sir James Stephen, in his *Ecclesiastical Biography*, says of Thomas Scott—'He died neglected, if not despised, by the hierarchy of the Church of England; although in him she lost a teacher, weighed against whom the most reverend, right reverend, very reverend, and venerable personages, if all thrown together into the opposing scale, would at once have kicked the beam.'—Vol. ii. p. 123.

[2] 12mo, with Plates. Coventry, 1797.

[3] Pritchard's *Life of Ivimey*, p. 139.

The 'Pilgrim's Progress' has also been abridged. One of the early publications of the Tract Society was the 'Pilgrim's Progress, Part the First,' divided upon Mr. Burder's plan, into twenty chapters. It is in eight Parts, at 1½*d.* each, with a recommendation that the children should find the texts referred to, and repeat them when convenient; it has a woodcut to each Part.

An Extract of the Pilgrim's Progress, Two Parts, divided into chapters, 12mo, Dublin. For the Methodist Book-room, 1810. Price 3*s.* 3*d.*

This contains nearly the whole; Giants Pagan and Pope are excluded, so also are the fiend's whispering evil thoughts into the Pilgrim's ears. Christiana speaks of her *old* husband instead of her *good* husband. The narrative is injured by the omissions and alterations.

The Pilgrim's Progress. By John Bunyan; abridged for the use of schools. By J. Townsend. With a Sketch of the Author's Life.

This little book was extensively circulated, especially in Sunday Schools.

The Pilgrim's Progress. By John Bunyan.

A miniature abridgment, with cuts, title printed in gold on a blue-glazed paper, the edges gilt, has been lately selling in the streets of London for 1*d.* each!

A strange attempt was made by Joshua Gilpin, rector of Wrockwardine, Shropshire, in 1811, to fit Bunyan with a modern and fashionable suit of clothes, and under the tuition of a *petit maitre*, train him for elegant drawing-room company. How odd an idea to dress Bunyan *à-la-mode*, place him in an elegant party, chill him with ices, and torment his soul with the badinage of a *Mrs. Perkin's Ball.* It was entitled, 'Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; in which the phraseology of the author is *somewhat improved*, some of his obscurities elucidated, and some of his redundancies done away.' A handsome 8vo volume, 1811. Mr. Gilpin complains that the Pilgrim's defects are conspicuous and offensive, but gives no specimens of them. Instead of Faithful telling Christian the common feeling against Pliable, in plain English, 'O, they say, Hang him, he is a turn-coat; he was not true to his profession;' Mr. Gilpin prefers, 'They tauntingly say, that he was not true to his profession.' And as to the unfashionably pointed remarks by the Interpreter, that a Christian profession, without regeneration, is like a tree whose leaves are fair, but their heart good for nothing but to be *tinder* for the devil's *tinder-box*,[4] this is too bad to be mended, and is, therefore, struck out altogether. The public did not encourage Mr. Gilpin's metamorphoses, and the book is forgotten. In the following year Mr. Gilpin published, anonymously, *The Pilgrimage of Theophilus to the City of God.* It was intended for the

[4] P. 245.

instruction of his children. It is free from sectarianism and slander; being the adventures of two young Pilgrims, who become ministers. The whole of the plot is taken from Bunyan; is a pious imitation, but, like many others, it is even now forgotten.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the attempts which have been made to copy Bunyan's allegory. A few of them deserve notice. One of these was an impudent forgery. It was under the title of

The Progress of the Pilgrim, in Two Parts. Written by way of a Dream. Adorned with several new pictures. Ho. xii. 10, *I have used similitudes*. London, by J. Blare, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1705.

In this, which is published as an original work, Evangelist is called Good-news; Worldly-wiseman, Mr. Politic Worldly; Legality, Mr. Law-do; The Interpreter, Director; The Palace Beautiful, Grace's Hall; Giant Desperation of Diffident Castle; Mr. Despondency and his daughter Much-afraid are called, One Much-cast-down, and his kinsman, Almost Overcome. Whoever was employed in stealing this literary property, and disguising the stolen goods, appears to have been a Roman Catholic; he omits Giant Pope; and Faithful, called Fidelius, is hanged, drawn, and quartered, that being the punishment inflicted on the Roman Catholics by Elizabeth and James I.

Bugg's *Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*. 4to, and 8vo, 1698.

The author had been a Quaker, but conformed, and attacked his old friends with great vituperation. It is not allegorical.

Desiderius; or, the Original Pilgrim. By L. Howell, M.A.

This was written in Spanish, and has been published in Latin, Italian, French, Dutch, and German. Mr. Howell says in the preface, 'I am assured that Mr. Royston, the bookseller, very well knew that Dr. Patrick took his pilgrim from it.' It is the mode by which a gentleman curbed his passions, and became a good church-going man, and qualified himself (p. 124) to trust in God. It was not published in English until 1717.

The Young Man's Guide through the wilderness of this world to the heavenly Canaan: showing him how to carry himself Christian-like, the whole course of his life. By Thomas Gouge. 1719; small 8vo.

This is a valuable work, but not allegorical.

The Statesman's Progress, or a Pilgrimage to Greatness; delivered under the similitude of a dream, wherein are discovered, The manner of his setting out, his dangerous journey, and safe arrival at the desired country; with the manner of his acting when he came there. By John Bunyan. With a Latin quotation from Horace. London, printed, and Dublin reprinted in the year 1741. 8vo.

This is a shrewd attack upon Sir Robert Walpole, one of the most corrupt of English statesmen, just before his final fall. It was he that said 'every man had his price,' and who attacked Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, on his youth; exciting a reply which must be admired to the latest age. This Pilgrimage represents Walpole under the name of Badman, on his course to Greatness Hall, where grew the golden pippins. He is introduced to Queen Vice, behind whose throne stood Death with ropes, axes, and daggers in his hand. Badman attains his object, has possession of the golden fruit, and by its aid exercises absolute sway. The allegory is kept up with great spirit.

Our readers need not be reminded that Bunyan's name was used because he was the prince of allegorists, in the same way that Homer's name would have been used if it had been a poem, or Juvenal, had it been a satire in verse. It is of great rarity; the account is taken from a copy in the Editor's library.

The celebrity of Bunyan led to another impudent forgery, in a pamphlet entitled, *The advantages and disadvantages of the Marriage State, as entered into with religious or irreligious persons, delivered under the similitude of a* DREAM. With notes explanatory and improving. By J. B * * * * * N, Minister of the Gospel. The sixth edition, with addition of new cuts. Bosworth; Printed by Robert Grimley, for the author, 1775. The frontispiece is the Sleeping Portrait on the Lion's Den, with skull and cross bones; above are the Pilgrim with his burden, and the Wicket Gate; under this is inscribed John Bunyan of Bedford. It was impudent enough to publish this for the author in 1775, Bunyan having died in 1688.

The Spanish Pilgrim; or an admirable discovery of a Romish Catholic.[1]

A tract to show the easiest way to invade Spain.

The Pilgrim; or, a Picture of Life. By a Chinese Philosopher, 2 vols. by Johnston.[2]

A caricature, exhibiting English manners, in the reign of George III., through a distorted medium.

The New Pilgrims; or, the Pious Indian Convert, containing a faithful account of Flattain Gelashenin, a heathen who was baptized into the Christian Faith by the name of George James, and by that means brought from the darkness of Paganism to the light of the Gospel, of which he afterwards became an able and worthy minister; and the wonderful things which he saw in a vision. London, 12mo, 1748.

A Voyage through Hell, by the Invincible Man of War, Captain Single-Eye. 8vo, 1770.

This is a very curious allegory; part of the crew demur to signing the articles because they are Unitarian. The mob who see the ship sail, abuse the Captain. After many adventures, she arrives in hell, and the crew and officers are tried; all the Unitarians are acquitted, and sail on to heaven, but all the

[1] British Museum, 1103, c.

[2] King's Library, British Museum, 245, f. 7.

Trinitarians enter into eternal torment. This volume is very rare. It is the only book that I have seen in which Unitarians avow such diabolical sentiments.

Shrubsole's *Christian Memoirs; or, New Pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem.* 1777; republished 1799, and in 1807.

This was supposed to contain allusions to certain persons of some note, and was for a time a popular book.

The Female Pilgrim; or the travels of Hephzibah, a description of her Native Country, with the State of the Inhabitants thereof. By John Mitchell.

This contains some account of the religious state of this country in the latter end of the reign of George III.; it has plates, and passed through several editions. The author states, that he has not been influenced by malice to those persons whose characters he has drawn as odious!

A second Pilgrim's Progress from the town of Deceit to the kingdom of Glory. By Philalethes. 8vo, 1790.

This is an allegory, but not a dream. It is the adventures of Wake-heart, who gets to glory.

The Progress of the Pilgrim, Good Intent, in Jacobinical Times. By Miss Anne Burgess, of the Vale of Honiton.

This was, for a time, very popular, and went through as many as seven editions at least, in the years 1800 and 1801: it arose out of the French Revolution, and was intended to counteract republican principles, and free inquiries into practices called religious. It has some witty passages, and a tender attachment to the crown and mitre. It represents philosophy as having for its father Lucifer; and its mother Nonsense![1] That the mitre assumes no control. Lawful government and church establishments are venerable, and to be admired and supported; that the rights of man teach plunder and robbery; that those who oppose the church, as by law established, seek to promote atheism. The authoress invents a she-devil, called Mental Energy, who invites men to destruction, by thinking for themselves.

It must have required the aid of some church wealth and influence to have pushed this book into circulation; it is now nearly forgotten.[2]

The Sailor Pilgrim; in Two Parts. By R. Hawker, D.D. 1806.

This passed through several editions, and was a valuable means of awakening seafaring men to the importance of religion. It abounds with interesting anecdotes.

Zion's Pilgrim. 1808.

This, and *Zion's Warrior*, by the same author, are full of anecdotes, useful in their day. They are not allegorical.

The Travels of Humanius in search of the Temple of Happiness. An allegory. By William Lucas. 12mo, 1809.

[1] Page 63.

[2] In the Editor's Library. First Edition, 1800, and Seventh Edition, 1801.

The Prodigal's Pilgrimage into a far Country, and back to his Father's House; in fourteen stages. By Thomas Jones, Curate of Creaton. 1825.

This is the adventures and return of the prodigal, founded on the parable in Lu. xv., but is not allegorical.[3]

The Sojourn of a Sceptic in the Land of Darkness. to the City of Strongholds, in the Similitude of a Dream. Edinburgh, 1847.

The prose and poetry in this volume are equally contemptible;

'Who follow lies they love (that walk or crawl),
A lie, at last, to ruin may pursue;
Who swallow greasy *camels*, hump and all,
A *gnat* may scandalize, and strangle too.'[4]

This is one of those books which, in the words of Porson, 'will be read when Homer and Virgil are forgotten, but—not till then.'

The Great Journey, a Pilgrimage through the Valley of Tears to Mount Zion, the City of the living God.

This is an unassuming little book, which the author calls, a borrowed ray from the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' It is neatly ornamented with cuts. A desirable present to the young.

The most beautiful ray from the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' which has reached us, is from the pen of that elegant writer, Dr. Cheever of New York. It is *The Hill Difficulty*, or *The Jewish Pilgrim's Progress, The Plains of Ease*, and other allegories. It has, in addition, some extremely interesting papers. Unfortunately it has not been reprinted in England, but what is worse is, that parts of the volume leaving out the most beautiful, and selecting those that suited a certain purpose, have been printed under the title of Dr. Cheever's *Hill Difficulty*—a forgery exceedingly vexatious to an author of such high repute. It is hoped that some honest publisher will favour us with an accurate and cheap reprint of this instructive allegory. A part left out in the first chapter of the London edition refers to a controversy which has for some time agitated this country, even to the calling forth of a decision in the House of Lords. It is an attempt to get over the Hill Difficulty without trouble; it is thus narrated:

'There has been constructed there a great balloon, to avoid climbing, named Baptismal Regeneration, in which, by an ingenious chemical use of a little font of water, a very subtle light gas was manufactured to fill the balloon; and then the adventurers, having been made to inhale the same gas, stepped into a car to which the balloon was attached, and were carried along quite swiftly. These adventurers all lost their lives in the end, unless they got out of the car, and took to the real pilgrimage. Still the patentees insisted upon this being the only way to salvation.' He goes on with great humour to show that the Pope was the original patentee.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE OPINIONS OF THE GREAT AND LEARNED, UPON THE MERITS OF THE 'PILGRIM'S PROGRESS,' AND THE CAUSES OF ITS POPULARITY.

To venerate the memory of Bunyan, is the duty of every British Christian; quite as much as it is

[3] British Museum. [4] Page 113.

the pride of Englishmen universally to admire the genius of Shakspeare or of Milton, the philosophy of Locke, or the philanthropy of Howard. He ought ever to be placed in that constellation which is composed of the brightest luminaries that shed a lustre upon our national literature. His allegory seizes our imagination in childhood, and leaves an indelible impression—it excited our wonder then, and our admiration and esteem in riper age. Thus one of our best poets describes it as

'Pleasure derived in childhood approved in age.'

There is a degree of publicity to which we should not like to have seen John Bunyan exposed, and from which his 'Pilgrim' had a narrow escape. The amazing popularity of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' very nearly led to the accomplishment of a strange design, which would have shocked all our puritan feelings. It was a curious attempt of Mr. Gilpin to dress Bunyan *a-la-mode*, but how much more singular to have introduced him upon the stage in a Royal Metropolitan Theatre!! This was most seriously contemplated. The whole story was turned into an Oratorio, and every preliminary arrangement was made to have brought it out in Lent 1834.

The manuscript oratorio, with the correspondence of George Colman the licenser, Mr. Bunn the Manager and Proprietor, and Mr. Mash of the Lord Chamberlain's Office, are in the Editor's possession. But the fear of my Lord Bishop of London, whose power could have stopped the license, prevented the attempt to bring into the tainted atmosphere of a theatre, as a dramatic entertainment, the poor burdened pilgrim, his penitence, his spiritual combats, his journey, and his ascent to the Celestial City. It was to have been introduced with splendid scenery, and with all the fascinating accompaniments of music and painting, as a sacred oratorio, to amuse Christians in the sorrowful, fasting, hypocritical season of Lent.

Cowper's apostrophe to Bunyan—

'Oh thou, whom, borne on fancy's eager wing
Back to the season of life's happy spring,
I pleased remember, and, while memory yet
Holds fast her office here, can ne'er forget.
Ingenious Dreamer! in whose well-told tale
Sweet fiction and sweet truth alike prevail;
Whose humorous vein, strong sense, and simple style,
May teach the gayest, make the gravest smile;
Witty, and well employed, and like thy Lord,
Speaking in parables his slighted Word.
I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame.
Yet e'en in transitory life's late day,
That mingles all my brown with sober gray,
Revere the man, whose Pilgrim marks the road,
And guides the Progress of the soul to God.
'Twere well with most, if books that could engage
Their childhood, pleased them at a riper age;
The man, approving what had charmed the boy,
Would die at last in comfort, peace, and joy.'

How rapid has been the change in public opinion since Cowper's line was written—

'Lest so despised a name!'

One of the most magnificent American steamers now bears the alluring name of *The John Bunyan*; and in 1849 an advertisement appeared in the London Papers: 'For Hong Kong and Shanghae, will be despatched positively on the 20th of June, the splendid fast sailing-ship *John Bunyan*.'

The influence that the 'Pilgrim's Progress' had upon a late learned and zealous divine, is well described in the autobiography of the celebrated Dr. Adam Clarke.

A child's view of the 'Pilgrim's Progress'—

At this early age he read the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' as he would read a book of chivalry. Christian was a great hero, by whom the most appalling difficulties were surmounted, the most incredible labours performed, powerful enchantments dissolved, giants conquered, and devils quelled. It was not likely that he would see it as a *spiritual allegory*, and, therefore, it was no wonder that he could not comprehend how Christian and Hopeful could submit to live several days and nights in the dungeon of Doubting Castle, under the torture of Giant Despair, while the former 'had a key in his bosom which could open every lock in that castle.'

Lord Kaimes, who did not in the slightest degree partake with Bunyan in his feelings of veneration for Christianity, admires the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' as being composed in a style enlivened like that of Homer, by a proper mixture of the dramatic and narrative.

Mr. Grainger, who was of the high church party, in his *Biographical History of England*, calls it 'Bunyan's masterpiece; one of the most popular, and, I will add, one of the most ingenious books in in the English language.'

Dr. S. Johnson, that unwieldy and uncouth leviathan of English literature, who was so thorough bred a churchman as to starve himself on a crossed bun on Good Friday, and to revel in roast beef and good cheer on the day dedicated to Christ's mass; who was so well taught in the established church as to pray for his wife 'Tetty' thirty years after her decease; yet, even he, with his deep-rooted prejudices against dissenters, cannot withhold his meed of praise—he describes the 'Pilgrim's Progress' as 'a work of original genius, and one of the very few books which every reader wishes had been longer.'[1]

'Johnson praised John Bunyan highly: his "Pilgrim's Progress" has great merit, both for invention, imagination, and the conduct of the story; and it has had the best evidence of its merit, the general and continued approbation of mankind. Few books, I believe, have had a more extensive sale. It is remarkable, that it begins very much like Dante; yet there was no translation of Dante when he wrote. There is reason to think that he had read Spenser.'[2]

[1] Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes*.
[2] Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 8vo, vol. ii. p. 219.

'It was by no common merit that the illiterate sectary extracted praise like this from the most pedantic of critics, and the most bigoted of Churchmen and Tories.'[1]

A deeply read, learned, and highly esteemed clergyman told me that when he was young, placed under peculiar circumstances,[2] he read the 'Pilgrim's Progress' many times; for when he arrived at the 'Conclusion,' he never thought of changing his book, but turning to the first page, started again with poor Christian, and never felt weary of his company. Well might Dr. Johnson say, it is one of the few books in which one can never possibly arrive at the *last* page.

Dr. Franklin, whose sound judgment renders his opinion peculiarly gratifying, in his praise of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' comes home to the feelings of all who have read this universally admired book:

'Honest John Bunyan is the first I know of who has mingled narrative and dialogue together—a mode of writing very engaging to the reader, who, in the most interesting passages, finds himself admitted, as it were, into the company, and present at the conversation.'[3]

Toplady speaks with the warmth of a Christian, who not only *admired*, but *understood* and felt its important truths:

'The "Pilgrim's Progress" is the finest allegorical work extant; describing every stage of a Christian's experience, from conversion to glorification, in the most artless simplicity of language; yet peculiarly rich with spiritual unction, and glowing with the most vivid, just, and well-conducted machinery throughout. It is, in short, a masterpiece of piety and genius; and will, we doubt not, be of standing use to the people of God, so long as the sun and moon endure.'

And in his diary, Sunday, Feb. 7, 1768:—

'In the evening, read Bunyan's "Pilgrim." What a stiff, sapless, tedious piece of work is that written by Bishop Patrick! How does the unlearned tinker of Bedford outshine the Bishop of Ely! I have heard that his lordship wrote his *Pilgrim* by way of antidote against what he deemed the fanaticism of John Bunyan's "Pilgrim." But what a rich fund of heavenly experience, life, and sweetness, does the latter contain! How heavy, lifeless, and unevangelical, is the former! Such is the difference between writing from a worldly spirit and under the influence of the Spirit of God.'[4]

Dr. Ryland's opinion was that

'As a popular practical writer, on a great variety of important subjects, for the use of the bulk of common Christians, I will dare to affirm that he has few equals in the Christian world. I am persuaded there never has been a writer in the English language whose works have spread so wide, and have been read by so many millions of people, as Mr. Bunyan's.'

The *Great French Biography* (Roman Catholic), having alluded to his employment in prison, adds.

'Mais il y écrivit aussi son *fameux* Voyage du Pélerin, allégorie religieuse parfaitement soutenue, qui a eu cinquante éditions, et a été traduite en plusieurs langues.'[5]

James Montgomery:—

'It has been the lot of John Bunyan, an unlettered artisan, to do more than one in a hundred millions of human beings, even in civilized society, is usually able to do. He has produced a work of imagination, of such decided originality, as not only to have commanded public admiration on its first appearance, but amidst all changes of time and style, and modes of thinking, to have maintained its place in the popular literature of every succeeding age; with the probability that, so long as the language in which it is written endures, it will not cease to be read by a great number of the youth of all future generations, at that period of life when their minds, their imaginations, and their hearts are most impressible with moral excellence, splendid picture, and religious sentiment. The happy idea of representing his story under the similitude of a dream, enabled him to portray, with all the liveliness of reality, the scenes which passed before him. It makes the reader himself, like the author, a spectator of all that occurs; thus giving him a personal interest in the events, an individual sympathy for the actors and sufferers. It would be difficult to name another work of any kind in our native tongue of which so many editions have been printed, of which so many readers have lived and died; the character of whose lives and deaths must have been more or less affected by its lessons and examples, its fictions and realities.'

Dr. Cheever:—

'Perhaps no other work could be named which, admired by cultivated minds, has had, at the same time, such an ameliorating effect on the working classes in society as the "Pilgrim's Progress." It is a work so full of native good sense, that no mind can read it without gaining in wisdom and vigour of judgment. It is one of the books that, by being connected with the dearest associations of childhood, always retain their hold on the heart; and it exerts a double influence when, at a graver age, and less under the despotism given to imagination in childhood, we read it with a serene and thoughtful perception of its meaning. How many children have become better citizens of the world through life, by the perusal of this book in infancy! How many pilgrims, in hours when perseverance was almost exhausted, and patience was yielding, and clouds and darkness were gathering, have felt a sudden return of animation and courage from the remembrance of Christian's severe conflicts, and his glorious entrance at last through the gates into the city!'

Robert Southey:—

'Bunyan's fame may be literally said to have risen; beginning among the people, it made its way up to those who are called the public. In most instances, the many receive gradually and slowly the opinions of the few respecting literary merit; and sometimes, in assentation to such authority, profess with their lips an admiration of they know not what. But here the opinion of the multitude has been ratified by the judicious. The people knew what they admired. It is a book which makes it way through the fancy to the understanding and the heart. The child peruses it with wonder and delight; in youth we discover the genius which it displays; its worth is apprehended as we advance in years; and we perceive its

[1] Macaulay, *Edinburgh Review*, 1831.

[2] At church, obliged to sit still, while a dull parson read equally dull sermons.

[3] *Private Life of Franklin.*

[4] *Life and Writings of Toplady.* Works, vol. i. p. 40. 8vo, 1825. It may be true that Patrick's *Pilgrim* was intended as an antidote to what he considered the fanaticism of Bunyan's other writings, but the Bishop's *Pilgrim* was published prior to that of John Bunyan.

[5] 8vo. Paris, 1810, tom. iii. p. 412.

merits feelingly in declining age. If it is not a well of English undefiled, to which the poet as well as the philologist must repair, if they would drink of the living waters, it is a clear stream of current English—the vernacular speech of his age—sometimes, indeed, in its rusticity and coarseness, but always in its plainness and its strength.'

COLERIDGE the Poet:—

'The "Pilgrim's Progress" is composed in the lowest style of English, without slang or false grammar. If you were to polish it, you would at once destroy the reality of the vision.

* * * * *

'This wonderful work is one of the very few books which may be read over repeatedly at different times, and each time with a new and different pleasure. I read it once as a theologian, and let me assure you, that there is great theological acumen in the work; once with devotional feelings; and once as a poet; I could not have believed beforehand that Calvinism could be painted in such exquisitely-delightful colours.

'I know of no book, the Bible excepted, as above all comparison, which I, according to MY judgment and experience, could so safely recommend, as teaching and enforcing the whole saving truth according to the mind that was in Christ Jesus, as the "Pilgrim's Progress." It is, in my conviction, incomparably the best *summa theologiæ evangelicæ* ever produced by a writer not miraculously inspired.'—(May and June, 1830. *Table Talk*, vol. i. pp. 160, 161.)

DR. ARNOLD of Rugby:—

'I have left off reading our divines, because, as Pascal said of the Jesuits, if I had spent my time in reading them fully, I should have read a great many indifferent books. But if I could find a great man among them, I would read him thankfully and earnestly. As it is, I hold John Bunyan to have been a man of incomparably greater genius than any of them, and to have given a far truer and more edifying picture of Christianity. His "Pilgrim's Progress" seems to be a complete reflection of Scripture, with none of the rubbish of the theologians mixed up with it.'—(*Dr. Arnold to Justice Coleridge*, Nov. 30, 1836. *Life*, vol. ii. p. 65.)

And, 'I have always been struck by its piety; I am now (having read it through again, after a long interval) struck equally, or even more, by its profound wisdom.'—Ibid. vol. ii. p. 65.

MR. MACAULAY, from his Review of Southey's *Life of Bunyan*:—

'The characteristic peculiarity of the "Pilgrim's Progress" is, that it is the only work of its kind which possesses a strong human interest. Other allegories only amuse the fancy. It is not so with the "Pilgrim's Progress." That wonderful book, while it obtains admiration from the most fastidious critics, is loved by those who are too simple to admire it. In the wildest parts of Scotland, it is the delight of the peasantry. In every nursery, the "Pilgrim's Progress" is a greater favourite than *Jack the Giant-killer*.

'Every reader knows the straight and narrow path as well as he knows a road in which he has gone backward and forward a hundred times. This is the highest miracle of genius—that things which are not should be as though they were—that the imaginations of one mind should become the personal recollections of another. And this miracle the tinker has wrought. There is no ascent, no declivity, no resting-place, no turn-stile, with which we are not perfectly acquainted. The wicket-gate, and the desolate swamp which separates it from the City of Destruction—the long line of road, as straight as a rule can make it—the Interpreter's house, and all its fair shows—the prisoner in the iron cage—the palace, at the doors of which armed men kept guard, and on the battlements of which walked persons clothed all in gold—the cross and the sepulchre—the steep hill and the pleasant arbour—the stately front of the House Beautiful by the wayside—the low green Valley of Humiliation, rich with grass and covered with flocks—are all as well known to us as the sights of our own street. Then we come to the narrow place, where Apollyon strode right across the whole breadth of the way, to stop the journey of Christian; and where, afterwards, the pillar was set up, to testify how bravely the Pilgrim had fought the good fight. As we advance, the valley becomes deeper and deeper. The shade of the precipices on both sides falls blacker and blacker. The clouds gather over-head. Doleful voices, the clanking of chains, and the rushing of many feet to and fro, are heard through the darkness. The way hardly discernible in gloom, and close by the mouth of the burning pit, which sends forth its flames, its noisome smoke, and its hideous shapes, to terrify the adventurer. Thence he goes on, amidst the snares and pitfalls, with the mangled bodies of those who have perished lying in the ditch by his side. At the end of the long dark valley, he passes the dens in which the old giants dwelt, amidst the bones and ashes of those whom they had slain. Then the road passes straight on through a waste moor, till at length the towers of a distant city appear before the traveller; and soon he is in the midst of the innumerable multitudes of Vanity Fair. There are the jugglers and the apes, the shops and the puppet-shows. There are Italian Row, and French Row, and Spanish Row, and Britain Row—with their crowds of buyers, sellers, and loungers, jabbering all the languages of the earth. Thence we go on by the little hill of the silver mine, and through the meadow of lilies, along the bank of that pleasant river, which is bordered on both sides by fruit-trees. On the left side, branches off the path to that horrible castle, the court-yard of which is paved with the skulls of pilgrims; and right onward are the sheepfolds and orchards of the Delectable Mountains. From the Delectable Mountains the way lies through the fogs and briers of the Enchanted Ground, with here and there a bed of soft cushions spread under a green arbour. And beyond is the land of Beulah; where the flowers, the grapes, and the songs of birds never cease, and where the sun shines night and day. Thence are plainly seen the golden pavements and streets of pearls, on the other side of that black and cold river over which there is no bridge.

'All the stages of the journey—all the forms which cross or overtake the pilgrims—the giants and hobgoblins, ill-favoured ones and shining ones—the tall, comely, swarthy Madam Bubble, with her great purse by her side, and her fingers playing with the money—the black man in the bright vesture—Mr. Worldly-wiseman and my Lord Hate-good—Mr. Talkative and Mrs. Timorous—all are actually existing beings to us. We follow the travellers through their allegorical progress, with interest not inferior to that with which we follow Elizabeth from Siberia to Moscow, or Jeanie Deans from Edinburgh to London. Bunyan is almost the only writer that ever gave to the abstract the interest of the concrete. Religion has scarcely ever worn a form so calm and soothing as in his allegory. The feeling which predominates through the whole book is a feeling of tenderness for weak, timid, and harassed minds. The character of Mr. Fearing—of Mr. Feeble-mind—of Mr. Despondency, and his daughter Miss Much-afraid—the account of poor Little-faith, who was robbed by the three thieves of his spending money—the description of Christian's terror in the dungeons of Giant Despair, and in his passage through the river—all clearly show how strong a sympathy Bunyan felt, after his own mind had become clear and cheerful, for persons afflicted with religious melancholy.

'The style of Bunyan is delightful to every reader; and invaluable as a study to every person who wishes to obtain a wide command over the English language. The vocabulary is the vocabulary of the common people. There is not an expression, if we except a few technical terms of theology, which would puzzle the rudest peasant. We have observed several pages which do not contain a single word of more than two syllables. Yet no writer has said more exactly what he meant to say. For magnificence, for pathos, for vehement exhortation, for subtle disquisition, for every purpose of the poet, the orator, and the divine, this homely dialect—the dialect of plain working men—was perfectly sufficient. There is no book in our literature on which we would so readily stake the fame of the old, unpolluted English language; no book which shows so well how rich that language is in its own proper wealth, and how little it has been improved by all that it has borrowed. Though there were many clever men in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century, there were only two great creative minds; one of those minds produced the *Paradise Lost*, the other the "Pilgrim's Progress."

'There are, we think, some characters and scenes in the "Pilgrim's Progress," which can be fully comprehended and enjoyed only by persons familiar with the history of the times through which Bunyan lived. The character of Mr. Great-heart, the guide, is an example. We have not the least doubt that Bunyan had in view some stout old Greatheart of Naseby and Worcester; who prayed with his men before he drilled them; who knew the spiritual state of every dragoon in his troop; and who, with the praises of God in his mouth, and a two-edged sword in his hand, had turned to flight, in many fields of battle, the swearing drunken bravoes of Rupert and Lunsford. Every age produces such men as Bye-ends—he might have found all his kindred among the public men of that time; among the Peers—my Lord Turn-about, my Lord Time-server, and Lord Fair-speech. In the House of Commons—Mr. Smooth-man, Mr. Anything, and Mr. Facing-both-ways; nor would the parson of the parish, Mr. Two-tongues, have been wanting.'

MR. MACAULAY'S character of John Bunyan, from his invaluable *History of England*:—

'To the names of Baxter and Howe must be added the name of a man far below them in station and in acquired knowledge, but in virtue their equal, and in genius their superior, JOHN BUNYAN. Bunyan had been bred a tinker, and had served as a private soldier. Early in life he had been fearfully tortured by remorse for his youthful sins, the worst of which seem, however, to have been such as the world thinks venial. His keen sensibility, and his powerful imagination, made his internal conflicts singularly terrible. At length the clouds broke. From the depths of despair, the penitent passed to a state of serene felicity. An irresistible impulse now urged him to impart to others the blessing of which he was himself possessed. He joined the Baptists, and became a preacher and writer. His education had been that of a mechanic. He knew no language but the English as it was spoken by the common people. He had studied no great model of composition, with the exception—an important exception undoubtedly—of our noble translation of the Bible. His native force of genius, and his experimental knowledge of all the religious passions, from despair to ecstacy, amply supplied in him the want of learning. His rude oratory roused and melted hearers, who listened, without interest, to the laboured discourses of great logicians and Hebraists. His works are widely circulated among the humbler classes. One of them, the PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, was, in his own lifetime, translated into several foreign languages. It was, however, scarcely known to the learned and polite; and had been, during near a century, the delight of pious cottagers and artizans, before it was publicly commended by any man of high literary eminence. At length critics condescended to inquire where the secret of so wide and so durable a popularity lay. They were compelled to own that the ignorant multitude had judged more correctly than the learned, and that the despised little book was really a masterpiece. Bunyan, indeed, is as decidedly the first of allegorists, as Demosthenes is the first of orators, or Shakspeare the first of dramatists. Other allegorists have shown great ingenuity, but no other allegorist has ever been able to touch the heart, and to make abstractions objects of terror, of pity, and of love.'

LORD CAMPBELL.—It is one of the extraordinary signs of the times in which we live, to witness the highest judicial functionary in the kingdom speaking, without sectarian partiality, and in the highest terms of praise, of a preaching mechanic. It is in Lord John Campbell's *Life of Chief-Justice Hale*, when the judges, before whom Mrs. Bunyan had so powerfully pleaded for her husband's liberty, were trumpeted out of Bedford, she burst into tears, saying, 'Not so much because they are so hard-hearted against me and my husband, but to think what a sad account such poor creatures will have to give at the coming of the Lord:'—

'Little do we know what is for our permanent good,' says Lord John Campbell. 'Had Bunyan then been discharged, and allowed to enjoy liberty, he no doubt would have returned to his trade, filling up his intervals of leisure with field-preaching; his name would not have survived his own generation, and he could have done little for the religious improvement of mankind. The prison doors were shut upon him for twelve years. Being cut off from the external world, he communed with his own soul; and inspired by Him who touched Elijah's hallowed lips with fire, he composed the noblest of allegories, the merit of which was first discovered by the lowly, but which is now lauded by the most refined critics; and which has done more to awaken piety, and to enforce the precepts of Christian morality, than all the sermons which have been published by all the prelates of the Anglican church.'[1]

The *Penny Encyclopedia* is the only work which has treated the 'Pilgrim's Progress' with disrespect. Under the article *John Bunyan*, it says:—

'Among his works, the "Pilgrim's Progress" has attained the greatest notoriety. If a judgment is to be formed of the merits of a book by the number of times it has been reprinted, and the many languages into which it has been translated, no production in English literature is superior to this coarse allegory. On a composition which has been extolled by Dr. Johnson, and which, in our own times, has received a very high critical opinion in its favour, it is hazardous to venture a disapproval; and we, perhaps, speak the opinion of a small minority when we confess that to us it appears to be mean, jejune, and wearisome.'

Probably this is the glorious minority of *one*. Such an opinion may excite pity and indignation, but needs no comment.

The 'Pilgrim's Progress' has proved an invaluable aid to the Sunday-school Teacher, and to the Missionary. One of the latter wrote home with

[1] Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, vol. i. p. 561.

joy to inform his Christian friends, that a Malay sat up three nights to read it, never having before seen so beautiful a book, and praying that the Holy Spirit may influence his countrymen to read, and also enlighten their hearts to understand the wondrous dream. The pundit who was engaged to translate it into Singhalese, was so deeply affected by the story, that, at times, he could not proceed; when he had passed the wicket-gate, and Christian's burden fell from his shoulders, at the sight of Christ crucified, he was overcome with joy—he laughed, wept, clapped his hands, danced, and shouted, 'delightful, delightful!' It was especially blessed to the persecuted Christian natives in Ceylon; in their distress when driven from home, in places of danger, they encouraged each other by repeating portions of scripture, and the vivid delineations of perseverance and triumph from the 'Pilgrim's Progress.'

No book, the result of human labour and ingenuity, has been so eminently useful. Let Homer have the credit of his lofty poem, Plato of his Philosophy, Cicero of his elegancies, and Aquinas of his subtleties; but for real value, as connected with human happiness, our unlettered mechanic rises infinitely their superior.

CHAPTER IX.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MOST PROMINENT PARTS OF THE 'PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.'

Before taking a walk with the pilgrims, to point out a few peculiarities not noticed by commentators, it may be well to answer the inquiry so often made—Is the narrative that of the author's and his wife's own experience? My humble opinion is that he did not so intend it. His first wife had been for years an inhabitant of the Celestial City, and his second was a decided Christian long before his 'Pilgrim' was written. At the pillar to commemorate Lot's wife, Hopeful calls to Christian, 'for he was learned,'—a title, so far as lettered lore was concerned, Bunyan could not have given to himself, nor would *he* have applied it as to his own spiritual knowledge. It appears not to be intended to portray the experience of any one man or woman, but the feelings, doubts, conflicts, and enjoyments of the Christian character. The whole household of faith embodied and described in the sacred pages, enlarged by his own experience, and that which he discovered in his Christian intercourse; from the first fearful cry, 'What shall I do to be saved?' until the crown of glory and immortality is put upon his head with the anthem, 'It is finished,' 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.'

Among some very singular discoveries made from the pages of this eminently non-sectarian book, is, that it sanctions the old and curious custom of christening infants. The mind capable of making such a discovery, must be familiar with very jesuitic and far-fetched arguments in defence of a custom which, Bunyan thought, set the Bible, and reason too, at defiance, and could only be defended by tradition, handed down to us by the Papists from the dark and gloomy ages of superstition. It is in an edition with notes by Mr. St. John, and a key by H. Wood.[1] In the index there appears the following sentiments under the word—

'BAPTISM.—The ordinance of, to be observed, and the advantage that children are thereby made partakers, who are thus early admitted into the visible church of Christ. Christian's sons have been married, and their olive branches were springing up, when Christiana and her troop of children and grandchildren had passed the hill Luere, and arrived at the green meadows. Here they find a house is built for the nourishing and bringing up those *lambs*, the babes of those women that go on pilgrimage.'

The annotator seizes an opportunity from this parental anxiety to 'train up a child in the way he should go,' to introduce Bunyan as an authority for the christening of infants.

But to return to our 'Pilgrim.' A charge has been made against the arrangement of the story, because the converts in the town of Vanity are not described as having entered the way by the wicket-gate. They witness the patient endurance of sufferings in Faithful, and are led to feel that there must be some solemn realities in religion to which they were strangers; we have no account of their convictions nor misery; their Slough of Despond, or entering the wicket-gate, or relief on the sight of Christ crucified, for all this has been already told in Christian's experience. The lovely inmates in the Palace Beautiful, descriptive of the temper which every member of a Christian church ought to cultivate, are left there as if they went no further towards Zion. Christian's journey does not appear to occupy the time taken to perform the same distance by Christiana. These, and many other apparent discrepancies, are essential to the author's design, because he represents it all under the similitude of a DREAM. The following quotations clearly indicate some changes of importance, interfering with Christian liberty between the writing of the First Part in prison before 1673, and the publication of the Second Part in 1684. When Christiana came to the Slough of Despond,

'She perceived also, that notwithstanding the command of the King, to make this place for pilgrims good, yet it was rather worse than formerly. For that many there be that pretend to be the King's labourers; and that say they are for mending the King's highway, that bring *dirt and dung* instead of stones, and so mar instead of mending.'

Before the pilgrims attempted to ascend the

[1] Published by Rickerby, Sherborne Lane, 1838.

Hill Difficulty, they sought for some refreshment, and Great-heart said—

'This is the spring that Christian drank of before he went up this hill; and *then* 'twas clear and good; but *now* 'tis dirty with the feet of some that were not desirous that pilgrims here should quench their thirst.'

The two lions in the way to frighten the young inquirer from making a public profession at the Palace Beautiful, may represent the civil and ecclesiastical powers when assuming the throne of God, to judge and compel men as to forms of Divine worship. Their effort was to prevent further inquiries, and thus turn the pilgrims back to the City of Destruction; they are chained, to show that these devils are under Divine control, and can only hurt such as they *may* devour. A cessation, or temporary relief from persecution, puts them to sleep as Faithful passes; and a recollection of the misery and cruelties they had so recently perpetrated, raises Giant Grim to back them, and terrify Christiana, Mercy, and the children. The effects of this cruel persecution of the saints thinned the number of professors.

'Now, to say the truth, this way had of late lain much unoccupied, and was almost all grown over with grass.'

Their fears are at that time dissipated by Great-heart the guide, who slays the Giant.

While Christiana and her company rest at the town of Vanity,

'There came a *monster* out of the woods, and slew many of the people of the town. It would also carry away their children, and teach them to suck its whelps. Now no man in the town durst so much as face this *monster;* but all men fled when they heard the noise of his coming. This monster propounded conditions to men; and such men as loved their lives more than their souls, accepted those conditions. So they came under.'

From all this it is obvious, that between the time when Bunyan wrote the First Part, and the publication of the Second, some painful events had taken place, interfering with a Christian profession. Those iniquitous laws, called the Five Mile and the Conventicle Acts, were passed in the 16, 17, and 22 Charles II.; the first of these imposed ruinous fines, imprisonment, and death, upon all persons above sixteen years of age, who attended Divine service where the Liturgy, the compulsive use of which had proved an awful curse and scourge to the kingdom, was not read. The second ordained that no nonconformist minister should live within five miles of any town. Bunyan did *inhabit* and *live* in Bedford by compulsion, but he was not proceeded against, although it would have been as just as was the conduct of the Recorder of London on the trial of Penn, for holding a conventicle; for he ordered an officer of the court to put Penn's hat on his head, and then fined Penn for having it on!! The third of these Acts was to suppress all meetings for worship among the nonconformists; these were passed in 1665, 1666, and 1671, and in a short time made the frightful desolations to which we have before referred; so that it appears as if the First Part was written before 1666 or 1667, when these abominable laws were enforced, and the Second Part after their effects had been seen and felt. That these horrid laws were obtained and put in force by the clergy, urged on by the bishops, we have melancholy proof. Even all publicans attending any conventicle, had their licenses taken from them.[1] In the diocese of Salisbury, not one dissenting meeting was left. On October 11, 1666, an order was issued, that in Scotland all leases and rents should be void as to those who did not attend the parish church. Any person holding a conventicle was fined five thousand marks; and at length the King ordered military execution in that kingdom upon all nonconformists, without process or conviction.[2] The result of the severe sufferings of our Scottish forefathers in the faith, was the exemption of their posterity from the use of the detested book. The saints of those days comforted one another with a proverb:—'It is better that the body should die to this world by the lions without, than that body and soul should die eternally by our lusts within.' Interference with the education of the children of dissenters was under the 14 Charles II., which enacts, 'That no person shall teach any children, whether in a private family or in a school, unless licensed by his diocesan, and all were to be taught according to the *Book of Common Prayer*,' or ruinous fines and imprisonments were enforced. Thus the Slough of Despond became more foul; the spring of water became muddy; the lions so thinned the number of pilgrims that the grass grew upon the road, and the monster was very rampant. He who feels no indignation when listening to such enormous crimes perpetrated by wicked laws, has the despicable spirit of a slave. Nothing but the voice of the Saviour commanding us to forgive his and our enemies, could prevent us leading our children to the altar of our God to swear eternal enmity against a system founded on tyranny, and producing as its effects all the abominations of desolation.

There is great reason to suppose that the man in the iron cage, at the Interpreter's house, alludes to an apostate, one John Child. He had been a Baptist minister, and was born at Bedford in 1638. It may have been to him that Burroughs refers in his account of a disputation which he and some Quakers had in Bedford Church with John Bunion, and one Fen, and J. Child, Nov. 23, 1656. They, as Burroughs says, laid down, 'That very God and the everlasting Father died on the cross as man.

[1] *See* Harris's *Life of Charles* II., vol. ii. p. 106, &c.
[2] Ibid. p. 120.

That the Word that was in the beginning was crucified. That justification is without respect to obedience. That there is a light which conviceth of sin, besides the light of Christ. That there is no saving knowledge, but comes from without from heaven.'[1] John Child was then only eighteen years of age, and he appears to have been an intimate friend of Bunyan's, so that when his 'Vindication of Gospel Truths' was published, John Child united in a recommendatory preface—this was in 1657. From a dread of persecution he conformed to the Church of England, and he may be the person referred to in Bunyan's 'Defence of Justification,' who said, 'If the devil should preach, I would hear him, before I would suffer persecution; as a brave fellow which I could name, in his rant, was pleased to declare.' This poor wretch afterwards became terrified with awful compunctions of conscience. He was visited by Mr. Keach, Mr. Collins, and a Mr. B. (probably Bunyan.) When pressed to return to the fold of Christ, he said, 'If ever I am taken at a meeting, they will have no mercy on me, and triumph, *This is the man that made his recantation;* and then ruin me to all intents and purposes, and I cannot bear the thought of a cross nor a prison. I had a fancy, the other morning, that the sheriff's officers were coming to seize all that I had.' His cries were awful. '*I shall go to hell; I am broken in judgment: when I think to pray, either I have a flushing in my face, as if it were in a flame, or I am dumb and cannot speak.*' In a fit of desperation he destroyed himself on the 15th October 1684. This was one of the innumerable unholy triumphs of the state in its interference with religion.[2]

Christian's sleeping in the arbour, as well as the emblem of the muck-rake seen in the Interpreter's house, is illustrated by Quarles in his *Emblems*—

> 'Well, sleep thy fill, and take thy soft reposes;
> But know, withal, sweet tastes have sour closes;
> And he repents in thorns, that sleeps in beds of roses.'[3]

And on an avaricious muck-rake—

> 'The vulture of insatiate minds
> Still wants, and wanting seeks, and seeking finds
> New fuel to increase her rav'nous fire.'[4]

The warning giving by Evangelist to the pilgrims, that persecution awaited them, might have been drawn from the affectionately faithful conduct of Mr. Gifford, Bunyan's pastor, in encouraging him to preach in the villages at the risk of imprisonment, and even of death.

The trial at Vanity Fair is an almost unconscious operation of quiet but keen satire upon the trials which took place at the time, sanctioned by all the formalities of law: 'they brought them forth to their trial *in order* to their condemnation.' 'The imaginary trial of Faithful, before a jury composed of personified vices, was just and merciful, when compared with the real trial of Lady Alice Lisle before that tribunal where all the vices sat in the person of Jefferies.'[5]

This is one of the most remarkable passages in the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' It is impossible to doubt that Bunyan intended to satirize the mode in which state trials were conducted under Charles II. The license given to witnesses for the prosecution, the shameless partiality and ferocious insolence of the judge, the precipitancy and the blind rancour of the jury, remind us of those odious mummeries which, from the Restoration to the Revolution, were merely forms preliminary to hanging, drawing, and quartering. Lord Hate-good performs the office of counsel for the prisoners, as well as Seroggs himself could have performed it. No one who knows the state trials can be at a loss for parallel cases. Indeed, write what Bunyan would, the baseness and cruelty of the lawyers of those times 'sinned up to it still,' and even went beyond it.

> '*Judge.* Thou runagate, heretic, and traitor, hast thou heard what these honest gentlemen have witnessed against thee?
>
> '*Faithful.* May I speak a few words in my own defence?
>
> '*Judge.* Sirrah, sirrah! thou deservest to live no longer, but to be slain immediately upon the place; yet, that all men may see our gentleness to thee, let us hear what thou, vile runagate, hast to say.'

Had Bunyan possessed lands, or wealth, to have excited the cupidity of the lawyers or informers, he would not have escaped hanging for so faithful a picture of Judge Jefferies.

Every dissenter should read the trial of William Penn and William Mead, which took place in August 1670.[6] They were indicted for preaching in Gracechurch Street, the police and military having taken possession of the Friends' Meeting-house there. The jury refused to find Mead guilty, when the judge addressed them—'Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the court will accept; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco. You shall not thus think to abuse the court; we will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it.' They requested an essential accommodation, but it was peremptorily denied. Having been locked up all night, on the following morning, when the court was opened, the jury again persisted in finding Mead not guilty; and the foreman said, 'We have agreed according to our consciences.' The Lord-mayor replied, 'That conscience of yours would cut my throat;' he

[1] Burroughs's *Works*, folio, p. 305.
[2] *Relation of the Life and Death of John Child*, 1734.
[3] Book i.—vii. [4] Book ii.—ii.
[5] *Edinburgh Review*, December 1831.
[6] *State Trials;* and also published at the time, price 2*d*.

answered, 'No, my Lord, it never shall;' when the Lord-mayor said, 'But I will cut yours so soon as I can.' Again they were locked up until the evening; they then kept to their verdict, when the Lord-mayor threatened to cut the foreman's nose. Penn said, 'It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced,' when the Mayor cried out, 'Stop his mouth; jailer, bring fetters, and stake him to the ground.' Penn replied calmly, 'Do your pleasure; I matter not your fetters:' and the recorder thus addressed the jury, 'I say you shall go together, and bring in another verdict, or you shall starve.' A second night they were locked up without food or accommodation. On the third morning these true-born Englishmen again brought in their verdict NOT GUILTY, and for this the jury were sent as prisoners to Newgate!!! Their names were, Thomas Veer, Edward Bushell, John Hammond, Henry Henley, Henry Michel, John Brightman, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Baily, William Lever, James Damask, and Wil Plumsted —names that ought to be printed in gold, and exhibited in the house of every nonconformist, and sculptured in marble to ornament our new House of Commons. The effects of persecution for refusing to obey man when he usurped the throne of God, hastened an approaching era. England shuddered; dissenters increased; and eventually the King saved his contemptible head by the quickness of his heels. Toleration succeeded persecution, and it is now time that freedom should take the place of toleration, and the liberties of Englishmen be freed from the polluted touch of any hierarchy.

The difference between the time when the First Part of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' was written, and the Second printed, appears very strikingly in the state of the town of Vanity. 'In those days we were afraid to walk the streets, but *now* we can show our heads. *Then* the name of a professor was odious, *now*, specially in some parts of our town, religion is counted honourable.'

The surprising difference between *then* and *now* can only be accounted for by the Declaration for liberty of conscience made in 1672, while the author was in prison, proving by strong circumstantial evidence that the First Part was written before 1672, the Second having been written before 1684, and even then the nonconformist ministers were called 'kidnappers;'[1] and very soon after this, persecution again lifted up her accursed head.

How keenly does Christian unravel the subtleties of By-ends and his company! Bunyan was awfully but justly severe against hypocrisy upon such as named the name of Christ, and did not depart from iniquity. In his 'Holy Life, the Beauty of Christianity,' he thus addresses such characters: 'Christ calls them hypocrites, whited walls, painted sepulchres, fools, and blind. This is the man that hath the breath of a dragon; he poisons the air round about him. This is the man that slays his children, his kinsmen, his friend, and himself; that offends his little ones. Oh! the millstone that God will shortly hang about your neck, when the time is come that you must be drowned in the sea and deluge of God's wrath.'[2]

When By-ends would have joined the Pilgrim's company, Christian was decided: 'Not a step further, unless you will own religion in his rags as well as when in his silver slippers, and stand by him, too, when bound in irons.' A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*[3] very justly says—

'The town of Bedford probably contained more than one politician, who, after contriving to raise an estate by seeking the Lord during the reign of the saints, contrived to keep what he had got by persecuting the saints during the reign of the strumpets.'

Christian having admirably triumphed over these enemies and over Demas, becomes confident, and not only involves himself, but leads his companion into great trouble, by leaving the strait but rough road, and thus falling into the hands of a fearful giant. While in the dungeon, and suffering under awful doubts, Bunyan aptly introduces the subject of suicide. This dialogue upon self-murder, between Christian and Hopeful in Doubting Castle, might have been intended as an antidote to Dr. Donne's singular treatise to prove 'that self-homicide is not so naturally sin, that it may never be otherwise.' So singular a thesis by a learned man and a dignitary of the Church, must have made a deep impression upon the public. It was published by authority in 1644. In his preface, the learned Doctor says, 'Whether it be because I had my first breeding and conversation with men of a suppressed and afflicted religion, accustomed to the despite of death, or from other causes; whensoever any affliction assails me, methinks I have *the keys of the prison* in my own hand, and no remedy presents itself so soon to my heart as mine own sword. Often meditation of this hath won me to a charitable interpretation of their action who die so;' and his conclusion is,[4] 'that self-homicide may be free, not only from enormous degrees of sin, but from all.' The whole work displays great learning and extreme subtlety; I doubt much whether St. Thomas Aquinas could have argued so absurdly wicked a proposition better; and against such an adversary Bunyan appears in the person of Hopeful, and in a few words dissipates all the mist of his subtleties, and exposes the utter peril and destruction that must follow so awful a sin as self-murder. The dignitary of the Church was taught

[1] Marginal note to Second Part of the 'Pilgrim.'

[2] See vol. ii. p. 530.

[3] December 1831.

[4] Donne's *Thesis*, p. 26.

by schoolmen a difference between sins which a simple Christian could not have conceived. Dr. Donne quotes the penitential canons which inflict a greater penance upon one who kills his wife, than upon one who kills his mother; 'not that the fault is greater, but that, otherwise, *more* would commit it.'[3] Our pious Pilgrim, taught by the Holy Spirit, abhors *all* sin as bringing the curse of the law upon the sinner, and requiring the blood of atonement to cleanse its stain.

The view of those who fell under despair, as seen from the Delectable Mountains, is exactly in accordance with the experience narrated in the 'Grace Abounding,' No. 186. 'O the unthought-of imaginations, frights, fears, and terrors, that are affected by a thorough application of guilt, yielded to desperation! this is the man that hath his dwelling among the tombs with the dead.' Compare this with the Pilgrim's feelings in Doubting Castle, and their view from the Delectable Mountains.

Bunyan was by nature a philosopher; he knew the devices of Satan, and warns the professor of his danger of backsliding. The conversation upon this subject between the pilgrims, opens the depths of the human heart, and the subtleties of Satan. One Temporary represents those professors who return to the world; he had wept under a sense of sin; had set out on pilgrimage, but was perverted by Save-self. Christian had a narrow escape from Worldly-wiseman, but Temporary was lost. He warns the pilgrim of one great device of the enemy in his treatise of 'A Holy Life.' 'Take heed, professor, of those sins which Satan finds most suitable to your temper and constitution;' these, as the little end of the wedge, enter with ease, and so make way for those that come after, with which Satan knows he can rend the soul in pieces.

In the conversation with Ignorance, Bunyan speaks the sentiments, but not in the language of Arthur Dent, when, in the *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, he says—

'You measure yourselves by yourselves, and by others; which is a false mete-wand. For you seem to lie straight, so long as you are measured by yourselves and by others; but lay the rule of God's Word unto you, and then you lie altogether crooked.'

At length Christian and Hopeful arrive at the river which has no bridge; they cross in safety, and ascend to blessedness, which 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.' We see them enter, and are ready to exclaim—

'Celestial visions—Then the wondrous story,
Of *Bunyan's Pilgrims* seem'd a tale most true;
How he beheld their entrance into glory,
And saw them pass the pearly portal through;
Catching, meanwhile, a beatific view
Of that bright city, shining like the sun
Whose glittering streets appear'd of golden hue,
Where spirits of the just their conflicts done,
Walk'd in white robes, with palms, and crowned every one.'[4]

After having accompanied the Pilgrim and his friend Hopeful to the gates of the Celestial City, and longed to enter with him into the realms of bliss, we naturally revert to his widow and orphans, and with renewed delight do we find the truth of the promise: 'Thy Maker is thy husband,' 'a father to the fatherless.' We unite heart and soul with the amiable family at the Interpreter's house, who 'leaped for joy' when they arrived. And on reaching the Palace Beautiful, 'O what a noise for gladness was there within, when the Damsel did but drop that word out of her mouth—Christiana and her boys have come on pilgrimage!' Having been the road before, we feel renewed pleasure at every step, and richly enjoy our new companions; for the inexhaustible treasures of Bunyan's mind furnishes us with new pleasures every step of the way.

Bunyan's views of church-fellowship show his heavenly-mindedness, and happy would it be for the church if all its members were deeply imbued with these peaceful, lovely principles; he thus expresses them:

'Christians are like the several FLOWERS in a garden, that have upon each of them the Dew of Heaven, which being shaken with the wind, they let fall their dew at each other's roots, whereby they are jointly nourished, and become nourishers of one another. Also where the Gardiner has set them, there they stand, and quarrel not with one another. For Christians to commune savourly of God's matters one with another, it is as if they opened to each other's nostrils Boxes of Perfumes.[1] Saith Paul to the Church at Rome: *I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end you may be established;* that is, *that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me.*' Rom. i. 11, 12.

The character of Mercy is lovely throughout the whole journey; but there is a circumstance in her courtship which may not be generally understood. It is where she refers to the conduct of her brother-in-law to her sister Bountiful—a method of separating man and wife at all times perfectly illegal, and happily at present unknown: 'Because my sister was resolved to do as she begun, that is, to show kindness to the poor, therefore her husband first cried her down at the cross, and then turned her out of his doors.' This is a summary mode of divorce, not mentioned in any work on vulgar customs or popular antiquities. My kind friend, the Rev. J. Jukes, the pastor of the church at Bedford, informs me, 'That the practice of crying a wife at

[1] Page 28.

[2] Barton's *Minor Poems*, p. 75. 1824, fcp. 8vo.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 570; Treatise on 'Christian Behaviour;' see also the 'Pilgrim,' Part II., of the garden in the Interpreter's house.

the market-cross seems to have prevailed in Bedfordshire almost to the present time, and to have been merely a mode of advertisement to the public, that the husband would not pay the debts of his wife, contracted subsequent to the time when it occurred.'

The character of Mr. Brisk is wittily drawn in Bunyan's Emblems:—

—'Candles that do blink within the socket,
And saints whose eyes are always in their pocket,
Are much alike; such candles make us fumble;
And at such saints, good men and bad do stumble.'

Bunyan enjoyed the beauties of nature, especially the singing of birds; thus when Christiana leaves the Palace Beautiful, the songs of the birds are reduced to poetry, to comfort the pilgrims. A bird furnished him with one of his Divine Emblems. It is upon the lark:—

'This pretty bird, oh! how she flies and sings
But could she do so if she had not wings?
Her wings bespeak my faith, her songs my peace;
When I believe and sing, my doubtings cease.'

Mercy longs for that mirror which flatters not, and the shepherds give her a Bible. Modern Christians may wonder that she had not previously furnished herself with one; doubtless she had the use of one, and all her pocket-money went to relieve the distresses of the poor of Christ's flock. Think of the thousands of pious men and women incarcerated in dungeons, because they loved Christ, and dared not violate conscience. What a charge upon those saints who possessed the means of rendering them assistance! The revenues of the Church by law established were never used for the distribution of Bibles. The Church had obtained a most enormous and injurious privilege, for the sole printing of Bibles in all languages, to withhold altogether, or give a supply as they chose. The natural consequence of this was, a high price for books printed on bad paper, and miserably incorrect. Of late years, part of the wealth she derived from her monopoly in printing incorrect Bibles has been wrung from her, and the Word of life now flows all pure as a mighty river, to refresh the earth. All honour be paid to those who fought that battle, and obtained that important victory. In Bunyan's time, the Church allowed it only 'in a niggard stream, and that polluted.' Herbert has well expressed the value of the mirror which Mercy longed for:—

'The Bible is the looking-glass of souls, wherein
All men may see
Whether they be
Still as by nature they are, deformed with sin;
Or in a better case,
As new adorned with grace.'[1]

[1] Herbert's *Synagogue*, p. 1.

And he has thus shown the value of its sacred pages, to guide the benighted travellers: 'Great-heart struck a light, and took a view of his book or map.'

'The Bible! That's the book. The book indeed,
The book of books!
On which who looks,
As he should do aright, shall never need
Wish for a better light
To guide him in the night.'[2]

The Christian reader can scarcely know, after having read the whole volume, which gave the greatest enjoyment—whether travelling in company with Christian and his bosom friend, or the delightful feelings excited by witnessing the matronly conduct of Christiana; seeing her modest friend, Mercy, a lovely companion, or the excellent picture of child-like behaviour in the four boys: retracing the road, every step becomes delightfully interesting, and the Valley of Humiliation the most lovely picture of the whole. The courtship of Mr. Brisk—the additions to their company—the weddings, and the happy close[3]—this, with the final perseverance of the whole party, leads every reader earnestly to wish for a Third Part, more adventures, more of the Divine goodness, more proofs that in this world, with all its bitterness, the gospel of Jesus Christ makes its possessors happy; yes, 'we have the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come.' But death, probably from the latent effects of his imprisonment, cut short the valuable life of the pilgrim's friend. And now, after long neglect, his country is teeming with his name as a national honour, and scarcely knows how sufficiently to show respect and admiration to his memory. Magnificent merchant-ships bear that name to oriental and transatlantic countries. Several thousand pounds have been subscribed to adorn the scene of his labours at Bedford, with a BUNYAN CHAPEL, capable of seating about twelve hundred worshippers—a more appropriate monument to his memory than a statue or a splendid tomb. The pens of our greatest literary men have been employed to exhibit his singular piety, his extraordinary talent, and his extensive usefulness, and his image is to be placed with those of Milton, Shakspeare, Hampden, and the giant men who have shed glory upon this nation, in the splendid new house in which the Commons of England are to hold their sittings.

HACKNEY, *Sept.* 1850. GEO. OFFOR.

[2] Herbert's *Synagogue*, p. 15.

[3] The last words of Christiana were—'I come, Lord, to be with thee, and bless thee.'

——'How my heart
Longs, JESUS, for thy coming! to set free,
Th' imprison'd pilgrim from frail flesh and sin,
From evil and from death, to wing her way,
Her joyful way, to liberty and thee!'

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

FROM

THIS WORLD TO THAT WHICH IS TO COME:

DELIVERED UNDER

THE SIMILITUDE OF A DREAM.

By JOHN BUNYAN.

This edition is prepared from a careful collation of the *twelve editions* published by the author during his life. It embraces the whole allegory in its native simplicity and beauty; illustrated with appropriate engravings; and VARIORUM NOTES; being extracts from Bunyan's various treatises which illustrate the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' together with the most striking and valuable Notes by Cheever, Macaulay, Newton, Mason, Scott, Ivimey, Burder, M'Nicoll, Dr. Dodd, and other Commentators, with a few by the Editor. To preserve the uniformity of the text, the *fac-similes* of all the original wood-cuts, with the verse under each, are placed together in the order in which they first appeared; presenting a short pictorial outline of the principal scenes of this spiritual pilgrimage, in those rude representations which so delighted and interested us in our childhood.

SYNOPSIS OF THE ALLEGORY BY THE EDITOR.

FIRST PART.

The Author's Apology, a poem. Graceless becomes a Christian; alarmed for the safety of his soul; is treated by his family as one diseased; guided by Evangelist; runs towards the Wicket-gate; is overtaken by Obstinate and Pliable; persuades Pliable to fly with him; fall into the Slough of Despond; Pliable returns; Christian, assisted by Help, goes on; meets Worldly-wiseman; complains of his burden, and is sent out of his way to the house of Legality; terrified at Mount Sinai; Evangelist appears and puts him again into the right road; arrives at the Wicket-gate; is admitted by Good-will, and sent to the Interpreter's house; is shown a picture; a dusty room; Passion and Patience; the fire of grace; the valiant man; the man in despair; the trembler; proceeds to the cross; loses his burden; angels give him a pardon, new clothing, a mark, and a roll; tries to alarm three men asleep, but in vain; meets Formalist and Hypocrisy; ascends the hill Difficulty; sleeps in the Arbour, and drops his roll; is awakened, and pursues his journey; meets Mistrust and Timorous; misses his roll; returns in grief, and recovers it; goes on to the Palace Beautiful; encouraged by Watchful, he passes the lions, and, after examination, is admitted *according to the laws of the house;* entertained; sleeps in the Chamber of Peace; sees the study; the armoury; the Delectable Mountains; enters the Valley of Humiliation; fights with and overcomes Apollyon; comes to the Valley of the Shadow of Death; terrified by the spies; assaulted with foes who care not for his sword; betakes himself to another weapon, 'All-prayer;' comes out of the Valley, and passes the old giants, Pagan and Pope; overtakes Faithful, a fellow-pilgrim; hold communion with each other; converse with Talkative; Evangelist forewarns them of persecution; enter Vanity Fair; are maltreated; imprisoned; Faithful is tried and burned; Christian pursues his journey, and is joined by Hopeful; By-ends wishes to join them; the sophistry of Hold-the-world detected; Demas tempts them to the hill Lucre, but they refuse; arrive at the River of the Water of Life; they go into By-path Meadow; follow Vain-Confidence; are taken by Giant Despair, and imprisoned in Doubting Castle; arguments for and against suicide; escape by the Key of Promise; erect a pillar to caution others; arrive at the Delectable Mountains; entertained by the shepherds; are shown Mounts Error, Caution, and Clear; see the Celestial Gate; receive some cautions; fall in attempting to convert Ignorance; robbery of Little-faith; meet the Flatterer, and are caught in his net; released by a Shining One; meet Atheist; adventures on the Enchanted Ground; means of watchfulness; enter the Land of Beulah; are sick with love; approach the River of Death; no bridge; full of fear and dread, but get safely over; received by angels; admitted to glory.

SECOND PART.

The Author's way of sending it forth, a poem. Sagacity narrates how Christiana, the widow of Christian, reflects upon her former conduct, feels her danger, and agrees with her children to follow her late husband in pilgrimage; is encouraged by a secret influence on her mind that she would be received; her neighbours dissuade her, but she prevails upon one of them, Mercy, to go with her; she is reviled by her acquaintance; get over the Slough of Despond, and are admitted at the Wicket-gate, and rejoice together. They are fed, washed, and sent on their way; the children eat the enemies' fruit; are assaulted, but rescued by the Reliever; arrive at the Interpreter's house; shown the significant rooms, the man who prefers a muck-rake to a celestial crown, the spider in the best room, the hen and chickens, butcher and sheep, the garden, the field, the robin; the Interpreter's proverbs; tree rotten at heart; they relate their experience; Mercy is sleepless for joy; they are washed, which enlivens and strengthens them; sealed and clothed; Great-heart guards them to the house called Beautiful; pass the sepulchre where Christian lost his burden; pardon by word *and* deed, an important distinction; see Simple, Sloth, and Presumption hanging; names of those that they had ruined; Hill Difficulty; By-ways, although stopped and cautioned, still entered; rest in the Arbour, but are afraid to sleep; still suffer by forgetfulness; punishment of Timorous and Mistrust; Giant Grim slain; pilgrims arrive at the Palace Beautiful; Great-heart returns; they are entertained for a month; the children catechised; Mr. Brisk makes love to Mercy; her sister Bountiful's unhappy marriage; Matthew sick with the enemies' fruit; is healed by Dr. Skill; his prescriptions; instructive questions; they are greatly strengthened; Mr. Great-heart sent to guard them; enter the Valley of Humiliation, and are pleased with it; shepherd boy's song; see the place where Christian and Apollyon fought; come into the Valley of the Shadow of Death; are greatly terrified; Giant Maul slain; find Old Honest, a pilgrim, sleeping; he joins them; story of Mr. Fearing; good men sometimes much in the dark; he fears no difficulties, only lest he should deceive himself; case of Self-will; a singular sect in the author's time; are entertained at the house of Gaius; pilgrims the descendants of the martyrs; Matthew and Mercy betrothed; riddles in verse; Slay-good, a giant, slain; Feeble-mind rescued; proves to be related to Mr. Fearing; Not-right killed with a thunder-bolt; Matthew and Mercy, and James and Phebe, married; Feeble-mind and Ready-to-halt join the pilgrims; profitable converse between Honest and Great-heart; Vanity Fair; the death of Faithful had planted a little colony of pilgrims there; pleasant communion; courage and an unspotted life essential to pilgrims; Samuel and Grace, and Joseph and Martha, married. The Monster [state religion] assaulted and wounded; believed by some that he will die of his wounds; pass the place where Faithful was martyred; the silver mine; Lot's wife; arrive at the river near the Delectable Mountains; By-path Meadow; slay Giant Despair, and Diffidence, his wife, and destroy Doubting Castle; release Mr. Despondency and Miss Much-afraid; Great-heart addresses the shepherds in rhyme; Mounts Marvel, Innocent, and Charity; see the hole in the side of the Hill; Mercy longs for a curious mirror; the pilgrims are adorned; story of Turn-away; find Valiant-for-truth wounded by thieves; account of his conversion; the question debated, that if we shall know ourselves, shall we know others in the future state? arguments used by relatives to prevent pilgrimage; the Enchanted Ground; an arbour called the Slothful's Friend; in doubt as to the way, the book or map is examined; Heedless and Bold in a fatal sleep; surprised by a solemn noise, they are led to Mr. Stand-fast in prayer, he having been assailed by Madam Bubble; arrive in the Land of Beulah, and are delighted with celestial visions on the borders of the River of Death; Christiana summoned, addresses her guide, and blesses her children and her fellow-pilgrims; her last words; Mr. Ready-to-halt passes the River; Feeble-mind is called, will make no will, and goes up to the Celestial City; Despondency and Much-afraid die singing; Honest dies singing *Grace reigns;* Valiant-for-truth and Stand-fast joyfully pass the river, leaving a solemn message to relatives. Joy in heaven on the arrival of the pilgrims. Christiana's children a blessing to the church.

Christian no sooner leaves the World but meets
Evangelist, who lovingly him greets
With tidings of another: and doth show
Him how to mount to that from this below.

This cut was introduced after the 10th edition. It is copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

When Christians unto carnal men give ear,
Out of their way they go, and pay for 't dear,
For master *Worldly-Wiseman* can but show
A Saint the way to Bondage and to woe.

Copied from the edition of 1692.

He that will enter in must first without
Stand knocking at the Gate, nor need he doubt
That is a knocker but to enter in;
For God can love him, and forgive his sin.

Copied from the edition of 1692.

Who's this? the Pilgrim. How! 'tis very true,
Old things are past away, all's become new.
Strange! he's another Man upon my word,
They be fine Feathers that make a fine Bird.

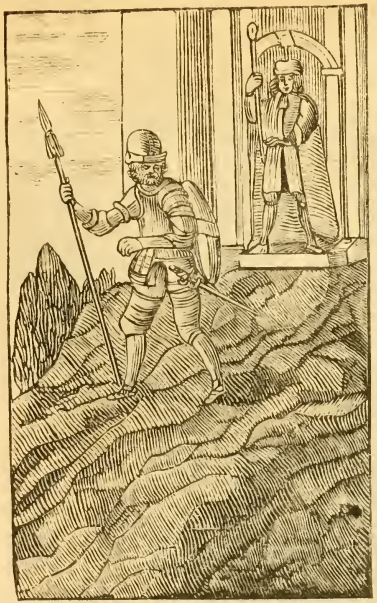
Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

Shall they who wrong begin yet rightly end?
Shall they at all have safety for their friend?
No, no, in head-strong manner they set out,
And headlong will they fall at last no doubt.

Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

Difficult is behind, Fear is before,
Though he's got on the Hill, the Lions roar;
A Christian man is never long at ease,
When one fright's gone, another doth him seize.

Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.



Whilst *Christian* is among his godly friends,
Their golden mouths make him sufficient 'mends
For all his griefs, and when they let him go,
He's clad with northern steel from top to toe.

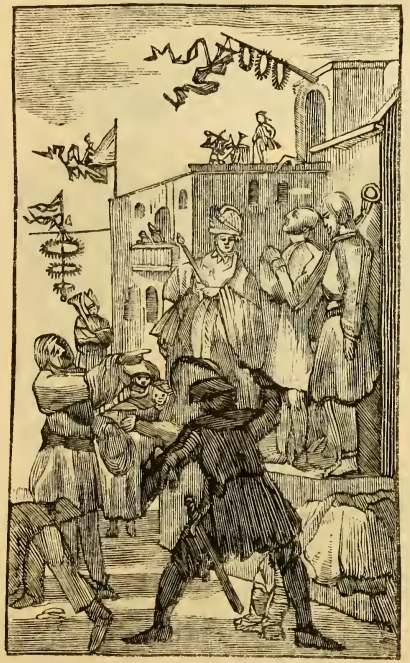
Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

A more unequal match can hardly be,
Christian must fight an Angel; but you see,
The valiant man by handling Sword and Shield,
Doth make him, tho' a Dragon, quit the field.

Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

Poor man! where art thou now? thy day is night.
Good man be not cast down, thou yet art right.
Thy way to Heaven lies by the gates of hell;
Cheer up, hold out, with thee it shall go well.

Copied from the edition of 1692.



Behold Vanity-Fair! the Pilgrims there
Are chain'd and stand beside:
Even so it was our Lord pass'd here,
And on Mount *Calvary* dy'd.

Copied from the third edition of the Second Part.

Now *Faithful* play the man, speak for thy God:
Fear not the wicked's malice nor their rod:
Speak boldly man, the truth is on thy side;
Die for it, and to life in triumph ride.

Copied from the 13th edition. 1692.

Brave *Faithful*, Bravely done in word and deed;
Judge, Witnesses, and Jury, have insteed
Of overcoming thee, but shewn their rage,
When they are dead, thou'lt live, from age to age.

Copied from the seventh edition, 1681.

The Pilgrims now, to gratifie the Flesh,
Will seek its ease; but Oh! how they a fresh
Do thereby plunge themselves new grieves into
Who seek to please the Flesh, themselves undo.

Copied from the ninth edition, 1683, in which this cut first appeared.

Mountains delectable they now ascend,
Where Shepherds be, which to them do commend
Alluring things, and things that cautions are,
Pilgrims are steddy kept by faith and fear.

Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

Now, now look how the holy Pilgrims ride,
Clouds are their Chariots, Angels are their Guide:
Who would not here for him all Hazards run,
That thus provides for his when this World's done!

Copied from the eighth edition, 1682.

In the 13th, and many subsequent editions, this cut was substituted by one representing the pilgrims in distress wading through the river; yet the above verse was continued under it!!

Behold here how the slothful are a signe
Hung up, cause holy ways they did decline
See here too how the Child doth play ye man,
And weak grow strong, when Great-heart *leads the Van.*

This cut is not in the late Mr. Wilson's copy of the first edition, but is in that of 1687. It is there placed immediately after the party left the Interpreter's house, as if to show the order in which they walked, but it evidently belongs to the time when they passed the three victims to idleness.

The doubting Castle be demolished
And the Gyant dispair hath lost his head
Sin can rebuild the Castle, make't remaine,
And make despair the Gyant live againe.

This was originally engraved on copper, but after 1687 it was replaced by the woodcut from which this is copied.

THE AUTHOR'S APOLOGY
FOR HIS BOOK.

When at the first I took my pen in hand,
Thus for to write, I did not understand
That I at all should make a little book
In such a mode: nay, I had undertook
To make another; which, when almost done,
Before I was aware, I this begun.

And thus it was: I writing of the way
And race of saints, in this our gospel-day,
Fell suddenly into an allegory
About their journey, and the way to glory,
In more than twenty things, which I set down;
This done, I twenty more had in my crown;
And they again began to multiply,
Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.
Nay, then, thought I, if that you breed so fast,
I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
Should prove *ad infinitum*, and eat out
The book that I already am about.

Well, so I did; but yet I did not think
To show to all the world my pen and ink
In such a mode; I only thought to make
I knew not what: nor did I undertake
Thereby to please my neighbour; no, not I;
I did it mine own self to gratify.

Neither did I but vacant seasons spend
In this my scribble; nor did I intend
But to divert myself in doing this,
From worser thoughts which make me do amiss.

Thus I set pen to paper with delight,
And quickly had my thoughts on black and white.
For having now my method by the end,
Still as I pull'd it came; and so I penn'd
It down; until it came at last to be,
For length and breadth, the bigness which you see.

Well, when I had thus put mine ends together,
I show'd them others, that I might see whether
They would condemn them, or them justify:
And some said, Let them live; some, Let them die.
Some said, John, print it; others said, Not so
Some said, It might do good; others said, No

Now was I in a strait, and did not see
Which was the best thing to be done by me:
At last I thought; since you are thus divided,
I print it will; and so the case decided.

For, thought I, some, I see, would have it done,
Though others in that channel do not run:
To prove then, who advised for the best,
Thus I thought fit to put it to the test.

I further thought, if now I did deny
Those that would have it, thus to gratify;
I did not know, but hinder them I might
Of that which would to them be great delight.

For those which were not for its coming forth,
I said to them, *Offend you I am loath;*
Yet since your brethren pleased with it be,
Forbear to judge, till you do further see.

If that thou wilt not read, let it alone;
Some love the meat, some love to pick the bone.
Yea, that I might them better palliate,[1]
I did too with them thus expostulate:

May I not write in such a style as this?
In such a method too, and yet not miss
My end—thy good? Why may it not be done?
Dark clouds bring waters, when the bright bring none.
Yea, dark or bright, if they their silver drops
Cause to descend, the earth, by yielding crops,
Gives praise to both, and carpeth not at either,
But treasures up the fruit they yield together:
Yea, so commixes both, that in her fruit
None can distinguish this from that; they suit
Her well when hungry: but if she be full,
She spews out both, and makes their blessings null

You see the ways the fisherman doth take
To catch the fish; what engines doth he make!
Behold! how he engageth all his wits;
Also his snares, lines, angles, hooks, and nets.
Yet fish there be, that neither hook nor line,
Nor snare, nor net, nor engine can make thine:
They must be grop'd for, and be tickled too,
Or they will not be catch'd, whate'er you do.

[1] In the first eight editions published by Bunyan, the word 'palliate' is used; but in the ninth (1684), and subsequently, it was altered to 'moderate.'—(Ed.)

How does the fowler seek to catch his game
By divers means! All which one cannot name:
His gun, his nets, his lime-twigs, light and bell:
He creeps, he goes, he stands; yea, who can tell
Of all his postures? Yet, there's none of these
Will make him master of what fowls he please.
Yea, he must pipe and whistle, to catch this,
Yet if he does so, that bird he will miss.

If that a pearl may in a toad's head dwell,
And may be found too in an oyster-shell;
If things that promise nothing, do contain
What better is than gold; who will disdain,
That have an inkling[1] of it, there to look,
That they may find it? Now my little book,
(Though void of all those paintings[2] that may make
It with this or the other man to take),
Is not without those things that do excel.
What do in brave,[3] but empty notions dwell.

Well, yet I am not fully satisfied,
That this your book will stand, when soundly tried.

Why, what's the matter? It is dark. What though?[4]
But it is feigned. What of that, I trow?
Some men by feigned words, as dark as mine,
Make truth to spangle, and its rays to shine!
But they want solidness: Speak, man, thy mind:
They drown the weak, metaphors make us blind.

Solidity, indeed, becomes the pen
Of him that writeth things divine to men:
But must I needs want solidness, because
By metaphors I speak? Were not God's laws,
His gospel-laws, in olden time held forth
By types, shadows, and metaphors? Yet loath
Will any sober man be to find fault
With them, lest he be found for to assault
The highest wisdom. No; he rather stoops,
And seeks to find out what by pins and loops;
By calves and sheep; by heifers and by rams;
By birds and herbs, and by the blood of lambs,
God speaketh to him. And happy is he
That finds the light and grace that in them be.

Be not too forward, therefore, to conclude
That I want solidness, that I am rude:
All things solid in show, not solid be;
All things in parables despise not we,
Lest things most hurtful, lightly we receive;
And things that good are, of our souls bereave.

My dark and cloudy words they do but hold
The truth, as cabinets enclose the gold.

The prophets used much by metaphors
To set forth truth: Yea, who so considers
Christ, his apostles too, shall plainly see,
That truths to this day in such mantles be.

Am I afraid to say, that Holy Writ,
Which, for its style and phrase, puts down all wit,
Is everywhere so full of all these things
(Dark figures, allegories), yet there springs
From that same book,[5] that lustre, and those rays
Of light, that turn our darkest night to days.

Come, let my carper to his life now look,
And find there darker lines than in my book
He findeth any. Yea, and let him know,
That in his best things there are worse lines too.

May we but stand before impartial men,
To his poor one I dare adventure ten;
That they will take my meaning in these lines
Far better than his lies in silver shrines.
Come, truth, although in swaddling clouts, I find,
Informs the judgment, rectifies the mind;
Pleases the understanding, makes the will
Submit; the memory, too, it doth fill
With what doth our imaginations please;
Likewise, it tends our troubles to appease.

Sound words, I know, Timothy is to use,
And old wives' fables he is to refuse;
But yet grave Paul him nowhere did forbid
The use of parables; in which lay hid
That gold, those pearls, and precious stones that were
Worth digging for, and that with greatest care.

Let me add one word more. O man of God!
Art thou offended? dost thou wish I had
Put forth my matter in another dress?
Or, that I had in things been more express?
Three things let me propound, then I submit
To those that are my betters (as is fit):—

1. I find not that I am denied the use
Of this, my method, so I no abuse
Put on the words, things, readers, or be rude
In handling figure or similitude,
In application; but, all that I may,
Seek the advance of truth, this or that way.
Denied, did I say? Nay, I have leave
(Example, too, and that from them that have

[1] 'Inkling;' intimation, slight knowledge.—(Ed.)

[2] The first and second editions of the Pilgrim's Progress had no cuts, not even the sleeping portrait.—(Ed.)

[3] 'Brave;' showy, ostentatious.—(Ed.)

[4] What though [it be dark]?—(Ed.)

[5] 'That same book' made a prison a far happier place than a palace without it. Wondrous book! happy is that soul which is enlightened to 'behold wondrous things out of God's law.' Ps. cxix. 18.—(Ed.)

God better pleased by their words or ways
Than any man that breatheth now-a-days)
Thus to express my mind, thus to declare
Things unto thee that excellentest are.

2. I find that men (as high as trees) will write
Dialogue-wise; yet no man doth them slight
For writing so; indeed, if they abuse
Truth, cursed be they, and the craft they use
To that intent; but yet let truth be free
To make her sallies upon thee and me,
Which way it pleases God. For who knows how,
Better than he that taught us first to plough,
To guide our mind and pens for his design?
And he makes base things usher in divine.

3. I find that Holy Writ, in many places,
Hath semblance with this method, where the cases
Do call for one thing to set forth another;
Use it I may, then, and yet nothing smother
Truth's golden beams; nay, by this method may
Make it cast forth its rays, as light as day.

And now, before I do put up my pen,
I'll show the profit of my book, and then
Commit both thee and it unto that hand
That pulls the strong down and makes weak ones stand.

This book, it chalketh out before thine eyes
The man that seeks the everlasting prize;
It shows you whence he comes, whither he goes,
What he leaves undone; also, what he does;
It also shows you how he runs and runs,
'Till he unto the gate of glory comes.

It shows, too, who set out for life amain,
As if the lasting crown they would attain;
Here, also, you may see the reason why
They lose their labour, and, like fools, do die.

This book will make a traveller of thee,
If by its counsel thou wilt ruled be;
It will direct thee to the Holy Land,
If thou wilt its directions understand;
Yea, it will make the slothful active be;
The blind, also, delightful things to see.[1]

Art thou for something rare and profitable?
Wouldest thou see a truth within a fable?
Art thou forgetful? Wouldest thou remember
From New Year's Day to the last of December?
Then read my fancies, they will stick like burs,
And may be to the helpless comforters.

This book is writ in such a dialect
As may the minds of listless men affect;
It seems a novelty, and yet contains
Nothing but sound and honest gospel strains.

Would'st thou divert thyself from melancholy?
Would'st thou be pleasant, yet be far from folly?
Would'st thou read riddles, and their explanation?
Or else be drowned in thy contemplation?
Dost thou love picking meat? or would'st thou see
A man i' th' clouds, and hear him speak to thee?
Would'st thou be in a dream, and yet not sleep?
Or, would'st thou in a moment laugh and weep?
Would'st thou lose thyself and catch no harm?
And find thyself again without a charm?
Would'st read thyself, and read thou know'st not what,
And yet know whether thou art bless'd or not
By reading the same lines? Oh then come hither,
And lay my book, thy head, and heart together.

JOHN BUNYAN.

[1] Many there have been to whom, by loss of sight, all this world has been shut up in darkness, but who have richly enjoyed a spiritual vision of God, of heaven, and of eternal bliss.—(ED.)

The following are the principal Works from which the Notes to this Edition of THE PILGRIM *have been selected:—*

The Pilgrim's Progress, Part the First. 12mo, 1776. The preface states, that 'an edition, containing some brief notes to illustrate the more difficult passages, has been long desired. An attempt of this kind is now submitted to the public.' This appears to be the first edition with notes. There is no indication of who the notes are by; but there can be little doubt but that they are from the pen of the Rev. J. Newton, the friend of Cowper. The Editor has four editions of this interesting volume—1776, 1782, 1789, and 1797.

The Pilgrim's Progress; both Parts, with Notes. By W. Mason. 8vo, 1778. In the preface, Mr. Mason says, 'I have often wished to see some explanatory notes upon certain passages in it. Having been solicited to undertake this, at a time when no one had attempted it, I have endeavoured, according to the ability which God has given me, to execute it.' This book was published in numbers, and the notes proved very acceptable. The subscribers requested that more frequent and longer notes should be given. Mr. Mason promises to comply with this request. The advertisement is dated 'Rotherhithe, March 8, 1776.'

The Pilgrim's Progress, with Notes. By A Bachelor of Arts of Oxford—J. B. 8vo. 1792.

The Pilgrim's Progress in blank verse. By J. S. Dodd, M.D. Dublin, 1795.

The Pilgrim's Progress, with a Key to the Allegory. Published by Heptinstall, 1796.

The Pilgrim's Progress, divided into Chapters. By the Rev. G. Burder, of Coventry. 12mo, 1797.

A Key to the Pilgrim's Progress. By Andronicus. 12mo, second edition, 1797.

The Pilgrim's Progress, with Notes. By the Rev. T. Scott. 8vo.

The Pilgrim's Progress versified, with short Notes. By G. Burder, 1804.

The Pilgrim's Progress, with Life. By M'Nicoll and Dr A. Clarke. 8vo, 1809.

Warr's *Course of Lectures, Illustrative of the Pilgrim's Progress.* 8vo, 1825.

The Pilgrim's Progress, with Historical and Practical Notes. By the Rev. J. Ivimey. 8vo. Oxford, 1824; London, 1829.

The Pilgrim's Progress, an Epic Poem. By C. C. V. G. 8vo. Parsonstown, 1844.

The Pilgrim's Progress, an Epic Poem, Two Parts. Published by Bagster, 1845.

Dr. Cheever's [exceedingly interesting] *Lectures.* 1846.

The extracts from Bunyan's other works, which so admirably illustrate his *Pilgrim's Progress*, have a reference to this new edition.

BEDFORD JAIL AND GATEHOUSE.

Situated over the middle of the river Ouse. In this damp den John Bunyan wrote the wondrous DREAM. The View was taken in 1761. The Gatehouse was pulled down in 1765. The prison, in which the sleeping apartments are called by Mr. Howard two dungeons, stood until that great Philanthropist unveiled its gloomy wretchedness in 1789, soon after which it was pulled down.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS;

IN THE

SIMILITUDE OF A DREAM.

PART I.

As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a den;[1] and I laid me down in that place to sleep: and as I slept, I dreamed a dream. I dreamed, and, behold, 'I saw a man clothed with rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back,' Is. lxiv. 6. Lu. xiv. 33. Ps. xxxviii. 4. Hab. ii. 2. Ac. xvi. 31. I looked, and saw him open the book,[2] and read therein; and as he read, he wept and trembled; and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry, saying, 'What shall I do?' Ac. ii. 37.[3]

The Jail.

His Outcry.

In this plight, therefore, he went home, and refrained himself as long as he could, that his wife and children should not perceive his distress; but he could not be silent long, because that his trouble increased. Wherefore at length he brake his mind to his wife and children; and thus he began to talk to them: 'O my dear wife,' said he, 'and you, the children of my bowels, I, your dear friend, am in myself undone, by reason of a burden that lieth hard upon me; moreover, I am for certain informed that this our city will be burned with fire from heaven; in which fearful overthrow, both myself, with thee, my wife, and you, my sweet babes, shall miserably come to ruin, except (the which yet I see not) some way of escape can be found, whereby we may be delivered.' At this, his relations were sore amazed; not for that they believed that what he had said to them was true, but because they thought that some frenzy distemper had got into his head;[4] therefore, it drawing towards night, and they hoping that sleep might settle his brains, with all haste they got him to bed. But the night was as troublesome to him as the day; wherefore, instead of sleeping, he spent it in sighs and tears. So when the morning was come, they would know how he did; he told them, worse and worse; he also set to talking to them again, but they began to be hardened. They also thought to drive away his distemper by harsh and surly carriages to him. Sometimes they would deride, sometimes they would chide, and sometimes they would quite neglect him. Wherefore he began to retire himself to his chamber to pray for, and pity them, and also to condole his own misery. He would also walk solitarily in the fields, sometimes reading, and sometimes praying; and thus for some days he spent his time.[5]

The World.

He knows no way of escape as yet.

Carnal physic for a sick soul.

Now I saw upon a time, when he was walking in the fields, that he was, as he was wont, reading in his book, and greatly distressed in his mind; and as he read, he burst out, as he had done before, crying, 'What shall I do to be saved?' Ac. xvi. 30, 31.

I saw also that he looked this way and that way, as if he would run; yet he stood still, because, as

[1] The jail. Mr. Bunyan wrote this precious book in Bedford jail, where he was imprisoned twelve years for preaching the gospel. His bonds were those of the gospel; and, like Peter, he could sleep soundly in prison. Blessed be God for even the toleration and religious privileges we now enjoy in consequence of it. Our author, thus prevented from preaching, turned his thoughts to writing; and, during his confinement, composed 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' and many other useful works. Thus the Lord causes 'the wrath of man to praise him.' The servants of Christ, when restrained by wicked laws from publishing the word of life from the pulpit, have become more abundantly useful by their writings. — (G. Burder.)

[2] You will observe what honour, from his Pilgrim's first setting out, Bunyan puts upon the Word of God. He would give to no inferior instrumentality, not even to one of God's providences, the business of awakening his Pilgrim to a sense of his danger; but he places him before us reading his book, awakened by the Word. And he makes the first efficacious motive in the mind of this Pilgrim a salutary fear of the terrors of that Word, a sense of the wrath to come, beneath the burden of sin upon his soul.—(Cheever, Lect. vi.) The alarms of such an awakened soul are very different from the terrors of superstitious ignorance, which, arising from fright or danger, are easily quitted, with the silly mummeries of priestcraft.—(Andronicus.)

[3] 'What *shall* I do?' This is his first exclamation. He has not as yet advanced so far as to say, What shall I do to be *saved?*—(Cheever, Lect. vi.)

[4] Sometimes I have been so loaden with my sins, that I could not tell where to rest, nor what to do; yea, at such times, I thought it would have taken away my senses.—(Bunyan's *Law and Grace.*)

[5] See the picture of a true penitent; a deep sense of danger, and solemn concern for his immortal soul, and for his wife and children; clothed with rags; his face turned from his house; studying the Bible with intense interest; a great burden on his back; praying; 'the remembrance of his sins is grievous, and the burden of them is intolerable.' Reader, have you felt this?—(Dr. Dodd.)

I perceived, he could not tell which way to go.[1] I looked then, and saw a man named Evangelist coming to him, who asked, 'Wherefore dost thou cry?'

He answered, Sir, I perceive, by the book in my hand, that I am condemned to die, and after that to come to judgment, He. ix. 27; and I find that I am not willing (Job xvi. 21, 22) to do the first, nor able (Eze. xxii. 14) to do the second.

Then said Evangelist, Why not willing to die, since this life is attended with so many evils? The man answered, Because I fear that this burden that is upon my back will sink me lower than the grave; and I shall fall into Tophet. Is. xxx. 33. And, Sir, if I be not fit to go to prison, I am not fit, I am sure, to go to judgment, and from thence to execution; and the thoughts of these things make me cry.

Then said Evangelist, If this be thy condition, why standest thou still? He answered, Because I know not whither to go. Then he gave him a parchment roll, and there was written within, 'Fly from the wrath to come.' Mat. iii. 7.

Conviction of the necessity of flying.

The man therefore, read it, and looking upon Evangelist very carefully, said, Whither must I fly? Then said Evangelist, pointing with his finger over a very wide field, Do you see yonder wicket gate? Mat. vii. 13. The man said, No. Then said the other, Do you see yonder shining light? Ps. cxix. 105. 2 Pe. i. 19. He said, I think I do. Then said Evangelist, Keep that light in your eye, and go up directly thereto, so shalt thou see the gate; at which, when thou knockest, it shall be told thee what thou shalt do.[2] So I saw in my dream that the man began to run. Now, he had not ran far from his own door, but his wife and children perceiving it, began to cry after him to return, Lu. xiv. 26; but the man put his fingers in his ears, and ran on, crying, Life! life! Eternal life! So he looked not behind him, Ge xix. 17, but fled towards the middle of the plain.[3]

Christ and the way to him cannot be found without the Word.

The neighbours also came out to see him run, and as he ran, some mocked, others threatened, and some cried after him to return; and among those that did so, there were two that were resolved to fetch him back by force.

They that fly from the wrath to come, are a gazing-stock to the world.

Je. xx. 10. The name of the one was Obstinate, and the name of the other Pliable.[4] Now by this time, the man was got a good distance from them; but, however, they were resolved to pursue him; which they did, and in a little time they overtook him. Then said the man, Neighbours, wherefore are ye come? They said, To persuade you to go back with us. But he said, That can by no means be. You dwell, said he, in the City of Destruction, the place also where I was born; I see it to be so; and dying there, sooner or later, you will sink lower than the grave, into a place that burns with fire and brimstone. Be content, good neighbours, and go along with me.

Obstinate and Pliable follow him.

What, said Obstinate, and leave our friends and our comforts behind us?[5]

Yes, said Christian, for that was his name, because that all 'which you shall forsake,' 2 Co. iv. 18, is not worthy to be compared with a little of that which I am seeking to enjoy; and if you will go along with me, and hold it, you shall fare as I myself, for there, where I go, is enough and to spare. Lu. xv. 17. Come away, and prove my words.

Obst. What are the things you seek, since you leave all the world to find them?

Chr. I seek an 'inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away,' 1 Pe. i. 4, and it is laid up in heaven, He. xi. 16, and safe there, to be bestowed, at the time appointed, on them that diligently seek it. Read it so, if you will, in my book.

Obst. Tush, said Obstinate, away with your book; will you go back with us, or no?

Chr. No, not I, saith the other; because I have laid my hand to the plough. Lu. ix. 62.

Obst. Come, then, neighbour Pliable, let us turn again, and go home without him; there is a

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[1] Reader! be persuaded to pause a moment, and ask yourself the question—What is my case? Did I ever feel a deep concern about my soul? Did I ever see my danger as a sinner? Did I ever exclaim, in the agony of my spirit, 'What must I do to be saved?' Be assured that real godliness begins in feeling the burden of sin.—(G. Burder.)

[2] The advice is to fly at once to Christ, and that he will then be told what to do. He is not told to get rid of his burden first, by reforming his life, and then to apply for further instruction to the Saviour.—(J. B.)

[3] When a sinner begins to fly from destruction, carnal relations will strive to prevent him; but the sinner who is in earnest for salvation, will be deaf to invitations to go back. The more he is solicited by them, the faster he will fly from them.—(Mason.)

[4] The names of these two neighbours are admirably characteristic, not confined to any age or place, but always accompany the young convert to godliness, as the shadow does the substance. Christian is firm, decided, bold, and sanguine. Obstinate is profane, scornful, self-sufficient, and contemns God's Word. Pliable is yielding, and easily induced to engage in things of which he understands neither the nature nor the consequences.—(T. Scott.)

[5] Objection. If I would run as you would have me, then I must run from all my friends, for none of them are running that way. Answ. And if thou dost, thou wilt run into the bosom of Christ, and of God. And what harm will that do thee? Objec. But if I run this way, I must run from all my sins. Answ. That's true indeed; yet if thou dost not, thou wilt run into hell-fire. Objec. But I shall be mocked of all my neighbours. Answ. But if thou lose the benefit of heaven, God will mock at thy calamity. Objec. But, surely, I may begin this, time enough a year or two hence. Answ. Hast thou any lease of thy life? Did ever God tell thee thou shalt live half a year or two months longer? Art thou a wise man to let thy immortal soul hang over hell by a thread of uncertain time, which may soon be cut asunder by death?—(Bunyan's *Preface to the Heavenly Footman.*)

company of these crazed-headed coxcombs, that when they take a fancy by the end, are wiser in their own eyes than seven men that can render a reason. Pr. xxvi. 16.

Pli. Then said Pliable, Do not revile; if what the good Christian says is true, the things he looks after are better than ours; my heart inclines to go with my neighbour.

Obst. What! more fools still? Be ruled by me, and go back; who knows whither such a brain-sick fellow will lead you? Go back, go back, and be wise.

Chr. Nay, but do thou come with thy neighbour Pliable: there are such things to be had which I spoke of, and many more glories besides; if you believe not me, read here in this book, and for the truth of what is expressed therein, behold, all is confirmed by the blood of him that made it. He. xiii. 20, 21; ix. 17–21.

Christian and Obstinate pull for Pliable's soul.

Pli. Well, neighbour Obstinate, saith Pliable, I begin to come to a point; I intend to go along with this good man, and to cast in my lot with him. But, my good companion, do you know the way to this desired place?

Pliable contented to go with Christian.

Chr. I am directed by a man whose name is Evangelist, to speed me to a little gate that is before us, where we shall receive instructions about the way.

Pli. Come then, good neighbour, let us be going. Then they went both together.

Obst. And I will go back to my place, said Obstinate; I will be no companion of such misled fantastical fellows.

Obstinate goes railing back.

Now I saw in my dream, that when Obstinate was gone back, Christian and Pliable went talking over the plain; and thus they began their discourse.

Talk between Christian and Pliable.

Chr. Come, neighbour Pliable, how do you do? I am glad you are persuaded to go along with me; had even Obstinate himself but felt what I have felt, of the powers and terrors of what is yet unseen, he would not thus lightly have given us the back.

Pli. Come, neighbour Christian, since there is none but us two here, tell me now further, what the things are, and how to be enjoyed, whither we are going.

Chr. I can better conceive of them with my mind, than speak of them with my tongue; but yet since you are desirous to know, I will read of them in my book.

God's things unspeakable.

Pli. And do you think that the words of your book are certainly true?

Chr. Yes, verily, for it was made by him that cannot lie. Tit. i. 2.

Pli. Well said. What things are they?

Chr. There is an endless kingdom to be inhabited, and everlasting life to be given us, that we may inhabit that kingdom for ever. Is. xlv. 17. Jn. x. 27–29

Pli. Well said. And what else?

Chr. There are crowns of glory to be given us, and garments that will make us shine like the sun in the firmament of heaven! 2 Ti. iv. 8. Re. iii. 4. Mat. xiii. 43.

Pli. This is very pleasant. And what else?

Chr. There shall be no more crying, nor sorrow; for he that is owner of the place will wipe all tears from our eyes. Is. xxv. 8. Re. vii. 16, 17; xxi. 4.

Pli. And what company shall we have there?

Chr. There we shall be with seraphims, and cherubims, creatures that will dazzle your eyes to look on them. There, also, you shall meet with thousands and ten thousands that have gone before us to that place; none of them are hurtful, but loving and holy, every one walking in the sight of God, and standing in his presence with acceptance for ever; in a word, there we shall see the elders with their golden crowns; there we shall see the holy virgins with their golden harps; there we shall see men, that by the world were cut in pieces, burnt in flames, eaten of beasts, drowned in the seas, for the love that they bare to the Lord of the place; all well, and clothed with immortality as with a garment.[1] Is. vi. 2. 1 Th. iv. 16, 17. Re. vii. 17; iv. 4; xiv. 1–5. Jn. xii. 25. 2 Co. v. 2–5.

Pli. The hearing of this is enough to ravish one's heart; but are these things to be enjoyed? How shall we get to be sharers thereof?

Chr. The Lord, the governor of the country, hath recorded, that in this book, the substance of which is, if we be truly willing to have it, he will bestow it upon us freely. Is. lv. 1, 2, 12. Jn. vii. 37; vi. 37. Re. xxi. 6; xxii. 17.

Pli. Well, my good companion, glad am I to hear of these things; come on, let us mend our pace.[2]

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[1] It is interesting to compare this account of heaven with that which Bunyan gave in the Preface to his 'Sighs from Hell,' published twenty years before:—'O sinner, sinner, there are better things than hell to be had, and at a cheaper rate by the thousandth part than that. O there is no comparison; there is heaven, there is God, there is Christ, there is communion with an innumerable company of saints and angels.'—(Ed.)

[2] Here you have another volume of meaning in a single touch of the pencil. Pliable is one of those who are willing, or think they are willing, to have heaven, but without any sense of sin, or of the labour and self-denial necessary to enter heaven. But now his heart is momentarily fired with Christian's ravishing descriptions, and as he seems to have nothing to trouble his conscience, and no difficulties to overcome, the pace of an honest, thorough inquirer, the movement of a soul sensible of its distresses and its sins, and desiring comfort only in the way of healing and of holiness, seems much too slow for him. He is for entering heaven at once, going much faster than poor Christian can keep up with him. Then, said Christian, I cannot go so fast as I would, by reason of this burden that is on my back.—(Cheever.)

CHR. I cannot go so fast as I would, by reason of this burden that is on my back.

Now I saw in my dream, that, just as they had ended this talk, they drew near to a very miry slough that was in the midst of the plain; and they, being heedless, did both fall suddenly into the bog. The name of the slough was Despond.[1] Here, therefore, they wallowed for a time, being grievously bedaubed with the dirt; and Christian, because of the burden that was on his back, began to sink in the mire.

The Slough of Despond.

PLI. Then said Pliable, Ah! neighbour Christian, where are you now?

CHR. Truly, said Christian, I do not know.

PLI. At that Pliable began to be offended, and angrily said to his fellow, Is this the happiness you have told me all this while of? If we have such ill speed at our first setting out, what may we expect betwixt this and our journey's end? May I get out again with my life, you shall possess the brave country alone for me. And with that he gave a desperate struggle or two, and got out of the mire on that side of the slough which was next to his own house: so away he went, and Christian saw him no more.

It is not enough to be pliable.

Wherefore Christian was left to tumble in the Slough of Despond alone; but still he endeavoured to struggle to that side of the slough that was still further from his own house, and next to the wicket-gate; the which he did, but could not get out, because of the burden that was upon his back.[2] But I beheld in my dream, that a man came to him, whose name was Help, and asked him what he did there?

Christian, in trouble, seeks still to get further from his own house.

CHR. Sir, said Christian, I was bid go this way by a man called Evangelist, who directed me also to yonder gate, that I might escape the wrath to come. And as I was going thither, I fell in here.

HELP. But why did not you look for the steps?

The promises.

CHR. Fear followed me so hard, that I fled the next way, and fell in.[3]

HELP. Then said he, Give me thy hand; so he gave him his hand, and he drew him out, and set him upon sound ground, and bid him go on his way. PS. xl. 2.

Help lifts him out.

Then I stepped to him that plucked him out, and said, Sir, wherefore (since over this place is the way from the City of Destruction, to yonder gate) is it that this plat is not mended, that poor travellers might go thither with more security? And he said unto me, This miry slough is such a place as cannot be mended. It is the descent whither the scum and filth that attends conviction for sin, doth continually run, and therefore it is called the Slough of Despond: for still, as the sinner is awakened about his lost condition, there ariseth in his soul many fears, and doubts, and discouraging apprehensions, which all of them get together, and settle in this place. And this is the reason of the badness of this ground.

What makes the Slough of Despond.

It is not the pleasure of the King that this place should remain so bad, IS. XXXV. 3, 4; his labourers, also, have, by the directions of his Majesty's surveyors, been, for above these sixteen hundred years, employed about this patch of ground, if, perhaps, it might have been mended; yea, and to my knowledge, said he, here have been swallowed up at least twenty thousand cart-loads; yea, millions of wholesome instructions, that have, at all seasons, been brought from all places of the King's dominions, and they that can tell, say, they are the best materials to make good ground of the place, if so be it might have been mended; but it is the Slough of Despond still; and so will be when they have done what they can.[4]

True, there are, by the direction of the Lawgiver, certain good and substantial steps, placed even through the very midst of this slough; but at such time as this place doth much spew out its filth, as it doth against change of weather, these steps are hardly seen; or if they be, men, through the dizziness of their heads, step besides, and then they are bemired to purpose, notwithstanding the steps be there; but the ground is good, when they are once got in at the gate.[5] 1 SA. xii. 23.

The promises of forgiveness and acceptance to life by faith in Christ.

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[1] Satan casts the professor into the mire, to the reproach of religion, the shame of their brethren, the derision of the world, and the dishonour of God. He holds our hands while the world buffets us. He puts bears' skins upon us, and then sets the dogs at us. He bedaubeth us with his own foam, and then tempts us to believe that that bedaubing comes from ourselves.—(*Good News to the Vilest of Men*, vol. i. p. 69.)

[2] Guilt is not so much a wind and a tempest, as a load and burden. The devil, and sin, and the curse of the law, and death, are gotten upon the shoulders of this poor man, and are treading of him down, that he may sink into, and be swallowed up of, his miry place. Job xli. 30.—(Bunyan's *Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love*, vol. ii. p. 6.)

[3] In this Slough of Despond there were good and firm steps, sound promises to stand upon, a causeway, indeed, better than adamant, clear across the treacherous quagmires; but mark you, fear followed Christian so hard, that he fled the nearest way, and fell in, not stopping to look for the steps, or not thinking of them. Now this is often just the operation of fear; it sets the threatenings *against* the promises, when it ought simply to direct the soul *from* the threatenings *to* the promises. It is the object of the threatenings to make the promises shine, and to make the soul lay hold upon them, and that is the purpose and the tendency of a salutary fear of the Divine wrath on account of sin, to make the believer flee directly to the promises, and advance on them to Christ.—(Cheever.)

[4] Signifying that there is nothing but despondency and despair in the fallen nature of sinful man: the best that we can do, leaves us in the Slough of Despond, as to any hope in ourselves.—(Mason.)

[5] That is, the Lord Jesus Christ. We never find good ground, nor safe sounding, nor comfortable walking, till we

Pliable got home, and is visited of his neighbours.

Now I saw in my dream, that, by this time, Pliable was got home to his house again; so that his neighbours came to visit him; and some of them called him wise man for coming back, and some called him fool for hazarding himself with Christian; others, again, did mock at his cowardliness, saying, 'Surely, since you began to venture, I would not have been so base to have given out for a few difficulties.' So Pliable sat sneaking among them. But, at last, he got more confidence, and then they all turned their tales, and began to deride poor Christian behind his back. And thus much concerning Pliable.

His entertainment by them at his return.

Now as Christian was walking solitarily by himself,[1] he espied one afar off come crossing over the field to meet him; and their hap was to meet just as they were crossing the way of each other. The gentleman's name that met him was Mr. Worldly-wiseman; he dwelt in the town of Carnal Policy, a very great town, and also hard by from whence Christian came. This man, then, meeting with Christian, and having some inkling[2] of him, for Christian's setting forth from the City of Destruction was much noised abroad, not only in the town where he dwelt, but, also, it began to be the town-talk in some other places. Master Worldly-wiseman, therefore, having some guess of him, by beholding his laborious going, by observing his sighs and groans, and the like, began thus to enter into some talk with Christian.

Mr. Worldly-wiseman meets with Christian.

Talk betwixt Mr. Worldly-wiseman and Christian.

WORLD. How now, good fellow, whither away after this burdened manner?

CHR. A burdened manner, indeed, as ever, I think, poor creature had! And whereas you ask me, Whither away? I tell you, Sir, I am going to yonder wicket-gate before me; for there, as I am informed, I shall be put into a way to be rid of my heavy burden.

WORLD. Hast thou a wife and children?

CHR. Yes; but I am so laden with this burden, that I cannot take that pleasure in them as formerly; methinks I am as if I had none. 1 Co. vii. 29.

WORLD. Wilt thou hearken unto me if I give thee counsel?

CHR. If it be good, I will; for I stand in need of good counsel.

WORLD. I would advise thee, then, that thou with all speed get thyself rid of thy burden; for thou wilt never be settled in thy mind till then; nor canst thou enjoy the benefits of the blessing which God hath bestowed upon thee till then.

Mr. Worldly-wiseman's counsel to Christian.

CHR. That is that which I seek for, even to be rid of this heavy burden; but get it off myself, I cannot; nor is there any man in our country that can take it off my shoulders; therefore am I going this way, as I told you, that I may be rid of my burden.

WORLD. Who bid you go this way to be rid of thy burden?

CHR. A man that appeared to me to be a very great and honourable person; his name, as I remember, is Evangelist.

WORLD. I beshrew him for his counsel! there is not a more dangerous and troublesome way in the world than is that unto which he hath directed thee; and that thou shalt find, if thou wilt be ruled by his counsel. Thou hast met with something, as I perceive already; for I see the dirt of the Slough of Despond is upon thee; but that slough is the beginning of the sorrows that do attend those that go on in that way. Hear me, I am older than thou; thou art like to meet with, on the way which thou goest, wearisomeness, painfulness, hunger, perils, nakedness, sword, lions, dragons, darkness, and, in a word, death, and what not! These things are certainly true, having been confirmed by many testimonies. And why should a man so carelessly cast away himself, by giving heed to a stranger?

Mr. Worldly-wiseman condemned Evangelist's counsel.

CHR. Why, Sir, this burden upon my back is more terrible to me than are all these things which you have mentioned; nay, methinks I care not what I meet with in the way, if so be I can also meet with deliverance from my burden.

The frame of the heart of a young Christian.

WORLD. How camest thou by the burden at first?

CHR. By reading this book in my hand.

WORLD. I thought so; and it is happened unto thee as to other weak men, who, meddling with things too high for them, do suddenly fall into thy distractions; which distractions do not only unman men, as thine, I perceive, has done thee, but they run them upon desperate ventures, to obtain they know not what.

Worldly-wiseman does not like that men should be serious in reading the Bible.

CHR. I know what I would obtain; it is ease for my heavy burden.

WORLD. But why wilt thou seek for ease this way, seeing so many dangers attend it? especially since, hadst thou but patience to hear me, I could direct thee to the obtaining of what thou

Whether Mr. Worldly-wiseman prefers morality before the strait gate.

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enter into possession of Christ by faith, and till our feet are set upon Christ, who is the Rock of ages.—(Mason.)

[1] And now you may think, perhaps, that Christian having got out of the Slough of Despond, and fairly on his way, it is all well with him; but not so, for now he comes into a peril that is far greater than the last—a peril through which we suppose that every soul that ever goes on pilgrimage passes, and a peril in which multitudes that get safely across the Slough of Despond, perish for ever.—(Cheever.)

[2] 'Some inkling;' some intimation, hint, or slight knowledge: obsolete.—(Ed.)

desirest, without the dangers that thou in this way wilt run thyself into; yea, and the remedy is at hand. Besides, I will add, that, instead of those dangers, thou shalt meet with much safety, friendship, and content.[1]

CHR. Pray, Sir, open this secret to me.

WORLD. Why, in yonder village—the village is named Morality—there dwells a gentleman whose name is Legality, a very judicious man, and a man of a very good name, that has skill to help men off with such burdens as thine are from their shoulders: yea, to my knowledge, he hath done a great deal of good this way; aye, and besides, he hath skill to cure those that are somewhat crazed in their wits with their burdens.[2] To him, as I said, thou mayest go, and be helped presently. His house is not quite a mile from this place, and if he should not be at home himself, he hath a pretty young man to his son, whose name is Civility, that can do it (to speak on) as well as the old gentleman himself; there, I say, thou mayest be eased of thy burden; and if thou art not minded to go back to thy former habitation, as, indeed, I would not wish thee, thou mayest send for thy wife and children to thee to this village, where there are houses now stand empty, one of which thou mayest have at reasonable rates; provision is there also cheap and good; and that which will make thy life the more happy is, to be sure, there thou shalt live by honest neighbours, in credit and good fashion.

Christian snared by Mr. Worldly-wiseman's words.

Now was Christian somewhat at a stand; but presently he concluded, if this be true, which this gentleman hath said, my wisest course is to take his advice; and with that he thus further spoke.

CHR. Sir, which is my way to this honest man's house?

Mount Sinai.

WORLD. Do you see yonder hill?

CHR. Yes, very well.

WORLD. By that hill you must go, and the first house you come at is his.

So Christian turned out of his way, to go to Mr. Legality's house for help; but, behold, when he was got now hard by the hill, it seemed so high, and also that side of it that was next the wayside, did hang so much over, that Christian was afraid to venture further, lest the hill should fall on his head; wherefore there he stood still, and wotted[3] not what to do. Also his burden now seemed heavier to him, than while he was in his way. There came also flashes of fire out of the hill, that made Christian afraid that he should be burned. EX. xix 16, 18. Here, therefore, he sweat and did quake for fear. HE. xii. 21. And now he began to be sorry that he had taken Mr. Worldly-wiseman's counsel. And with that he saw Evangelist coming to meet him; at the sight also of whom he began to blush for shame. So Evangelist drew nearer and nearer; and coming up to him, he looked upon him with a severe and dreadful countenance, and thus began to reason with Christian.

Christian afraid that Mount Sinai would fall on his head.

Evangelist findeth Christian under Mount Sinai, and looketh severely upon him.

EVAN. What dost thou here, Christian? said he: at which words Christian knew not what to answer; wherefore at present he stood speechless before him. Then said Evangelist further, Art not thou the man that I found crying without the walls of the City of Destruction?

Evangelist reasons afresh with Christian.

CHR. Yes, dear Sir, I am the man.

EVAN. Did not I direct thee the way to the little wicket-gate?

CHR. Yes, dear Sir, said Christian.

EVAN. How is it, then, that thou art so quickly turned aside? for thou art now out of the way.

CHR. I met with a gentleman so soon as I had got over the Slough of Despond, who persuaded me that I might, in the village before me, find a man that could take off my burden.

EVAN. What was he?

CHR. He looked like a gentleman,[4] and talked much to me, and got me at last to yield; so I came hither: but when I beheld this hill, and how it hangs over the way, I suddenly made a stand, lest it should fall on my head.

EVAN. What said that gentleman to you?

CHR. Why, he asked me whither I was going? And I told him.

EVAN. And what said he then?

CHR. He asked me if I had a family? And I told him. But, said I, I am so loaden with the burden that is on my back, that I cannot take pleasure in them as formerly.

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[1] There is great beauty in this dialogue, arising from the exact regard to character preserved throughout. Indeed, this forms one of our author's peculiar excellencies; as it is a very difficult attainment, and always manifests a superiority of genius.—(Scott.)

[2] Mr. Worldly-wiseman prefers morality to Christ the strait gate. This is the exact reasoning of the flesh. Carnal reason ever opposes spiritual truth. The notion of justification by our own obedience to God's law ever works in us, contrary to the way of justification by the obedience of Christ. Self-righteousness is as contrary to the faith of Christ as indulging the lusts of the flesh. The former is the white devil of pride, the latter the black devil of rebellion and disobedience. See the awful consequences of listening to the reasonings of the flesh.—(Mason.)

[3] 'And wotted;' and knew. From the Saxon *witen*, to know; see *Imperial Dictionary*.—(ED.)

[4] Beware of taking men by their looks. They may look as gentle as lambs, while the poison of asps is under their tongue; whereby they infect many souls with pernicious errors and pestilent heresies, turning them from Christ and the hope of full justification and eternal life through him ONLY, to look to, and rely upon, their own works, in whole, or in part, for salvation.—(Mason.)

EVAN. And what said he then?

CHR. He bid me with speed get rid of my burden; and I told him it was ease that I sought. And, said I, I am therefore going to yonder gate, to receive further direction how I may get to the place of deliverance. So he said that he would show me a better way, and short, not so attended with difficulties as the way, Sir, that you set me in; which way, said he, will direct you to a gentleman's house that hath skill to take off these burdens: so I believed him,[1] and turned out of that way into this, if haply I might be soon eased of my burden. But when I came to this place, and beheld things as they are, I stopped for fear (as I said) of danger: but I now know not what to do.

EVAN. Then, said Evangelist, stand still a little, that I may show thee the words of God. So he stood trembling. Then said Evangelist, 'See that ye refuse not him that speaketh. For if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more *shall not* we *escape*, if we turn away from him that *speaketh* from heaven.' HE. xii. 25. He said, moreover, 'Now the just shall live by faith: but if *any man* draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.' HE. x. 38. He also did thus apply them: Thou art the man that art running into this misery; thou hast begun to reject the counsel of the Most High, and to draw back thy foot from the way of peace, even almost to the hazarding of thy perdition.

Evangelist convinces Christian of his error.

Then Christian fell down at his foot as dead, crying, 'Woe is me, for I am undone!' At the sight of which, Evangelist caught him by the right hand, saying, 'All manner of sin and blasphemies shall be forgiven unto men,' MAT. xii. 31. MAR. iii. 28; 'Be not faithless, but believing.' JN. xx. 27. Then did Christian again a little revive, and stood up trembling, as at first, before Evangelist.[2]

Then Evangelist proceeded, saying, Give more earnest heed to the things that I shall tell thee of. I will now show thee who it was that deluded thee, and who it was also to whom he sent thee.—The man that met thee is one Worldly-wiseman, and rightly is he so called; partly, because he savoureth only the doctrine of this world, 1 JN. iv. 5 (therefore he always goes to the town of Morality to church); and partly because he loveth that doctrine best, for it saveth him best from the cross. GA. vi. 12. And because he is of this carnal temper, therefore he seeketh to prevent my ways, though right. Now there are three things in this man's counsel, that thou must utterly abhor.

Mr. Worldly-wiseman described by Evangelist.

Evangelist discovers the deceit of Mr. Worldly-wiseman.

1. His turning thee out of the way. 2. His labouring to render the cross odious to thee. And, 3. His setting thy feet in that way that leadeth unto the administration of death.

First, Thou must abhor his turning thee out of the way; yea, and thine own consenting thereto: because this is to reject the counsel of God for the sake of the counsel of a Worldly-wiseman. The Lord says, 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate,' LU. xiii. 24, the gate to which I send thee; for 'strait is the gate which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.' MAT. vii. 14. From this little wicket-gate, and from the way thereto, hath this wicked man turned thee, to the bringing of thee almost to destruction; hate, therefore, his turning thee out of the way, and abhor thyself for hearkening to him.

Secondly, Thou must abhor his labouring to render the cross odious unto thee; for thou art to prefer it 'before the treasures in Egypt.' HE. xi. 25, 26. Besides, the King of glory hath told thee, that he that 'will save his life shall lose it.' MAR. viii. 35. JN. xii. 25. MAT. x. 39. And, 'He that comes after him, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.' LU. xiv. 26. I say, therefore, for man to labour to persuade thee, that that shall be thy death, without which, THE TRUTH hath said, thou canst not have eternal life; this doctrine thou must abhor.

Thirdly, Thou must hate his setting of thy feet in the way that leadeth to the ministration of death. And for this thou must consider to whom he sent thee, and also how unable that person was to deliver thee from thy burden.

He to whom thou wast sent for ease, being by name Legality, is the son of the bond woman which now is, and is in bondage with her children, GAL. iv. 21–27; and is, in a mystery, this mount Sinai, which thou hast feared will fall on thy head. Now, if she, with her children, are in bondage, how canst thou expect by them to be made free? This Legality, therefore, is not able to set thee free from thy burden. No man was as yet ever rid of his burden by him; no, nor ever is like to be: ye cannot be justified by the works of the law; for by the deeds of the law no man living can be rid of his burden: therefore, Mr. Worldly-wiseman is an alien, and Mr. Legality is a cheat; and for his son Civility, notwithstanding his simpering looks, he is but a hypocrite, and

The Bond-woman.

[1] As the belief of the truth lies at the fountain of the hope of eternal life, and is the cause of any one becoming a pilgrim; so the belief of a lie is the cause of any one's turning out of the way which leads to glory.—(Mason.)

[2] See the glory of gospel grace to sinners. See the amazing love of Christ in dying for sinners. O remember the price, which obtained the pardon of our sins, at nothing less than his most precious blood! Believe his wonderful love. Rejoice in his glorious salvation. Live in the love of him, in the hatred of your sins, and in humbleness of mind before him.'—(Mason.)

cannot help thee. Believe me, there is nothing in all this noise, that thou hast heard of these sottish men, but a design to beguile thee of thy salvation, by turning thee from the way in which I had set thee. After this, Evangelist called aloud to the heavens for confirmation of what he had said: and with that there came words and fire out of the mountain under which poor Christian stood, that made the hair of his flesh stand up. The words were thus pronounced: 'As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.[1] Gal. iii. 10.

Now Christian looked for nothing but death, and began to cry out lamentably; even cursing the time in which he met with Mr. Worldly-wiseman; still calling himself a thousand fools for hearkening to his counsel: he also was greatly ashamed to think that this gentleman's arguments, flowing only from the flesh, should have the prevalency with him as to cause him to forsake the right way. This done, he applied himself again to Evangelist, in words and sense as follows:—

Christian inquires if he may yet be happy.

CHR. Sir, what think you? Is there hope? May I now go back, and go up to the wicket-gate? Shall I not be abandoned for this, and sent back from thence ashamed? I am sorry I have hearkened to this man's counsel. But may my sin be forgiven?

EVAN. Then said Evangelist to him, Thy sin is very great, for by it thou hast committed two evils; thou hast forsaken the way that is good, to tread in forbidden paths; yet will the man at the gate receive thee, for he has good-will for men; only, said he, take heed that thou turn not aside again, 'lest thou perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little.' Ps. ii. 12. Then did Christian address himself to go back; and Evangelist, after he had kissed him, gave him one smile, and bid him God-speed. So he went on with haste, neither spake he to any man by the way; nor, if any asked him, would he vouchsafe them an answer. He went like one that was all the while treading on forbidden ground, and could by no means think himself safe, till again he was got into the way which he left, to follow Mr. Worldly-wiseman's counsel. So, in process of time, Christian got up to the gate. Now, over the gate there was written, 'Knock, and it shall be opened unto you.' Mat. vii. 8.

Evangelist comforts him.

He knocked, therefore, more than once or twice, saying—

> 'May I now enter here? Will he within
> Open to sorry me, though I have been
> An undeserving rebel? Then shall I
> Not fail to sing his lasting praise on high.'

At last there came a grave person to the gate, named Good-will, who asked who was there? and whence he came? and what he would have?[2]

CHR. Here is a poor burdened sinner. I come from the City of Destruction, but am going to Mount Zion, that I may be delivered from the wrath to come. I would, therefore, Sir, since I am informed that by this gate is the way thither, know if you are willing to let me in!

GOOD-WILL. I am willing with all my heart, said he; and with that he opened the gate.[3]

The gate will be opened to broken-hearted sinners.

So when Christian was stepping in, the other gave him a pull. Then said Christian, What means that? The other told him. A little distance from this gate, there is erected a strong castle, of which Beelzebub is the captain; from thence, both he and them that are with him shoot arrows at those that come up to this gate, if haply they may die before they can enter in.[4]

Satan envies those that enter the strait gate.

Then said Christian, I rejoice and tremble. So when he was got in, the man of the gate asked him who directed him thither?

Christian entered the gate with joy and trembling.

CHR. Evangelist bid me come hither, and knock

[1] Legality is as great an enemy to the cross of Christ as licentiousness; for it keeps the soul from coming to, believing in, and trusting wholly to the blood of Christ for pardon, and the righteousness of Christ for justification! so that it keeps the soul in bondage, and swells the mind with pride, while licentiousness brings a scandal on the cross.—(Mason.)

[2] The straitness of this gate is not to be understood carnally, but mystically. This gate is wide enough for all the truly sincere lovers of Jesus Christ, but so strait that it will keep all others out. The gate of Eden was wide enough for Adam and his wife to go *out* at, yet it was too strait for them to go in at. Why? They had sinned; and the cherubim and the flaming sword made it too strait for them. The gates of the temple were six cubits wide, yet they were so strait that none who were *unclean* might enter them.—(Bunyan's *Strait Gate*, vol. i. p. 367.)

[3] Here behold the love of Jesus, in freely and heartily receiving every poor sinner who comes unto him; no matter how vile they have been, nor what sins they have committed, he loves them freely and receives them graciously; for he has nothing but GOOD-WILL to them. Hence, the heavenly host sang at his birth, 'Good-wil towards men.' Lu. ii. 14. —(Mason.)

[4] As sinners become more decided in applying to Christ, and assiduous in the means of grace, Satan, if permitted, will be more vehement in his endeavours to discourage them, that, if possible, he may induce them to desist, and so come short of the prize.—(Scott.) A whole heaven and eternal life is wrapped up in this little word IN—'Strive to enter in;' this calls for the mind and heart. Many professors make their striving to stand rather in an outcry of words, than in a hearty labour against the lusts and love of the world. But this kind of striving is but a beating the air, and will come to nothing at last.—(Bunyan's *Strait Gate*, vol. i. p. 366.) Coming souls will have opposition from Satan. He casts his fiery darts at them; wanderings in prayer, enticements to old sins, and even blasphemous thoughts, assail the trembling penitent, when striving to enter into the strait gate, to drive him from 'the way and the life.'—(ED.)

(as I did); and he said that you, Sir, would tell me what I must do.

GOOD-WILL. An open door is set before thee, and no man can shut it.

Talk between Good-will and Christian.

CHR. Now I begin to reap the benefits of my hazards.

GOOD-WILL. But how is it that you came alone?

CHR. Because none of my neighbours saw their danger, as I saw mine.

GOOD-WILL. Did any of them know of your coming?

CHR. Yes; my wife and children saw me at the first, and called after me to turn again; also, some of my neighbours stood crying and calling after me to return; but I put my fingers in my ears, and so came on my way.

GOOD-WILL. But did none of them follow you, to persuade you to go back?

CHR. Yes, both Obstinate and Pliable; but when they saw that they could not prevail, Obstinate went railing back, but Pliable came with me a little way.

GOOD-WILL. But why did he not come through?

CHR. We, indeed, came both together, until we came at the Slough of Despond, into the which we also suddenly fell. And then was my neighbour, Pliable, discouraged, and would not adventure further. Wherefore, getting out again on that side next to his own house, he told me I should possess the brave country alone for him; so he went his way, and I came mine—he after Obstinate, and I to this gate.

A man may have company when he sets out for heaven, and yet go thither alone.

GOOD-WILL. Then said Good-will, Alas, poor man! is the celestial glory of so small esteem with him, that he counteth it not worth running the hazards of a few difficulties to obtain it?

CHR. Truly, said Christian, I have said the truth of Pliable, and if I should also say all the truth of myself, it will appear there is no betterment[1] betwixt him and myself. It is true, he went back to his own house, but I also turned aside to go in the way of death, being persuaded thereto by the carnal arguments[2] of one Mr. Worldly-wiseman.

Christian accuseth himself before the man at the gate.

GOOD-WILL. Oh! did he light upon you? What! he would have had you a sought for ease at the hands of Mr. Legality. They are, both of them, a very cheat. But did you take his counsel?

CHR. Yes, as far as I durst; I went to find out Mr. Legality, until I thought that the mountain that stands by his house would have fallen upon my head; wherefore, there I was forced to stop.

GOOD-WILL. That mountain has been the death of many, and will be the death of many more; it is well you escaped being by it dashed in pieces.

CHR. Why, truly, I do not know what had become of me there, had not Evangelist happily met me again, as I was musing in the midst of my dumps; but it was God's mercy that he came to me again, for else I had never come hither. But now I am come, such a one as I am, more fit, indeed, for death, by that mountain, than thus to stand talking with my Lord; but, O! what a favour is this to me, that yet I am admitted entrance here!

GOOD-WILL. We make no objections against any, notwithstanding all that they have done before they come hither. They are 'in no wise cast out,' Jn. vi. 37; and therefore, good Christian, come a little way with me, and I will teach thee about the way thou must go. Look before thee; dost thou see this narrow way? THAT is the way thou must go; it was cast up by the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles; and it is as straight as a rule can make it. This is the way thou must go.[3]

Christian comforted again.

Christian directed yet on his way.

CHR. But, said Christian, are there no turnings nor windings, by which a stranger may lose his way?

Christian afraid of losing his way.

GOOD-WILL. Yes, there are many ways butt down upon this, and they are crooked and wide. But thus thou mayest distinguish the right from the wrong, the right only being straight and narrow. Mat. vii. 14.

Then I saw in my dream, that Christian asked him further if he could not help him off with his burden that was upon his back; for as yet he had not got rid thereof, nor could he by any mens get it off without help.

Christian weary of his burden.

He told him, as to thy burden, be content to bear it, until thou comest to the place of deliverance; for there it will fall from thy back of itself.

There is no deliverance from the guilt and burden of sin, but by the death and blood of Christ.

Then Christian began to gird up his loins, and to address himself to his journey. So the other told him, That by that he was gone some distance from the gate, he would come at the house of the Interpreter; at whose door he should knock, and he would show him excellent

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[1] 'No betterment' is an admirable expression of the Christian's humility—he set out in company, but reached the gate alone; still it is not unto me, but unto thy name be all the glory.—(ED.)

[2] 'Carnal arguments' is altered to 'carnal agreement,' in several of Mr. Bunyan's editions; see third to the ninth.—(ED.)

[3] Christian, when admitted at the *strait* gate, is directed in the *narrow* way; not in the broad fashionable religion. In the *broad* road, every man may choose a path suited to his inclinations, shift about to avoid difficulties, or accommodate himself to circumstances; and he may be sure of company agreeable to his taste. But Christians must follow one another in the *narrow* way on the same track, facing enemies, and bearing hardships, without attempting to evade them; nor is any indulgence given to different tastes, habits, or propensities.—(Scott.)

things. Then Christian took his leave of his friend, and he again bid him God-speed.

Then he went on till he came at the house of the Interpreter,[1] where he knocked over and over; at last one came to the door, and asked who was there.

Christian comes to the house of the Interpreter.

Chr. Sir, here is a traveller, who was bid by an acquaintance of the good-man of this house to call here for my profit; I would therefore speak with the master of the house. So he called for the master of the house, who, after a little time, came to Christian, and asked him what he would have.

Chr. Sir, said Christian, I am a man that am come from the City of Destruction, and am going to the Mount Zion; and I was told by the man that stands at the gate, at the head of this way, that if I called here, you would show me excellent things, such as would be a help to me in my journey.[2]

He is entertained.

Inter. Then said the Interpreter, Come in; I will show thee that which will be profitable to thee. So he commanded his man to light the candle,[3] and bid Christian follow him: so he had him into a private room, and bid his man open a door; the which when he had done, Christian saw the picture of a very grave person hang up against the wall; and this was the fashion of it. It had eyes lifted up to heaven, the best of books in his hand, the law of truth was written upon his lips, the world was behind his back. It stood as if it pleaded with men, and a crown of gold did hang over its head.[4]

Illumination.

Christian sees a grave picture.

The fashion of the picture.

Chr. Then said Christian, What meaneth this?

Inter. The man whose picture this is, is one of a thousand; he can beget children, 1 Co. iv. 15, travail in birth with children, Ga. iv. 19, and nurse them himself when they are born. And whereas thou seest him with his eyes lift up to heaven, the best of books in his hand, and the law of truth writ on his lips, it is to show thee, that his work is to know and unfold dark things to sinners; even as also thou seest him stand as if he pleaded with men; and whereas thou seest the world as cast behind him, and that a crown hangs over his head, that is to show thee that slighting and despising the things that are present, for the love that he hath to his Master's service, he is sure in the world that comes next to have glory for his reward. Now, said the Interpreter, I have showed thee this picture first, because the man whose picture this is, is the only man whom the Lord of the place whither thou art going, hath authorized to be thy guide in all difficult places thou mayest meet with in the way; wherefore, take good heed to what I have showed thee, and bear well in thy mind what thou hast seen, lest in thy journey thou meet with some that pretend to lead thee right, but their way goes down to death.

The meaning of the picture.

Why he showed him the picture first.

Then he took him by the hand, and led him into a very large parlour that was full of dust, because never swept; the which, after he had reviewed a little while, the Interpreter called for a man to sweep. Now, when he began to sweep, the dust began so abundantly to fly about, that Christian had almost therewith been choked. Then said the Interpreter to a damsel that stood by, Bring hither the water, and sprinkle the room; the which, when she had done, it was swept and cleansed with pleasure.

Chr. Then said Christian, What means this?

Inter. The Interpreter answered, This parlour is the heart of a man that was never sanctified by the sweet grace of the gospel; the dust is his original sin and inward corruptions, that have defiled the whole man. He that began to sweep at first, is the Law; but she that brought water, and did sprinkle it, is the Gospel. Now, whereas thou sawest, that so soon as the first began to sweep, the dust did so fly about that the room by him could not be cleansed, but that thou wast almost choked therewith; this is to show thee, that the law, instead of cleansing the heart (by its working) from sin, doth revive, put strength into, and increase

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[1] With great propriety Bunyan places the house of the Interpreter *beyond* the strait gate; for the knowledge of Divine things, that precedes conversion to God by faith in Christ, is very scanty, compared with the diligent Christian's subsequent attainments.—(Scott.)

[2] It would be difficult to find twelve consecutive pages in the English language, that contain such volumes of meaning, in such beautiful and instructive lessons, with such heavenly imagery, in so pure and sweet a style, and with so thrilling an appeal to the best affections of the heart, as these pages descriptive of Christian's sojourning in the house of the Interpreter. This good-man of the house, the Interpreter, we are, without doubt, to take as the representative of the Holy Spirit, with his enlightening and sanctifying influences on the heart. —(Cheever.) The order in which these heavenly lessons are taught, is worthy our admiration.—(Ed.)

[3] As in creation, so in conversion, God's command is, 'Let there be light;' it comes by the Word; no Bible, no light. God divided the light from the darkness; a blessed mystery to prove the Christian indeed—light in his mind at variance with his native darkness.—(Bunyan, *on Genesis*.)

[4] The first object presented by the Holy Spirit to the mind of a young believer, is the *choice* of his minister; not to be submissive to human orders, but to *choose* for himself. The leading features are, that he be grave, devotional, a lover of his Bible, one who rejects error and preaches the truth; uninfluenced by paltry pelf or worldly honours; *pleading* patiently to win souls; seeking only his Master's approbation; souls, and not money, for his hire; an immortal crown for his reward. With the laws of men and friendship to mislead us, how essential is the guidance of the Holy Spirit in this important choice! —(Ed.) And whose portrait is Bunyan describing here? We think he had only Mr. Gifford in his eye as a faithful minister of Christ; but Bunyan too had been the pleader with men, and over his own head the crown of gold was shining; and while he wrote these words, you may be sure that his spirit thrilled within him as he said, And I too am a minister of Jesus Christ.—(Cheever.)

it in the soul, even as it doth discover and forbid it, for it doth not give power to subdue.[1] Ro. vii. 6. 1 Co. xv. 56. 1to. v. 20.

Again, as thou sawest the damsel sprinkle the room with water, upon which it was cleansed with pleasure; this is to show thee, that when the gospel comes in the sweet and precious influences thereof to the heart, then, I say, even as thou sawest the damsel lay the dust by sprinkling the floor with water, so is sin vanquished and subdued, and the soul made clean, through the faith of it, and consequently fit for the King of glory to inhabit. Jn. xv. 3. Ep. v. 26. Ac. xv. 9. Ro. xvi. 25, 26. Jn. xv. 13.

I saw, moreover, in my dream, that the Interpreter took him by the hand, and had him into a little room, where sat two little children, each one in his chair. The name of the eldest was Passion, and the name of the other Patience. Passion seemed to be much discontented; but Patience was very quiet. Then Christian asked, What is the reason of the discontent of Passion? The Interpreter answered, The Governor of them would have him stay for his best things till the beginning of the next year; but he will have all now; but patience is willing to wait.

He showed him Passion and Patience.

Passion will have all now. Patience is for waiting.

Then I saw that one came to Passion, and brought him a bag of treasure, and poured it down at his feet, the which he took up and rejoiced therein, and withal laughed Patience to scorn. But I beheld but a while, and he had lavished all away, and had nothing left him but rags.

Passion has his desire.

And quickly lavishes all away.

CHR. Then said Christian to the Interpreter, Expound this matter more fully to me.

INTER. So he said, These two lads are figures: Passion, of the men of this world; and Patience, of the men of that which is to come; for, as here thou seest, Passion will have all now this year, that is to say, in this world; so are the men of this world: they must have all their good things now, they cannot stay till next year, that is, until the next world, for their portion of good. That proverb, 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush,' is of more authority with them than are all the Divine testimonies of the good of the world to come. But as thou sawest that he had quickly lavished all away, and had presently left him nothing but rags; so will it be with all such men at the end of this world.[2]

The matter expounded.

The worldly man for a bird in the hand.

CHR. Then said Christian, Now I see that Patience has the best wisdom, and that upon many accounts. First, Because he stays for the best things. Second, And also because he will have the glory of his, when the other has nothing but rags.

Patience has the best wisdom.

INTER. Nay, you may add another, to wit, the glory of the next world will never wear out; but these are suddenly gone. Therefore Passion had not so much reason to laugh at Patience, because he had his good things first, as Patience will have to laugh at Passion, because he had his best things last; for first must give place to last, because last must have his time to come; but last gives place to nothing; for there is not another to succeed. He, therefore, that hath his portion first, must needs have a time to spend it; but he that hath his portion last, must have it lastingly; therefore it is said of Dives, 'Thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.' Lu. xvi. 25.

Things that are first must give place; but things that are last are lasting

Dives had his good things first.

CHR. Then I perceive it is not best to covet things that are now, but to wait for things to come.

INTER. You say the truth: 'For the things which are seen *are* temporal; but the things which are not seen *are* eternal.' 2 Co. iv. 18. But though this be so, yet since things present, and our fleshly appetite, are such near neighbours one to another; and again, because things to come, and carnal sense, are such strangers one to another; therefore it is that the first of these so suddenly fall into amity, and that distance is so continued between the second.

The first things are but temporal.

Then I saw in my dream that the Interpreter took Christian by the hand, and led him into a

[1] Christian well knew this in his own deep experience; for the burden of sin was on him still, and sorely did he feel it while the Interpreter was making this explanation; and had it not been for his remembrance of the warning of the man at the gate, he would certainly have besought the Interpreter to take off his burden. The law could not take it off; he had tried that; and grace had not yet removed it; so he was forced to be quiet, and to wait patiently. But when the damsel came and sprinkled the floor, and laid the dust, and then the parlour was swept so easily, there were the sweet influences of the gospel imaged; there was Divine grace distilling as the dew; there was the gentle voice of Christ hushing the storm; there were the corruptions of the heart, which the law had but roused into action, yielding under the power of Christ; and there was the soul made clean, and fit for the King of glory to inhabit. Indeed, this was a most instructive emblem. O that my heart might be thus cleansed, thought Christian, and then I verily believe I could bear my burden with great ease to the end of my pilgrimage; but I have had enough of that fierce sweeper, the Law. The Lord deliver me from his besom!—(Cheever.)

[2] This was a vivid and striking emblem, and one which, in its general meaning, a child could understand. Passion stands for the men of this world, Patience of that which is to come; Passion for those who will have all their good things now, Patience for those who are willing, with self-denial, to wait for something better; Passion for those who are absorbed in temporal trifles, Patience for those whose hearts are fixed upon eternal realities; Passion the things which are seen, and the impatient eagerness with which they are followed, Patience the things which are unseen, and the faith, humility, and deadness to the world exercised in order to enjoy them. It is a good commentary upon Ps. lxxiii.—(Cheever.)

place where was a fire burning against a wall, and one standing by it, always casting much water upon it, to quench it; yet did the fire burn higher and hotter.

Then said Christian, What means this?

The Interpreter answered, This fire is the work of grace that is wrought in the heart; he that casts water upon it, to extinguish and put it out, is the Devil; but in that thou seest the fire notwithstanding burn higher and hotter, thou shalt also see the reason of that. So he had him about to the backside of the wall, where he saw a man with a vessel of oil in his hand, of the which he did also continually cast, but secretly, into the fire.[1]

Then said Christian, What means this?

The Interpreter answered, This is Christ, who continually, with the oil of his grace, maintains the work already begun in the heart: by the means of which, notwithstanding what the devil can do, the souls of his people prove gracious still. 2 Co. xii. 9. And in that thou sawest that the man stood behind the wall to maintain the fire, that is to teach thee that it is hard for the tempted to see how this work of grace is maintained in the soul.

I saw also, that the Interpreter took him again by the hand, and led him into a pleasant place, where was builded a stately palace, beautiful to behold; at the sight of which Christian was greatly delighted; he saw also, upon the top thereof, certain persons walking, who were clothed all in gold.

Then said Christian, May we go in thither?

Then the Interpreter took him, and led him up towards the door of the palace; and behold, at the door stood a great company of men, as desirous to go in, but durst not. There also sat a man at a little distance from the door, at a table-side, with a book and his inkhorn before him, to take the name of him that should enter therein; he saw also, that in the doorway stood many men in armour to keep it, being resolved to do the men that would enter what hurt and mischief they could. Now was Christian somewhat in amaze.

At last, when every man started back for fear of the armed men, Christian saw a man of a very stout countenance come up to the man that sat there to write, saying, 'Set down my name, Sir:'[2] the which when he had done, he saw the man draw his sword, and put an helmet upon his head, and rush toward the door upon the armed men, who laid upon him with deadly force: but the man, not at all discouraged, fell to cutting and hacking most fiercely. So after he had received and given many wounds to those that attempted to keep him out, he cut his way through them all, Ac. xiv. 22, and pressed forward into the palace, at which there was a pleasant voice heard from those that were within, even of those that walked upon the top of the palace, saying—

The valiant man.

'Come in, come in;
Eternal glory thou shalt win.'

So he went in, and was clothed with such garments as they. Then Christian smiled and said, I think verily I know the meaning of this.[3]

Now, said Christian, let me go hence. Nay, stay, said the Interpreter, till I have showed thee a little more, and after that thou shalt go on thy way. So he took him by the hand again, and led him into a very dark room, where there sat a man in an iron cage.

Despair like an iron cage.

Now the man, to look on, seemed very sad; he sat with his eyes looking down to the ground, his hands folded together, and he sighed as if he would break his heart. Then said Christian, What means this? At which the Interpreter bid him talk with the man.

Then said Christian to the man, What art thou? The man answered, I am what I was not once.

CHR. What wast thou once?

MAN. The man said, I was once a fair and flourishing professor, both in mine own eyes, and also in the eyes of others; I once was, as I thought, fair for the Celestial City, and had then even joy at the thoughts that I should get thither. Lu. viii. 13.

CHR. Well, but what art thou now?

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[1] This instructive vision springs from the author's painful, but blessed experience. The flame of love in a Christian's heart, is like the fire of despair in Satan's spirit—unquenchable. Before Bunyan had been behind the wall, the tempter suggested to him—'You are very hot for mercy, but I will cool you, though I be seven years in chilling your heart, I can do it at last; I will have you cold before long.'—(*Grace Abounding*, No. 110.) He is the father of lies. Thus he said to Christian in the fight, 'Here will I spill thy soul;' instead of which, Apollyon was put to flight.

We cannot fail with such a prop,
That bears the earth's huge pillars up.

Satan's water can never be so powerful to quench, as Christ's oil and grace are to keep the fire burning. Sinner, believe this, and love, praise, and rejoice in thy Lord. He loves with an everlasting love; he saves with an everlasting salvation; without his perpetual aid, we should perish; Christ is the Alpha and Omega of our safety; but how mysterious is the saint's perseverance until we have seen the secret supply!—(ED.)

[2] For a man to fight his way through infernal enemies, is in every age a fearful battle; but in addition to this, to enter his name as a nonconformist in Bunyan's time, demanded intrepidity of no ordinary degree; their enemies were the throne, the laws, and the bishops, armed with malignity against these followers of Jesus Christ. But there were noble spirits, 'of very stout countenance,' that by the sword of the Spirit cut their way through all opposition. Bunyan was one of these worthies.—(Ivimey.)

[3] Verily thou didst, noble Christian! And who is there that does not know the meaning of it, and what heart so cold as not to be ravished by it! Yea, we should think that this passage alone might set any man out on this pilgrimage, might bring many a careless traveller up to the gate of this glorious palace to say, Set down my name, Sir! How full of instruction is this passage! It set Christian's own heart on fire to run forward on his journey, although the battle was before him. —(Cheever.)

MAN. I am now a man of despair, and am shut up in it, as in this iron cage. I cannot get out. O now I cannot!

CHR. But how camest thou in this condition?

MAN. I left off to watch and be sober; I laid the reins upon the neck of my lusts; I sinned against the light of the Word, and the goodness of God; I have grieved the Spirit, and he is gone; I tempted the devil, and he is come to me; I have provoked God to anger, and he has left me; I have so hardened my heart, that I cannot repent.

Then said Christian to the Interpreter, But is there no hope for such a man as this? Ask him, said the Interpreter. Nay, said Christian, pray Sir, do you.

INTER. Then said the Interpreter, Is there no hope, but you must be kept in the iron cage of despair?

MAN. No, none at all.

INTER. Why, the Son of the Blessed is very pitiful.

MAN. I have crucified him to myself afresh, He. vi. 6; I have despised his person, Lu. xix. 14; I have despised his righteousness; I have 'counted his blood an unholy thing;' I have 'done despite to the Spirit of grace.' He. x. 28, 29. Therefore I have shut myself out of all the promises, and there now remains to me nothing but threatenings, dreadful threatenings, fearful threatenings of certain judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour me as an adversary.[1]

INTER. For what did you bring yourself into this condition?

MAN. For the lusts, pleasures, and profits of this world; in the enjoyment of which I did then promise myself much delight; but now every one of those things also bite me, and gnaw me like a burning worm.

INTER. But canst thou not now repent and turn?

MAN. God hath denied me repentance. His Word gives me no encouragement to believe; yea, himself hath shut me up in this iron cage; nor can all the men in the world let me out. O eternity! eternity! how shall I grapple with the misery that I must meet with in eternity!

INTER. Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Let this man's misery be remembered by thee, and be an everlasting caution to thee.[2]

CHR. Well, said Christian, this is fearful! God help me to watch and be sober, and to pray that I may shun the cause of this man's misery![3] Sir, is it not time for me to go on my way now?[4]

INTER. Tarry till I shall show thee one thing more, and then thou shalt go on thy way.

So he took Christian by the hand again, and led him into a chamber, where there was one rising out of bed; and as he put on his raiment, he shook and trembled. Then said Christian, Why doth this man thus tremble? The Interpreter then bid him tell to Christian the reason of his so doing. So he began and said, This night, as I was in my sleep, I dreamed, and behold the heavens grew exceeding black; also it thundered and lightened in most fearful wise, that it put me into an agony; so I looked up in my dream, and saw the clouds rack[5] at an unusual rate, upon which I heard a great sound of a trumpet, and saw also a man sit upon a cloud, attended with the thousands of heaven; they were all in flaming fire: also the heavens were in a burning flame. I heard then a voice saying, 'Arise, ye dead, and come to judgment;' and with that the rocks rent, the graves opened, and the dead that were therein came forth. Some of them were exceeding glad, and looked upward; and some sought to hide themselves under the mountains. 1 Co. xv. 52. 1 Th. iv. 16. Jude 14. Jn. v. 28, 29 2 Th. i. 7, 8. Re. xx. 11–14. Is. xxvi. 21. Mi. vii. 16, 17. Ps. xcv. 1–3. Da. vii. 10. Then I saw the man that sat upon the cloud open the book, and bid the world draw near. Yet there was, by reason of a fierce flame which issued out and came from before him, a convenient distance betwixt him and them, as betwixt the judge and the prisoners at the bar. Mal. iii. 2, 3. Da. vii. 9, 10. I heard it also proclaimed to them that attended on the man that sat on the cloud, 'Gather together the tares, the chaff, and stubble, and cast them into the burning lake.' Mat. iii. 12; xiii. 30. Mal. iv. 1. And with that, the bottomless pit opened, just whereabout I stood; out of the mouth of which there came, in an abundant manner, smoke and coals of fire, with hideous noises. It was also said to the same persons, 'Gather my wheat into the garner.' Lu. iii. 17. And with that I saw

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[1] All these deeply interesting pictures are intended for every age and every clime. This iron cage of despair has ever shut up its victims. Many have supposed that it had a special reference to one John Child, who, under the fear of persecution, abandoned his profession, and, in frightful desperation, miserably perished by his own hand. See *Introd.* p. 73; see also the sickness and death of Mr. Badman's brother.—(ED.)

[2] Bunyan intended not to represent this man as actually beyond the reach of mercy, but to show the dreadful consequences of departing from God, and of being abandoned of him to the misery of unbelief and despair.—(Cheever.)

[3] 'An everlasting caution'—'God help me to watch.' The battle with Apollyon, the dread valley, the trying scene at Vanity Fair, the exhilarating victory over By-ends and Demas, dissipated the painful scene of the iron cage; and want of prayerful caution led Christian into the dominion of Despair, and he became for a season the victim shut up in this frightful cage. Reader, may we be ever found 'looking unto Jesus,' then shall we be kept from Doubting Castle and the iron cage. —(ED.)

[4] In the midst of these heavenly instructions, why in such haste to go? Alas! the burden of sin upon his back pressed him on to seek deliverance.—(ED.)

[5] 'Rack;' driven violently by the wind.—(ED.)

many catched up and carried away into the clouds, but I was left behind. 1 Th. iv. 16, 17. I also sought to hide myself, but I could not, for the man that sat upon the cloud still kept his eye upon me: my sins also came into my mind; and my conscience did accuse me on every side. Ro. ii. 14, 15. Upon this I awaked from my sleep.

CHR. But what was it that made you so afraid of this sight?

MAN. Why, I thought that the day of judgment was come, and that I was not ready for it: but this frighted me most, that the angels gathered up several, and left me behind; also the pit of hell opened her mouth just where I stood. My conscience, too, afflicted me; and, as I thought, the Judge had always his eye upon me, showing indignation in his countenance.[1]

Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things?

CHR. Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.[2]

INTER. Well, keep all things so in thy mind that they may be as a goad in thy sides, to prick thee forward in the way thou must go. Then Christian began to gird up his loins, and to address himself to his journey. Then said the Interpreter, The Comforter be always with thee, good Christian, to guide thee in the way that leads to the City. So Christian went on his way, saying—

'Here I have seen things rare and profitable;
Things pleasant, dreadful, things to make me stable
In what I have begun to take in hand;
Then let me think on them, and understand
Wherefore they showed me were, and let me be
Thankful, O good Interpreter, to thee.'

Now I saw in my dream, that the highway up which Christian was to go, was fenced on either side with a wall, and that wall was called Salvation. Is. xxvi. 1. Up this way, therefore, did burdened Christian run, but not without great difficulty, because of the load on his back.[3]

He ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending, and upon that place stood a cross, and a little below, in the bottom, a sepulchre. So I saw in my dream, that just as Christian came up with the cross, his burden loosed from off his shoulders, and fell from off his back, and began to tumble, and so continued to do, till it came to the mouth of the sepulchre, where it fell in, and I saw it no more.

When God releases us of our guilt and burden, we are as those that leap for joy.

Then was Christian glad and lightsome, and said, with a merry heart, 'He hath given me rest by his sorrow, and life by his death.' Then he stood still awhile to look and wonder; for it was very surprising to him, that the sight of the cross should thus ease him of his burden. He looked, therefore, and looked again, even till the springs that were in his head sent the waters down his cheeks. Zec. xii. 10.[4] Now, as he stood looking and weeping, behold three Shining Ones came to him and saluted him with 'Peace be to thee.' So the first said to him, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee,' Mar. ii. 5; the second stripped him of his rags, and clothed him 'with change of raiment,' Zec. iii. 4; the third also set a mark in his forehead, and gave him a roll with a seal upon it, which he bade him look on as he ran, and that he should give it

[1] We go about the world in the day-time, and are absorbed in earthly schemes; the world is as bright as a rainbow, and it bears for us no marks or predictions of the judgment, or of our sins; and conscience is retired, as it were, within a far inner circle of the soul. But when it comes night, and the pall of sleep is drawn over the senses, then conscience comes out solemnly, and walks about in the silent chambers of the soul, and makes her survey and her comments, and sometimes sits down and sternly reads the record of a life that the waking man would never look into, and the catalogue of crimes that are gathering for the judgment. Imagination walks trembtingly behind her, and they pass through the open gate of the Scriptures into the eternal world—for thither all things in man's being naturally and irresistibly tend;—and there, imagination draws the judgment, the soul is presented at the bar of God, and the eye of the Judge is on it, and a hand of fire writes, 'Thou art weighed in the balances, and found wanting!' Our dreams sometimes reveal our character, our sins, our destinies, more clearly than our waking thoughts; for by day the energies of our being are turned into artificial channels, by night our thoughts follow the bent that is most natural to them; and as man is both an immortal and a sinful being, the consequences both of his immortality and his sinfulness will sometimes be made to stand out in overpowering light, when the busy pursuits of day are not able to turn the soul from wandering towards eternity.—(Chevcer.) Bunyan profited much by dreams and visions. 'Even in my childhood the Lord did scare and affright me with fearful dreams, and did terrify me with dreadful visions.' That is a striking vision of church-fellowship in the *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 53—56; and an awful dream is narrated in the *Greatness of the Soul*—'Once I dreamed that I saw two persons, whom I knew, in hell; and methought I saw a continual dropping from heaven, as of great drops of fire lighting upon them, to their sore distress,' vol. i. p. 148.—(ED.)

[2] Our safety consists in a due proportion of hope and fear. When devoid of hope, we resemble a ship without an anchor; when unrestrained by fear, we are like the same vessel under full sail without ballast. True comfort is the effect of watchfulness, diligence, and circumspection. What lessons could possibly have been selected of greater importance, or more suited to establish the new convert, than these are which our author has most ingeniously and agreeably inculcated, under the emblem of the Interpreter's curiosities?—(Scott.)

[3] This is an important lesson, that a person may be in Christ and yet have a deep sense of the burden of sin upon the soul.—(Cheever.) So also Bunyan—'Every height is a difficulty to him that is loaden; with a burden, how shall we attain the heaven of heavens?'—(*Knowledge of Christ's Love.*)

[4] This efficacious sight of the cross is thus narrated in *Grace Abounding*, No. 115:—'Travelling in the country, and musing on the wickedness and blasphemy of my heart, that scripture came in my mind—"Having made peace through the blood of his cross." Col. i. 20. I saw that day again and again, that God and my soul were friends by his blood; yea, that the justice of God and my soul could embrace and kiss each other. This was a good day to me; I hope I shall not forget it.' He was glad and lightsome, and had a merry heart; he was before inspired with hope, but now he is a happy believer.—(ED.)

in at the Celestial Gate. Ep. i. 13.[1] So they went their way. Then Christian gave three leaps for joy, and went on singing—

A Christian can sing though alone, when God doth give him the joy of his heart.

'Thus far I did come laden with my sin;
Nor could aught ease the grief that I was in
Till I came hither: What a place is this!
Must here be the beginning of my bliss?
Must here the burden fall from off my back?
Must here the strings that bound it to me crack?
Blest cross! blest sepulchre! blest rather be
The man that there was put to shame for me!'[2]

I saw then in my dream, that he went on thus, even until he came at a bottom, where he saw, a little out of the way, three men fast asleep, with fetters upon their heels. The name of the one was Simple, another Sloth, and the third Presumption.

Simple, Sloth, and Presumption.

Christian then seeing them lie in this case, went to them, if peradventure he might awake them, and cried, You are like them that sleep on the top of a mast, for the Dead Sea is under you—a gulf that hath no bottom. Pr. xxiii. 34. Awake, therefore, and come away; be willing also, and I will help you off with your irons. He also told them, If he that 'goeth about like a roaring lion' comes by, you will certainly become a prey to his teeth. 1 Pe. v. 8. With that they looked upon him, and began to reply in this sort: Simple said, 'I see no danger;' Sloth said, 'Yet a little more sleep;' and Presumption said, 'Every fat[3] must stand upon its own bottom; what is the answer else that I should give thee?' And so they lay down to sleep again, and Christian went on his way.

There is no persuasion will do, if God openeth not the eyes.

Yet was he troubled to think that men in that danger should so little esteem the kindness of him that so freely offered to help them, both by awakening of them, counselling of them, and proffering to help them off with their irons.[4] And as he was troubled thereabout, he espied two men come tumbling over the wall, on the left hand of the narrow way; and they made up apace to him. The name of the one was Formalist, and the name of the other Hypocrisy. So, as I said, they drew up unto him, who thus entered with them into discourse.

Christian talked with them.

Chr. Gentlemen, whence came you, and whither go you?

Form. and Hyp. We were born in the land of Vain-glory, and are going for praise to Mount Sion.

Chr. Why came you not in at the gate, which standeth at the beginning of the way? Know you not that it is written, that he that cometh not in by the door, 'but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber?' Jn. x. 1.

Form. and Hyp. They said, That to go to the gate for entrance was, by all their countrymen, counted too far about; and that, therefore, their usual way was to make a short cut of it, and to climb over the wall, as they had done.

Chr. But will it not be counted a trespass against the Lord of the city whither we are bound, thus to violate his revealed will?

Form. and Hyp. They told him, that, as for that, he needed not to trouble his head thereabout; for what they did, they had custom for; and could produce, if need were, testimony that would witness it for more than a thousand years.

They that come into the way, but not by the door, think that they can say something in vindication of their own practice.

Chr. But, said Christian, will your practice stand a trial at law?

Form. and Hyp. They told him, That custom, it being of so long a standing as above a thousand years, would, doubtless, now be admitted as a thing legal by any impartial judge; and beside, said they, if we get into the way, what's matter which way we get in? if we are in, we are in; thou art but in the way, who, as we perceive, came in at the gate; and we are also in the way, that came

[1] None but those who have felt such bliss, can imagine the joy with which this heavenly visitation fills the soul. The Father receives the poor penitent with, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee.' The Son clothes him with a spotless righteousness. 'The prodigal when he returned to his father was clothed with rags; but the *best* robe is brought out, also the gold ring and the shoes; yea, they are put upon him to his rejoicing.'—(*Come and Welcome*, vol. i. p. 265.) The Holy Spirit gives him a certificate; thus described by Bunyan in the *House of God*:—

'But bring with thee a *certificate*,
To show thou seest thyself most desolate;
Writ by the master, with repentance seal'd;[1]
To show also, that here thou would'st be healed
By those fair leaves of that most blessed tree
By which alone poor sinners healed be:[2]
And that thou dost abhor thee for thy ways,
And would'st in holiness spend all thy days;[3]
And here be entertained; or thou wilt find
No entertain thee here are none inclined.'
Vol. ii. p. 580.

Such a certificate, written upon the heart by the Holy Spirit, may be lost for a season, as in the arbour on the hill, but cannot be stolen even by Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt. For the mark in his forehead, see 2 Co. iii. 2, 3; 'not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, known and read of all men.'—(Ed.)

[2] He that has come to Christ, has cast his burden upon him. By faith he hath seen himself released thereof; but he that is but coming, hath it yet, *as to sense and feeling*, upon his own shoulders.—(*Come and Welcome*, vol. i. p. 264.)

[3] 'Fat;' a vessel in which things are put to be soaked, or to ferment; a vat.—(Ed.)

[4] No sooner has Christian 'received Christ' than he at once preaches to the sleeping sinners the great salvation. He stays not for human calls or ordination, but attempts to awaken them to a sense of their danger, and presently exhorts with authority the formalist and hypocrite. So it was in the personal experience of Bunyan; after which, when his brethren discovered his talent, they invited him to preach openly and constantly. Dare any one find fault with that conduct, which proved so extensively useful?—(Ed.)

[1] Ac. ix. 26, 27. [2] Re. xxi. 27. [3] Re. xxii. 14, 15. See also
[1] Eph. i. 13. [2] Re. xxii. 2. [3] Job xlii. 6. Tit. ii. 12—14.

tumbling over the wall; wherein, now, is thy condition better than ours?

CHR. I walk by the rule of my Master; you walk by the rude working of your fancies. You are counted thieves already, by the Lord of the way; therefore, I doubt you will not be found true men at the end of the way. You come in by yourselves, without his direction; and shall go out by yourselves, without his mercy.[1]

To this they made him but little answer; only they bid him look to himself. Then I saw that they went on every man in his way, without much conference one with another; save that these two men told Christian, that as to laws and ordinances, they doubted not but they should as conscientiously do them as he; therefore, said they, we see not wherein thou differest from us, but by the coat that is on thy back, which was, as we trow,[2] given thee by some of thy neighbours, to hide the shame of thy nakedness.

CHR. By laws and ordinances you will not be saved, since you came not in by the door. Ga. ii. 16. And as for this coat that is on my back, it was given me by the Lord of the place whither I go; and that, as you say, to cover my nakedness with. And I take it as a token of his kindness to me; for I had nothing but rags before. And, besides, thus I comfort myself as I go: Surely, think I, when I come to the gate of the city, the Lord thereof will know me for good, since I have his coat on my back—a coat that he gave me freely in the day that he stripped me of my rags. I have, moreover, a mark in my forehead, of which, perhaps, you have taken no notice, which one of my Lord's most intimate associates fixed there in the day that my burden fell off my shoulders. I will tell you, moreover, that I had then given me a roll, sealed, to comfort me by reading, as I go on the way; I was also bid to give it in at the Celestial Gate, in token of my certain going in after it; all which things, I doubt, you want, and want them because you came not in at the gate.

Christian has got his Lord's coat on his back, and is comforted therewith; he is comforted, also, with his mark and his roll.

To these things they gave him no answer; only they looked upon each other, and laughed.[3] Then I saw that they went on all, save that Christian kept before, who had no more talk but with himself, and that sometimes sighingly and sometimes comfortably;[4] also he would be often reading in the roll that one of the Shining Ones gave him, by which he was refreshed.

Christian has talk with himself.

I beheld, then, that they all went on till they came to the foot of the Hill Difficulty; at the bottom of which was a spring. There were also in the same place two other ways besides that which came straight from the gate; one turned to the left hand, and the other to the right, at the bottom of the hill; but the narrow way lay right up the hill, and the name of the going up the side of the hill is called Difficulty. Christian now went to the spring, and drank thereof, to refresh himself, Is. xlix. 10, and then began to go up the hill, saying—

He comes to the Hill Difficulty.

'The hill, though high, I covet to ascend,
The difficulty will not me offend;
For I perceive the way to life lies here.
Come, pluck up heart, let 's neither faint nor fear;
Better, though difficult, the right way to go,
Than wrong, though easy, where the end is woe.'

The other two also came to the foot of the hill; but when they saw that the hill was steep and high, and that there were two other ways to go; and supposing also that these two ways might meet again, with that up which Christian went, on the other side of the hill; therefore they were resolved to go in those ways. Now the name of one of those ways was Danger, and the name of the other Destruction. So the one took the way which is called Danger, which led him into a great wood, and the other took directly up the way to Destruction, which led him into a wide field, full of dark mountains, where he stumbled and fell, and rose no more.[5]

The danger of turning out of the way.

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[1] The formalist has only the shell of religion; he is hot for forms, because it is all that he has to contend for. The hypocrite is for God and Baal too; he can throw stones with both hands. He carries fire in one hand, and water in the other. —(*Strait Gate*, vol. i. p. 389.) These men range from sect to sect, like wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever. They are barren trees; and the axe, whetted by sin and the law, will make deep gashes. Death sends Guilt, his first-born, to bring them to the King of terrors.—(*Barren Fig-tree.*)

[2] 'We trow;' we believe or imagine: from the Saxon. See *Imperial Dictionary.*—(ED.)

[3] These men occupied the seat of the scorner; they had *always* been well dressed. His coat might do for such a ragamuffin as he had been; but they needed no garment but their own righteousness—the forms of their church. The mark, or certificate of the new birth, was an object of scorn to them. Probably they pitied him as a harmless mystic, weak in mind and illiterate. Alas! how soon was their laughter turned into mourning. Fear and calamity overwhelmed them. They trusted in themselves, and there was none to deliver.—(ED.)

[4] The Christian can hold no communion with a mere formal professor. The Christian loves to be speaking of the Lord's grace and goodness, of his conflicts and consolations, of the Lord's dealings with his soul, and of the blessed confidence which he is enabled to place in him.—(J. B.)

[5] Such is the fate of those who keep their sins with their profession, and will not encounter difficulty in cutting them off. 'Not all their pretences of seeking after and praying to God will keep them from falling and splitting themselves in sunder.'—(*A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity.*) There are heights that build themselves up in us, and exalt themselves to keep the knowledge of God from our hearts. They oppose and contradict our spiritual understanding of God and his Christ. These are the dark mountains at which we should certainly stumble and fall, but for one who can leap and skip over them to our aid.—(*Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love*, vol. ii. p. 8.)

I looked, then, after Christian, to see him go up the hill, where I perceived he fell from running to going, and from going to clambering upon his hands and his knees, because of the steepness of the place. Now, about the midway to the top of the hill was a pleasant arbour, made by the Lord of the hill for the refreshing of weary travellers; thither, therefore, Christian got, where also he sat down to rest him. Then he pulled his roll out of his bosom, and read therein to his comfort; he also now began afresh to take a review of the coat or garment that was given him as he stood by the cross. Thus pleasing himself awhile, he at last fell into a slumber, and thence into a fast sleep,[1] which detained him in that place until it was almost night; and in his sleep his roll fell out of his hand.[2] Now, as he was sleeping, there came one to him, and awaked him, saying, 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise.' Pr. vi. 6. And with that Christian suddenly started up, and sped him on his way, and went apace, till he came to the top of the hill.

A ward of grace.

He that sleeps is a loser.

Now, when he was got up to the top of the hill, there came two men running to meet him amain; the name of the one was Timorous, and of the other Mistrust; to whom Christian said, Sirs, what's the matter? You run the wrong way. Timorous answered, that they were going to the City of Zion, and had got up that difficult place; but, said he, the further we go, the more danger we meet with; wherefore we turned, and are going back again.[3]

Christian meets with Mistrust and Timorous.

Yes, said Mistrust, for just before us lie a couple of lions in the way, whether sleeping or waking we know not, and we could not think, if we came within reach, but they would presently pull us in pieces.

CHR. Then said Christian, You make me afraid, but whither shall I fly to be safe? If I go back to mine own country, *that* is prepared for fire and brimstone, and I shall certainly perish there. If I can get to the Celestial City, I am sure to be in safety there. I must venture. To go back is nothing but death; to go forward is fear of death, and life everlasting beyond it. I will yet go forward.[4] So Mistrust and Timorous ran down the hill, and Christian went on his way. But, thinking again of what he heard from the men, he felt in his bosom for his roll, that he might read therein, and be comforted; but he felt, and found it not. Then was Christian in great distress, and knew not what to do; for he wanted that which used to relieve him, and that which should have been his pass into the Celestial City. Here, therefore, he began to be much perplexed, and knew not what to do.[5] At last, he bethought himself, that he had slept in the arbour that is on the side of the hill; and, falling down upon his knees, he asked God forgiveness for that his foolish fact, and then went back to look for his roll. But all the way he went back, who can sufficiently set forth the sorrow of Christian's heart! Sometimes he sighed, sometimes he wept, and oftentimes he chid himself for being so foolish to fall asleep in that place, which was erected only for a little refreshment for his weariness. Thus therefore he went back, carefully looking on this side, and on that, all the way as he went, if happily he might find his roll, that had been his comfort so many times in his journey. He went thus, till he came again within sight of the arbour where he sat and slept; but that sight renewed his sorrow the more, by bringing again, even afresh, his evil of sleeping into his mind. Re. ii. 5. 1 Th. v. 7, 8. Thus, therefore, he now went on bewailing his sinful sleep, saying, 'O wretched man that I am!' that I should sleep in the day-time! that I should sleep in the midst of difficulty! that I should so indulge the flesh, as to use that rest for ease to my flesh, which the Lord of the hill hath erected only for the relief of the spirits of pilgrims![6]

Christian shakes off fear.

Christian missed his roll wherein he used to take comfort.

He is perplexed for his roll

Christian bewails his foolish sleeping.

How many steps have I took in vain! Thus it happened to Israel, for their sin; they were sent

[1] Pleased with the gifts of grace, rather than with the gracious giver, pride secretly creeps in; and we fall first into a sinful self-complacence, and then into indolence and security. This is intended by his falling fast asleep.—(Dr. Dodd.)

[2] Sinful sloth deprives the Christian of his comforts. What he intended only for a moment's nap, like a man asleep during sermon-time in church, became a deep sleep, and his roll fell out of his hand; and yet he ran well while there was nothing special to alarm him. Religious privileges should refresh and not puff up.—(Cheever.)

[3] But why go back again? That is the next way to hell. Never go over hedge and ditch to hell. They that miss life perish, because they will not let go their sins, or have no saving faith.—(Bunyan's *Strait Gate*, vol. i. p. 388.)

[4] To go forward is attended with the fear of death, but eternal life is beyond. I must venture.

> My hill was further: so I slung away,
> Yet heard a cry
> Just as I went, 'None goes that way
> And lives.' If that be all, said I,
> After so foul a journey, death is fair
> And but a chair.
> —(G. Herbert's *Temple.—The Pilgrimage.*)

[5] He is perplexed for his roll; this is right. If we suffer spiritual loss, and are easy and unconcerned about it, it is a sad sign that we indulge carnal security and vain confidences. —(Mason.)

[6] The backslider is attended with fears and doubts, such as he felt not before, built on the vileness of his backsliding; more dreadful scriptures look him in the face, with their dreadful physiognomy. His new sins all turn talking devils, threatening devils, roaring devils, within him. Besides, he doubts the truth of his first conversion, and thus adds lead to his heels in returning to God by Christ. He can tell *strange* stories, and yet such as are very true. No man can tell what is to be seen and felt in the whale's belly but Jonah.—(Bunyan's *Christ a Complete Saviour*, vol. i p. 224.)

back again by the way of the Red Sea; and I am made to tread those steps with sorrow, which I might have trod with delight, had it not been for this sinful sleep. How far might I have been on my way by this time! I am made to tread those steps thrice over, which I needed not to have trod but once; yea, now also I am like to be benighted, for the day is almost spent. O that I had not slept!

Christian findeth his roll where he lost it.

Now by this time he was come to the arbour again, where for a while he sat down and wept; but at last, as Christian would have it, looking sorrowfully down under the settle, there he espied his roll; the which he, with trembling and haste, catched up, and put it into his bosom. But who can tell how joyful this man was when he had gotten his roll again! for this roll was the assurance of his life and acceptance at the desired haven. Therefore he laid it up in his bosom, gave thanks to God for directing his eye to the place where it lay, and with joy and tears betook himself again to his journey. But O how nimbly now did he go up the rest of the hill! Yet, before he got up, the sun went down upon Christian; and this made him again recal the vanity of his sleeping to his remembrance; and thus he again began to condole with himself. O thou sinful sleep! how, for thy sake am I like to be benighted in my journey! I must walk without the sun; darkness must cover the path of my feet; and I must hear the noise of the doleful creatures, because of my sinful sleep. 1 Th. v. 6, 7. Now also he remembered the story that Mistrust and Timorous told him of, how they were frighted with the sight of the lions. Then said Christian to himself again, These beasts range in the night for their prey; and if they should meet with me in the dark, how should I shift them? How should I escape being by them torn in pieces? Thus he went on his way. But while he was thus bewailing his unhappy miscarriage, he lift up his eyes, and behold there was a very stately palace before him, the name of which was Beautiful; and it stood just by the highway side.[1]

So I saw in my dream, that he made haste and went forward, that if possible he might get lodging there. Now before he had gone far, he entered into a very narrow passage, which was about a furlong off of the porter's lodge; and looking very narrowly before him as he went, he espied two lions in the way.[2] Now, thought he, I see the dangers that Mistrust and Timorous were driven back by. (The lions were chained, but he saw not the chains.) Then he was afraid, and thought also himself to go back after them, for he thought nothing but death was before him. But the porter at the lodge, whose name is Watchful, perceiving that Christian made a halt as if he would go back, cried unto him, saying, Is thy strength so small? Mar. xiii. 34–37. Fear not the lions, for they are chained, and are placed there for trial of faith where it is, and for discovery of those that have none. Keep in the midst of the path, and no hurt shall come unto thee.

Then I saw that he went on, trembling for fear of the lions, but taking good heed to the directions of the porter; he heard them roar, but they did him no harm. Then he clapped his hands, and went on till he came and stood before the gate, where the porter was. Then said Christian to the porter, Sir, what house is this? and may I lodge here to-night? The porter answered, This house was built by the Lord of the hill, and he built it for the relief and security of pilgrims. The porter also asked whence he was, and whither he was going.

CHR. I am come from the City of Destruction, and am going to Mount Zion; but because the sun is now set, I desire, if I may, to lodge here to-night.

POR. What is your name?

CHR. My name is now Christian, but my name at the first was Graceless; I came of the race of Japheth, whom God will persuade to dwell in the tents of Shem. Ge. ix. 27.

POR. But how doth it happen that you come so late? The sun is set.

CHR. I had been here sooner, but that, 'wretched man that I am!' I slept in the arbour that stands on the hill-side; nay, I had, notwithstanding that, been here much sooner, but that, in my sleep, I lost my evidence, and came without it to the brow of the hill; and then feeling for it, and finding it not, I was forced, with sorrow of heart, to go back to the place where I slept my sleep, where I found it, and now I am come.

POR. Well, I will call out one of the virgins of this place, who will, if she likes your talk, bring you in to the rest of the family, according to the rules of the house. So Watchful, the porter, rang a bell, at the sound of which came out at the door

[1] 'Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion; God is known in her palaces for a refuge.' Those who enter must joyfully submit to the laws and ordinances of this house.—(Andronicus.)

[2] The two lions, civil despotism and ecclesiastical tyranny, terrified many young converts, when desirous of joining a Christian church, here represented by the Beautiful Palace. In the reign of the Tudors they committed sad havoc. In Bunyan's time, they were chained, so that few suffered martyrdom, although many were ruined, imprisoned, and perished in dungeons. When Faithful passed they were asleep. It was a short cessation from persecution. In the Second Part, Great-heart slew Giant Bloody-man, who backed the lions; probably referring to the wretched death of that monster, Judge Jefferies. And in the experience of Mr. Fearing, it is clear that the Hill Difficulty and the lions were intended to represent temporal and bodily troubles, and not spiritual difficulties:—'When we came at the Hill Difficulty, he made no stick at that, nor did he much fear the lions; for you must know that his trouble was not about such things as these; his fear was about his acceptance at last.'—(Ed.)

of the house, a grave and beautiful damsel, named Discretion, and asked why she was called.

The porter answered, This man is in a journey from the City of Destruction to Mount Zion, but being weary and benighted, he asked me if he might lodge here to-night; so I told him I would call for thee, who, after discourse had with him, mayest do as seemeth thee good, even according to the law of the house.

Then she asked him whence he was, and whither he was going; and he told her. She asked him also how he got into the way; and he told her. Then she asked him what he had seen and met with in the way; and he told her. And last she asked his name; so he said, It is Christian, and I have so much the more a desire to lodge here to-night, because, by what I perceive, this place was built by the Lord of the hill, for the relief and security of pilgrims. So she smiled, but the water stood in her eyes; and after a little pause, she said, I will call forth two or three more of the family. So she ran to the door, and called out Prudence, Piety, and Charity, who, after a little more discourse with him, had him into the family; and many of them meeting him at the threshold of the house, said, 'Come in, thou blessed of the Lord;' this house was built by the Lord of the hill, on purpose to entertain such pilgrims in.[1] Then he bowed his head, and followed them into the house. So when he was come in and sat down, they gave him something to drink, and consented together, that until supper was ready, some of them should have some particular discourse with Christian, for the best improvement of time; and they appointed Piety, and Prudence, and Charity to discourse with him; and thus they began:

PIETY. Come, good Christian, since we have been so loving to you, to receive you into our house this night, let us, if perhaps we may better ourselves thereby, talk with you of all things that have happened to you in your pilgrimage. Piety discourses him.

CHR. With a very good will, and I am glad that you are so well disposed.

PIETY. What moved you at first to betake yourself to a pilgrim's life?

CHR. I was driven out of my native country, by a dreadful sound that was in mine ears; to wit, that unavoidable destruction did attend me, if I abode in that place where I was. How Christian was driven out of his own country.

PIETY. But how did it happen that you came out of your country this way?

CHR. It was as God would have it; for when I was under the fears of destruction, I did not know whither to go; but by chance there came a man, even to me, as I was trembling and weeping, whose name is Evangelist, and he directed me to the wicket-gate, which else I should never have found, and so set me into the way that hath led me directly to this house. How he got into the way to Zion

PIETY. But did you not come by the house of the Interpreter?

CHR. Yes, and did see such things there, the remembrance of which will stick by me as long as I live; especially three things, to wit, how Christ, in despite of Satan, maintains his work of grace in the heart; how the man had sinned himself quite out of hopes of God's mercy; and also the dream of him that thought in his sleep the day of judgment was come. A rehearsal of what he saw in the way.

PIETY. Why, did you hear him tell his dream?

CHR. Yes, and a dreadful one it was. I thought it made my heart ache as he was telling of it; but yet I am glad I heard it.

PIETY. Was that all that you saw at the house of the Interpreter?

CHR. No; he took me and had me where he showed me a stately palace, and how the people were clad in gold that were in it; and how there came a venturous man and cut his way through the armed men that stood in the door to keep him out; and how he was bid to come in, and win eternal glory. Methought those things did ravish my heart! I would have staid at that good man's house a twelvemonth, but that I knew I had further to go.

PIETY. And what saw you else in the way?

CHR. Saw! why, I went but a little further, and I saw one, as I thought in my mind, hang bleeding upon the tree; and the very sight of him made my

[1] Christian, after feeling the burden of sin, entering by Christ the gate, taught by the Holy Spirit lessons of high concern in the Bible or House of the Interpreter; after losing his burden by faith in his crucified Saviour, his sins pardoned, clothed with his Lord's righteousness, marked by a godly profession, he becomes fit for church-fellowship; is invited by Bishop Gifford, the porter; and, with the consent of the inmates, he enters the house called Beautiful. Mark, reader, not as essential to salvation; it is by the side of the road, not across it; all that was essential had taken place before. Faithful did not enter. Here is no compulsion either to enter or pay: that would have converted it into the house of arrogance or persecution. It is upon the Hill Difficulty, requiring personal, willing efforts to scramble up; and holy zeal and courage to bear the taunts of the world and the growling frowns of the lions. Here he has new lessons to learn of Discretion, Piety, Prudence, and Charity, to bear with his fellow-members, and they with him; and here he is armed for his journey. Many are the blessed enjoyments of church-fellowship. 'Esther was had to the house of the women to be purified, and so came to the king. God also hath appointed that those who come into his royal presence should first go to the house of the women, the church.' (*See* Bunyan's *Greatness of the Soul*, vol. i. p. 145.) Every soul must be fitted for the royal presence, usually in church-fellowship: but these lovely maidens sometimes wait on and instruct those who never enter the house Beautiful; who belong to the church universal, but not to any local body of Christians. John directs his Revelations to the seven churches in Asia; Paul, his epistles to the churches in Galatia, or to the church at Corinth—all distinct bodies of Christians; James to the twelve tribes; and Peter to the strangers, and 'to them that have obtained like precious faith,' of all churches.—(ED.)

burden fall off my back (for I groaned under a very heavy burden), but then it fell down from off me. It was a strange thing to me, for I never saw such a thing before; yea, and while I stood looking up, for then I could not forbear looking, three Shining Ones came to me. One of them testified that my sins were forgiven me; another stripped me of my rags, and gave me this broidered coat which you see; and the third set the mark which you see in my forehead, and gave me this sealed roll (And with that he plucked it out of his bosom.)

PIETY. But you saw more than this, did you not?

CHR. The things that I have told you were the best, yet some other matters I saw, as, namely, I saw three men, Simple, Sloth, and Presumption, lie asleep a little out of the way, as I came, with irons upon their heels; but do you think I could awake them? I also saw Formality and Hypocrisy come tumbling over the wall, to go, as they pretended, to Zion, but they were quickly lost, even as I myself did tell them; but they would not believe. But above all, I found it hard work to get up this hill, and as hard to come by the lions' mouths; and truly if it had not been for the good man, the porter that stands at the gate, I do not know but that after all I might have gone back again; but now, I thank God I am here, and I thank you for receiving of me.

Then Prudence thought good to ask him a few questions, and desired his answer to them.

Prudence discourses him.

PRUD. Do you not think sometimes of the country from whence you came?

CHR. Yes, but with much shame and detestation: 'truly if I had been mindful of that *country* from whence I came out, I might have had opportunity to have returned; but now I desire a better *country*, that is, an heavenly.' He. xi. 15, 16.

Christian's thoughts of his native country.

PRUD. Do you not yet bear away with you some of the things that then you were conversant withal?

CHR. Yes, but greatly against my will; especially my inward and carnal cogitations, with which all my countrymen, as well as myself, were delighted; but now all those things are my grief; and might I but choose mine own things, I would choose never to think of those things more; but when I would be doing of that which is best, that which is worst is with me. Ro. vii.

Christian disrelished with carnal cogitations.

Christian's choice.

PRUD. Do you not find sometimes, as if those things were vanquished, which at other times are your perplexity?

CHR. Yes, but that is but seldom; but they are to me golden hours, in which such things happen to me.[1]

Christian's golden hours.

PRUD. Can you remember by what means you find your annoyances, at times, as if they were vanquished?

CHR. Yes; when I think what I saw at the cross, that will do it; and when I look upon my broidered coat, that will do it; also when I look into the roll that I carry in my bosom, that will do it; and when my thoughts wax warm about whither I am going, that will do it.[2]

How Christian gets power against his corruptions.

PRUD. And what is it that makes you so desirous to go to Mount Zion?

CHR. Why, there I hope to see him alive that did hang dead on the cross; and there I hope to be rid of all those things that to this day are in me an annoyance to me; there, they say, there is no death; and there I shall dwell with such company as I like best. Is. xxv. 8. Re. xxi. 4. For, to tell you truth, I love him, because I was by him eased of my burden; and I am weary of my inward sickness. I would fain be where I shall die no more, and with the company that shall continually cry, 'Holy, holy, holy.'

Why Christian would be at Mount Sion.

Then said Charity to Christian, Have you a family? Are you a married man?

Charity discourses him.

CHR. I have a wife and four small children.[3]

CHAR. And why did you not bring them along with you?

CHR. Then Christian wept, and said, O how willingly would I have done it! but they were all of them utterly averse to my going on pilgrimage.

Christian's love to his wife and children.

CHAR. But you should have talked to them, and have endeavoured to have shown them the danger of being behind.

CHR. So I did; and told them also what God had shown to me of the destruction of our city; 'but I seemed to them as one that mocked,' and they believed me not. Ge. xix. 14.

CHAR. And did you pray to God that he would bless your counsel to them?

CHR. Yes, and that with much affection; for you must think that my wife and poor children were very dear unto me.

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[1] The true Christian's inmost feelings will best explain these answers, which no exposition can elucidate to those who are unacquainted with the conflict to which they refer. The golden hours, fleeting and precious, are earnests of the everlasting holy felicity of heaven.—(Scott.)

[2] The only true mode of vanquishing carnal thoughts is looking at Christ crucified, or dwelling upon his dying love, the robe of righteousness which clothes his naked soul, his roll or evidence of his interest, and the glory and happiness of heaven! Happy souls who THUS oppose their corruptions!—(Dr. Dodd.)

[3] This was the fact as it regards Bunyan when he was writing the 'Pilgrim.' He had a wife, two sons, and two daughters. This conversation was first published in the second edition, 1678; and if he referred to his own family, it was to his second wife, a most worthy and heroic woman; but she and some of his children were fellow-pilgrims with him. His eldest son was a preacher eleven years before the Second Part of the 'Pilgrim' was published.—(Ed.)

CHAR. But did you tell them of your own sorrow, and fear of destruction? for I suppose that destruction was visible enough to you.

Christian's fears of perishing might be read in his very countenance.

CHR. Yes, over, and over, and over. They might also see my fears in my countenance, in my tears, and also in my trembling under the apprehension of the judgment that did hang over our heads; but all was not sufficient to prevail with them to come with me.

CHAR. But what could they say for themselves, why they came not?

The cause why his wife and children did not go with him.

CHR. Why, my wife was afraid of losing this world, and my children were given to the foolish delights of youth; so what by one thing, and what by another, they left me to wander in this manner alone.

CHAR. But did you not, with your vain life, damp all that you by words used by way of persuasion to bring them away with you?[1]

CHR. Indeed, I cannot commend my life; for I am conscious to myself of many failings therein; I know also, that a man by his conversation may soon overthrow, what by argument or persuasion he doth labour to fasten upon others for their good.

Christian's good conversation before his wife and children.

Yet this I can say, I was very wary of giving them occasion, by any unseemly action, to make them averse to going on pilgrimage.[2] Yea, for this very thing, they would tell me I was too precise, and that I denied myself of things, for their sakes, in which they saw no evil. Nay, I think I may say, that if what they saw in me did hinder them, it was my great tenderness in sinning against God, or of doing any wrong to my neighbour.

CHAR. Indeed Cain hated his brother, 'because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous,' 1 Jn. iii. 12; and if thy wife and children have

Christian clear of their blood if they perish.

been offended with thee for this, they thereby show themselves to be implacable to good, and 'thou hast delivered thy soul from their blood.' Eze. iii. 19.

Now I saw in my dream, that thus they sat talking together until supper was ready.[3] So when they had made ready, they sat down to meat. Now the table was furnished 'with fat things, and with wine that was well refined:' and all their talk at the table was about the Lord of the hill; as, namely, about what he had done, and wherefore he did what he did, and why he had builded that house. And by what they said, I perceived that he had been a great warrior, and had fought with and slain 'him that had the power of death,' but not without great danger to himself, which made me love him the more.[4] He. ii. 14, 15.

What Christian had to his supper.

Their talk at supper-time.

For, as they said, and as I believe (said Christian), he did it with the loss of much blood; but that which put glory of grace into all he did, was, that he did it out of pure love to his country. And besides, there were some of them of the household that said they had been and spoke with him since he did die on the cross; and they have attested that they had it from his own lips, that he is such a lover of poor pilgrims, that the like is not to be found from the east to the west.

They, moreover, gave an instance of what they affirmed, and that was, he had stripped himself of his glory, that he might do this for the poor; and that they heard him say and affirm, 'that he would not dwell in the mountain of Zion alone.' They said, moreover, that he had made many pilgrims princes, though by nature they were beggars born, and their original had been the dunghill. 1 Sa. ii. 8. Ps. cxiii. 7.

Christ makes princes of beggars.

Thus they discoursed together till late at night; and after they had committed themselves to their Lord for protection, they betook themselves to rest: the Pilgrim they laid in a large upper chamber, whose window opened toward the sun-rising; the name of the chamber was Peace;[5] where he slept till break of day, and then he awoke and sang[6]—

Christian's bedchamber.

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[1] O soul! consider this deeply. It is the life of a Christian that carries more conviction and persuasion than his words.—(Mason.)

[2] Those that religiously name the name of Christ, and do not depart from iniquity, cause the perishing of many. A professor that hath not forsaken his iniquity is like one that comes out of a pest-house to his home, with all his plague-sores running. He hath the breath of a dragon, and poisons the air round about him. This is the man that slays his children, his kinsmen, his friends, and himself. O! the millstone that God will shortly hang about your necks, when you must be drowned in the sea and deluge of God's wrath.—(Bunyan's *Holy Life*, vol. ii. p. 530.)

[3] How beautiful must that church be where Watchful is the porter; where Discretion admits the members; where Prudence takes the oversight; where Piety conducts the worship; and where Charity endears the members one to another! They partake of the Lord's Supper, a feast of fat things, with wine well refined.—(J. B.)

[4] 'Ah! theirs was converse such as it behoves
Man to maintain, and such as God approves—
Christ and his character their only scope,
Their subject, and their object, and their hope.
O days of heaven, and nights of equal praise!
Serene and peaceful as those heavenly days
When souls drawn upwards in communion sweet,
Enjoy the stillness of some close retreat,
Discourse, as if releas'd and safe at home,
Of dangers past, and wonders yet to come.'—(Cowper.)

[5] When Christiana and her party arrived at this house Beautiful, she requested that they might repose in the same chamber, called Peace, which was granted. The author, in his marginal note, explains the nature of this resting-place by the words, 'Christ's bosom is for all pilgrims.'—(Ed.)

[6] How suddenly that straight and glittering shaft
Shot 'thwart the earth! In crown of living fire
Up comes the day! As if they, conscious, quaff'd
The sunny flood, hill, forest, city, spire,
Laugh in the wakening light. Go, vain Desire!
The dusky lights have gone; go thou thy way!

Where am I now? Is this the love and care
Of Jesus for the men that pilgrims are?
Thus to provide! that I should be forgiven!
And dwell already the next door to heaven!

So, in the morning, they all got up; and after some more discourse, they told him that he should not depart till they had shown him the rarities of that place. And first, they had him into the study, where they showed him records of the greatest antiquity; in which, as I remember my dream, they showed him first the pedigree of the Lord of the hill, that he was the son of the Ancient of Days, and came by that eternal generation. Here also was more fully recorded the acts that he had done, and the names of many hundreds that he had taken into his service; and how he had placed them in such habitations, that could neither by length of days, nor decays of nature, be dissolved.

Christian had into the study, and what he saw there.

Then they read to him some of the worthy acts that some of his servants had done: as, how they had 'subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens.' Heb. xi. 33, 34.

They then read again in another part of the records of the house, where it was showed how willing their Lord was to receive into his favour any, even any, though they in time past had offered great affronts to his person and proceedings. Here also were several other histories of many other famous things, of all which Christian had a view; as of things both ancient and modern; together with prophecies and predictions of things that have their certain accomplishment, both to the dread and amazement of enemies, and the comfort and solace of pilgrims.

The next day they took him and had him into the armoury, where they showed him all manner of furniture, which their Lord had provided for pilgrims, as sword, sheild, helmet, breastplate, *all-prayer*, and shoes that would not wear out.[1] And there was here enough of this to harness out as many men, for the service of their Lord, as there be stars in the heaven for multitude.[2]

Christian had into the armoury.

They also showed him some of the engines with which some of his servants had done wonderful things. They showed him Moses' rod; the hammer and nail with which Jael slew Sisera; the pitchers, trumpets, and lamps too, with which Gibeon put to flight the armies of Midian. Then they showed him the ox's goad wherewith Shamgar slew six hundred men. They showed him, also, the jaw-bone with which Samson did such mighty feats. They showed him, moreover, the sling and stone with which David slew Goliah of Gath; and the sword, also, with which their Lord will kill the Man of Sin, in the day that he shall rise up to the prey. They showed him, besides, many excellent things, with which Christian was much delighted. This done, they went to their rest again.[3]

Christian is made to see ancient things.

Then I saw in my dream, that, on the morrow, he got up to go forward; but they desired him to stay till the next day also; and then, said they, we will, if the day be clear, show you the Delectable Mountains,[4] which, they said, would yet further add to his comfort, because they were nearer the desired haven than the place where at present he was; so he consented and staid. When the morning was up, they had him to the top of the house, and bid him look south; so he did; and, behold, at a great distance, he saw a most pleasant mountainous country, beautified with woods, vineyards, fruits of all sorts, flowers also, with springs and fountains, very delectable to behold. Is. xxxiii. 16, 17. Then he

Christian showed the Delectable Mountains.

And pining Discontent, like them expire!
Be called my chamber *Peace*, when ends the day,
And let me, with the dawn, like *Pilgrim*, sing and pray.
Great is the Lord our God,
And let his praise be great:
He makes his churches his abode,
His most delightful seat.—(Dr. Watts.)

[1] Should you see a man that did not go from door to door, but he must be clad in a coat of mail, and have a helmet of brass upon his head, and for his life-guard not so few as a thousand men to wait on him, would you not say, Surely this man has store of enemies at hand? If Solomon used to have about his bed no less than threescore of the valiantest of Israel, holding swords, and being expert in war, what guard and safeguard doth God's people need, who are, night and day, roared on by the unmerciful fallen angels? Why, they lie in wait for poor Israel in every hole, and he is for ever in danger of being either stabbed or destroyed.—(Bunyan's *Israel's Hope*, vol. i. p. 602.)

[2] Christ himself is the Christian's armoury. When he puts on Christ, he is then completely armed from head to foot. Are his loins girt about with truth? Christ is the truth. Has he on the breastplate of righteousness? Christ is our righteousness. Are his feet shod with the gospel of peace? Christ is our peace. Does he take the shield of faith, and helmet of salvation? Christ is that shield, and all our salvation. Does he take the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God? Christ is the Word of God. Thus he puts on the Lord Jesus Christ; by his Spirit fights the fight of faith; and, in spite of men, of devils, and of his own evil heart, lays hold of eternal life. Thus Christ is all in all.—(J. B.)

[3] The church in the wilderness, even her porch, is full of pillars—apostles, prophets, and martyrs of Jesus. There are hung up also the shields that the old warriors used, and on the walls are painted the brave achievements they have done. There, also, are such encouragements that one would think that none who came thither would ever attempt to go back. Yet some forsake the place.—(Bunyan's *House of Lebanon*.)

[4] The Delectable Mountains, as seen at a distance, represent those distinct views of the privileges and consolations, attainable in this life, with which believers are sometimes favoured. This is the pre-eminent advantage of Christian communion, and can only be enjoyed at some special seasons, when the Sun of Righteousness shines upon the soul.—(Scott.)

asked the name of the country. They said it was Immanuel's Land; and it is as common, said they, as this hill is, to and for all the pilgrims. And when thou comest there, from thence, said they, thou mayest see to the gate of the Celestial City, as the shepherds that live there will make appear.

Now, he bethought himself of setting forward, and they were willing he should. But first, said they, let us go again into the armoury. So they did; and when they came there, they harnessed him from head to foot with what was of proof, lest, perhaps, he should meet with assaults in the way. He being, therefore, thus accoutred, walketh out with his friends to the gate, and there he asked the porter if he saw any pilgrims pass by. Then the porter answered, Yes.

Christian sets forward.

Christian sent away armed.

CHR. Pray, did you know him? said he.

POR. I asked his name, and he told me it was Faithful.

CHR. O, said Christian, I know him; he is my townsman, my near neighbour; he comes from the place where I was born. How far do you think he may be before?

POR. He is got by this time below the hill.

CHR. Well, said Christian, good Porter, the Lord be with thee, and add to all thy blessings much increase, for the kindness that thou hast showed to me.

How Christian and the Porter greet at parting.

Then he began to go forward; but Discretion, Piety, Charity, and Prudence, would accompany him down to the foot of the hill. So they went on together, reiterating their former discourses, till they came to go down the hill. Then, said Christian, as it was difficult coming up, so, so far as I can see, it is dangerous going down. Yes, said Prudence, so it is, for it is a hard matter for a man to go down into the Valley of Humiliation, as thou art now, and to catch no slip by the way; therefore, said they, are we come out to accompany thee down the hill. So he began to go down, but very warily; yet he caught a slip or two.[1]

The Valley of Humiliation.

Then I saw in my dream that these good companions, when Christian was gone to the bottom of the hill, gave him a loaf of bread, a bottle of wine, and a cluster of raisins; and then he went on his way.

But now, in this Valley of Humiliation, poor Christian was hard put to it; for he had gone but a little way, before he espied a foul fiend coming over the field to meet him; his name is Apollyon. Then did Christian begin to be afraid, and to cast in his mind whether to go back or to stand his ground. But he considered again that he had no armour for his back; and, therefore, thought that to turn the back to him might give him the greater advantage, with ease to pierce him with his darts.[2] Therefore he resolved to venture and stand his ground; for, thought he, had I no more in mine eye than the saving of my life, it would be the best way to stand.

Christian no armour for his back.

Christian's resolution at the approach of Apollyon.

So he went on, and Apollyon met him. Now the monster was hideous to behold; he was clothed with scales, like a fish (and they are his pride), he had wings like a dragon, feet like a bear, and out of his belly came fire and smoke, and his mouth was as the mouth of a lion.[3] When he was come up to Christian, he beheld him with a disdainful countenance, and thus began to question with him.

APOL. Whence come you? and whither are you bound?

CHR. I am come from the City of Destruction, which is the place of all evil, and am going to the City of Zion.

APOL. By this I perceive thou art one of my subjects, for all that country is mine, and I am the prince and god of it. How is it, then, that thou hast run away from thy king? Were it not that I hope thou mayest do me more service, I would strike thee now, at one blow, to the ground.

Discourse betwixt Christian and Apollyon.

CHR. I was born, indeed, in your dominions, but your service was hard, and your wages such as a man could not live on, 'for the wages of sin

[1] Thus it is, after a pilgrim has been favoured with any special and peculiar blessings, there is danger of his being puffed up by them, and exalted on account of them; so was even holy Paul; therefore, the messenger of Satan was permitted to buffet him. 2 Co. xii. 7.—(Mason.) We are not told here what these slips were; but when Christian narrates the battle to Hopeful, he lets us into the secret:—'These three villains,' Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt, 'set upon me, and I beginning, like a Christian, to resist, they gave but a call, and in came their master. I would, as the saying is, have given my life for a penny, but that, as God would have it, I was clothed with armour of proof.' In the Second Part, Great-heart attributed the sore combat with Apollyon to have arisen from 'the fruit of those slips that he got in going down the hill.' Great enjoyments need the most prayerful watchfulness in going down from them, lest those three villains cause us to slip. Christian's heavenly enjoyment in the communion of saints was followed by his humbling adventures in the valley—a needful proof of Divine love to his soul. 'Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth.'—(ED.) 'A broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.' Has he given it to thee, my reader? Then he has given thee a cabinet to hold his grace in. True, it is painful now, it is sorrowful, it bleeds, it sighs, it sobs. Well, very well; all this is because he has a mind that thou mayest rejoice in heaven.—(Bunyan's *Acceptable Sacrifice.*)

[2] 'No armour for his back;' to desist is inevitable ruin. He sees no safety except in facing his enemy. Fear itself creates additional courage, and induces him to stand his ground. —(Drayton.)

[3] The description of Apollyon is terrible. This dreadful imagery is collected from various parts of Scripture, where the attributes of the most terrible animals are given him; the attributes of leviathan, the dragon, the lion, and the bear; to denote his strength, his pride, his rage, his courage, and his cruelty.—(Andronicus.)

is death,' Ro. vi. 23; therefore, when I was come to years, I did as other considerate persons do, look out, if, perhaps, I might mend myself.

Apol. There is no prince that will thus lightly lose his subjects,[1] neither will I as yet lose thee; but since thou complainest of thy service and wages, be content to go back; what our country will afford, I do here promise to give thee.

Apollyon's flattery.

Chr. But I have let myself to another, even to the King of princes; and how can I, with fairness, go back with thee?

Apol. Thou hast done in this according to the proverb, 'Changed a bad for a worse;' but it is ordinary for those that have professed themselves his servants, after a while to give him the slip, and return again to me. Do thou so too, and all shall be well.

Apollyon undervalues Christ's service.

Chr. I have given him my faith, and sworn my allegiance to him; how, then, can I go back from this, and not be hanged as a traitor?

Apol. Thou didst the same to me, and yet I am willing to pass by all, if now thou wilt yet turn again and go back.

Apollyon pretends to be merciful.

Chr. What I promised thee was in my nonage;[2] and, besides, I count the Prince under whose banner now I stand is able to absolve me; yea, and to pardon also what I did as to my compliance with thee; and besides, O thou destroying Apollyon! to speak truth, I like his service, his wages, his servants, his government, his company, and country, better than thine; and, therefore, leave off to persuade me further; I am his servant, and I will follow him.

Apol. Consider again, when thou art in cool blood, what thou art like to meet with in the way that thou goest. Thou knowest that, for the most part, his servants come to an ill end, because they are transgressors against me and my ways. How many of them have been put to shameful deaths! and, besides, thou countest his service better than mine, whereas he never came yet from the place where he is to deliver any that served him out of their hands; but as for me, how many times, as all the world very well knows, have I delivered, either by power or fraud, those that have faithfully served me, from him and his, though taken by them; and so I will deliver thee.

Apollyon pleads the grievous ends of Christians, to dissuade Christian from persisting in his way.

Chr. His forbearing at present to deliver them is on purpose to try their love, whether they will cleave to him to the end; and as for the ill end thou sayest they come to, that is most glorious in their account; for, for present deliverance, they do not much expect it, for they stay for their glory, and then they shall have it, when their Prince comes in his and the glory of the angels.

Apol. Thou hast already been unfaithful in thy service to him; and how dost thou think to receive wages of him?

Chr. Wherein, O Apollyon! have I been unfaithful to him?

Apol. Thou didst faint at first setting out, when thou wast almost choked in the Gulf of Despond; thou didst attempt wrong ways to be rid of thy burden, whereas thou shouldest have stayed till thy Prince had taken it off; thou didst sinfully sleep, and lose thy choice thing; thou wast, also, almost persuaded to go back, at the sight of the lions; and when thou talkest of thy journey, and of what thou hast heard and seen, thou art inwardly desirous of vain-glory in all that thou sayest or doest.[3]

Apollyon pleads Christian's infirmities against him.

Chr. All this is true, and much more which thou has left out; but the Prince, whom I serve and honour, is merciful, and ready to forgive; but, besides, these infirmities possessed me in thy country, for there I sucked them in; and I have groaned under them, been sorry for them, and have obtained pardon of my Prince.[4]

[1] In our days, when emigration is so encouraged by the state, it may be difficult for some youthful readers to understand this argument of Apollyon's. In Bunyan's time, every subject was deemed to be Crown property, and no one dared depart the realm without a license. Thus, when Cromwell and his heroes had hired ships, and were ready to start for America, Charles I. providentially detained them, to work out the great Revolution.—(Ed.)

[2] Promises or vows, whether made by us or by others on our behalf, before we possessed powers of reason or reflection, cannot be binding. The confirmation or rejection of all vows made by or for us in our nonage, should, on arriving at years of discretion, be our deliberate choice, for we must recollect that no personal dedication can be acceptable to God unless it is the result of solemn inquiry.—Ed.

[3] Mark the subtlety of this gradation in temptation. The profits of the world and pleasures of sin are held out as allurements. The apostasy of others suggested. The difficulties, dangers, and sufferings of the Lord's people, are contrasted with the prosperity of sinners. The recollections of our sins and backslidings, under a profession of religion. The supposition that all our profession is founded in pride and vain-glory. All backed by our own consciences; as if Apollyon straddled quite across the way, and stopped us from going on.—(Andronicus.)

[4] This dialogue is given, in different words, in the *Jerusalem Sinner Saved*, vol. i. pp. 79, 80. Satan is loath to part with a great sinner. What, my true servant, quoth he, my old servaut, wilt thou forsake me now? Having so often sold thyself to me to work wickedness, wilt thou forsake me now? Thou horrible wretch, dost not know that thou hast sinned thyself beyond the reach of grace, and dost thou think to find mercy now? Art not thou a murderer, a thief, a harlot, a witch, a sinner of the greatest size, and dost thou look for mercy now? Dost thou think that Christ will foul his fingers with thee? It is enough to make angels blush, saith Satan, to see so vile a one knock at heaven's gates for mercy, and wilt thou be so abominably bold to do it? Thus Satan dealt with me, says the great sinner, when at first I came to Jesus Christ. And what did you reply? saith the tempted. Why, I granted the whole charge to be true, says the other. And what, did you despair, or how? No, saith he, I said, I am Magdalene, I am Zaccheus, I am the thief, I am the harlot, I am the publican, I am the prodigal, and one of Christ's mur-

Apol. Then Apollyon broke out into a grievous rage, saying, I am an enemy to this Prince; I hate his person, his laws, and people; I am come out on purpose to withstand thee.

Apollyon in a rage falls upon Christian.

Chr. Apollyon, beware what you do; for I am in the king's highway, the way of holiness; therefore take heed to yourself.

Apol. Then Apollyon straddled quite over the whole breadth of the way, and said, I am void of fear in this matter: prepare thyself to die; for I swear by my infernal den, that thou shalt go no further; here will I spill thy soul.

And with that he threw a flaming dart at his breast;[1] but Christian had a shield in his hand, with which he caught it, and so prevented the danger of that.

Then did Christian draw; for he saw it was time to bestir him: and Apollyon as fast made at him, throwing darts as thick as hail; by the which, notwithstanding all that Christian could do to avoid it, Apollyon wounded him in his head, his hand, and foot. This made Christian give a little back; Apollyon, therefore, followed his work amain, and Christian again took courage, and resisted as manfully as he could. This sore combat lasted for above half a day, even till Christian was almost quite spent; for you must know, that Christian, by reason of his wounds, must needs grow weaker and weaker.

Christian wounded in his understanding, faith, and conversation.

Then Apollyon, espying his opportunity, began to gather up close to Christian, and wrestling with him, gave him a dreadful fall; and with that, Christian's sword flew out of his hand. Then said Apollyon, I am sure of thee now.[2] And with that he had almost pressed him to death; so that Christian began to despair of life: but as God would have it, while Apollyon was fetching of his last blow, thereby to make a full end of this good man, Christian nimbly stretched out his hand for his sword, and caught it, saying, 'Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise,' Mi. vii. 8; and with that gave him a deadly thrust, which made him give back, as one that had received his mortal wound. Christian perceiving that, made at him again, saying, 'Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us.' Ro. viii. 37. And with that Apollyon spread forth his dragon's wings, and sped him away, that Christian for a season[3] saw him no more.[4] Ja. iv. 7.

Apollyon casteth down to the ground the Christian.

Christian's victory over Apollyon.

In this combat no man can imagine, unless he had seen and heard as I did, what yelling and hideous roaring Apollyon made all the time of the fight—he spake like a dragon; and, on the other side, what sighs and groans burst from Christian's heart. I never saw him all the while give so much as one pleasant look, till he perceived he had wounded Apollyon with his two-edged sword; then, indeed, he did smile, and look upward; but it was the dreadfulest sight that ever I saw.[5]

A brief relation of the combat by the spectator.

So when the battle was over, Christian said, 'I will here give thanks to him that delivered me out of the mouth of the lion, to him that did help me against Apollyon.' And so he did, saying—

Christian gives God thanks for deliverance.

derers—yea, worse than any of these; and yet God was so far off from rejecting of me, as I found afterwards, that there was music and dancing in his house for me, and for joy that I was come home unto him. When Satan charged Luther with a long list of crimes, he replied, This is all true; but write another line at the bottom, 'The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.'—(Ed).

[1] The devil is that great and dogged leviathan, that 'spreadeth sharp pointed things upon the mire.' Job xl. 30. For be the spreading nature of our corruptions never so broad, he will find sharp pointed things enough to stick in the mire of them for our affliction; they are called *fiery darts*, and he has abundance of them with which he can and will sorely prick and wound our spirits.—(Bunyan on *Christ's Love*, vol. ii. p. 65.)

[2] When infidel thoughts prevail, so that doubts of the truth of Scripture take hold of the mind, the sword of the Spirit flies out of the hand. Unarmed before a ferocious enemy, it was an awful moment; but God revives his faith in the Divine Word, he recovers his sword, and gives his enemy a deadly plunge—I shall rise.—(Drayton.)

[3] 'For a season,' is only found in the first edition. These words may have been omitted, in Bunyan's subsequent editions, by a typographical error, or have been struck out by him. My impression is, that they were left out by the printer in error; because, in the Second Part, when the pilgrims pass the spot and talk of the battle, we are told that 'when Apollyon was beat, he made his retreat to the next valley.' And there poor Christian was awfully beset with him again.—(Ed.)

[4] You will find, from the perusal of Bunyan's own spiritual life, that he has here brought together, in the assault of Apollyon upon Christian, many of the most grievous temptations with which his own soul was beset, as also, in Christian's answers against them, the very method of defence which he himself was taught by Divine grace in the midst of the conflict. It is here condensed into a narrow and vivid scene, but it extended over years of Bunyan's life; and the wisdom that is in it, and the points of experience illustrated, were the fruit of many months of painfulness, danger, and desperate struggle with the adversary, which he had to go through.—(Cheever.)

[5] The literal history of this terrific conflict may be found in Bunyan's experience recorded in *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 131—173, when he recovered his sword, and put his enemy to flight. He describes his agonies in the combat as if he was being racked upon the wheel, and states that it lasted for about a year. Floods of blasphemies were poured in upon him, but he was saved from utter despair, because they were loathsome to him. Dr. Cheever eloquently says, 'What made the fight a thousand times worse for poor Christian was, that many of these hellish darts were tipped, by Apollyon's malignant ingenuity, with sentences from Scripture;' so that Christian thought the Bible was against him. One of these fiery darts penetrated his soul with the awful words, 'no place for repentance;' and another with, 'hath never forgiveness.' The recovery of his sword was by a heavenly suggestion that he did not 'refuse him that speaketh:' new vigour was communicated. 'When I fall, I shall arise,' was a home-thrust at Satan; who left him, richly to enjoy the consolations of the gospel after this dreadful battle.—(Ed.)

Great Beelzebub, the captain of this fiend,
Design'd my ruin; therefore to this end
He sent him harness'd out; and he with rage,
That hellish was, did fiercely me engage.
But blessed Michael helped me, and I,
By dint of sword, did quickly make him fly.
Therefore to him let me give lasting praise,
And thank and bless his holy name always.

Then there came to him a hand, with some of the leaves of the tree of life, the which Christian took, and applied to the wounds that he had received in the battle, and was healed immediately.[1] He also sat down in that place to eat bread, and to drink of the bottle that was given him a little before; so being refreshed, he addressed himself to his journey, with his sword drawn in his hand; for he said, I know not but some other enemy may be at hand. But he met with no other affront from Apollyon quite through this valley.

Christian goes on his journey with his sword drawn in his hand.

Now, at the end of this valley, was another, called the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and Christian must needs go through it, because the way to the Celestial City lay through the midst of it. Now this valley is a very solitary place. The prophet Jeremiah thus describes it: 'A wilderness, a land of deserts, and of pits, a land of drought, and of the shadow of death, a land that no man' (but a Christian) 'passed through, and where no man dwelt.' Je. ii. 6.

The Valley of the Shadow of Death.

Now here Christian was worse put to it than in his fight with Apollyon; as by the sequel you shall see.[2]

I saw then in my dream, that when Christian was got to the borders of the Shadow of Death, there met him two men, children of them that brought up an evil report of the good land, Nu. xiii., making haste to go back; to whom Christian spake as follows:—

The children of the spies go back.

CHR. Whither are you going?

MEN. They said, Back! back! and we would have you to do so too, if either life or peace is prized by you.

CHR. Why? what's the matter? said Christian.

MEN. Matter! said they; we were going that way as you are going, and went as far as we durst; and indeed we were almost past coming back; for had we gone a little further, we had not been here to bring the news to thee.

CHR. But what have you met with? said Christian.

MEN. Why, we were almost in the Valley of the Shadow of Death; but that, by good hap, we looked before us, and saw the danger before we came to it. Ps. xliv. 19; cvii. 10.

CHR. But what have you seen? said Christian.

MEN. Seen! Why, the valley itself, which is as dark as pitch; we also saw there the hobgoblins, satyrs, and dragons of the pit; we heard also in that Valley a continual howling and yelling, as of a people under unutterable misery, who there sat bound in affliction and irons; and over that Valley hangs the discouraging clouds of confusion. Death also doth always spread his wings over it. In a word, it is every whit dreadful, being utterly without order. Job iii. 5; x. 26.

CHR. Then said Christian, I perceive not yet, by what you have said, but that this is my way to the desired haven.[3] Je. ii. 6.

MEN. Be it thy way; we will not choose it for ours. So they parted, and Christian went on his way, but still with his sword drawn in his hand; for fear lest he should be assaulted.

I saw then in my dream so far as this valley reached, there was on the right hand a very deep ditch: that ditch is it into which the blind have led the blind in all ages, and have both there miserably perished.[4] Ps. lxix. 14, 15. Again, behold, on the left hand, there was a very dangerous quag, into which, if even a good man falls, he can find no bottom for his foot to stand on. Into that quag king David once did fall, and had no doubt therein been smothered, had not HE that is able plucked him out.

The pathway was here also exceeding narrow, and therefore good Christian was the more put to it; for when he sought, in the dark, to shun the ditch on the one hand, he was ready to tip over into the mire on the other; also when he sought to escape the mire, without great carefulness he would be ready to fall into the ditch. Thus he went on, and I heard him here sigh bitterly; for besides the dangers mentioned above, the pathway was here so dark, that ofttimes, when he lift

[1] By 'leaves' here (Rev. xxii. 2), we are to understand the blessed and precious promises, consolations, and encouragements, that, by virtue of Christ, we find everywhere growing on the new covenant, which will be *handed* freely to the wounded conscience that is tossed on the reckless waves of doubt and unbelief. Christ's leaves are better than Adam's aprons. He sent his Word, and healed them.—(Bunyan's *Holy City*.)

[2] However terrible these conflicts are, they are what every Christian pilgrim has to encounter that is determined to win heaven. Sin and death, reprobates and demons, are against him. The Almighty, all good angels and men, is for him. Eternal life is the reward. Be not discouraged, young Christian! 'If God *be* for us, who *can be* against us?' We shall come off more than conquerors, through him that hath loved us. Equal to our day so shall be our strength. The enemies had a special check from our Lord, while Mr. Fearing passed through.

'Though death and hell obstruct the way
The meanest saint *shall* win the day.'—(ED.)

[3] 'Desired heaven,' in some of Bunyan's editions.—(ED.)

[4] The ditch on the right hand is error in principle, into which the blind, as to spiritual truth, fall. The ditch on the left hand means outward sin and wickedness, which many fall into. Both are alike dangerous to pilgrims: but the Lord 'will keep the feet of his saints.' 1 Sa. ii. 9.—(Mason.) Dr. Dodd considers that by the deep ditch is intended 'presumptuous hopes,' and the no less dangerous quag to be 'despairing fears.'—(ED.)

up his foot to set forward, he knew not where, or upon what he should set it next.

About the midst of this valley, I perceived the mouth of hell to be, and it stood also hard by the way-side. Now, thought Christian, what shall I do? And ever and anon the flame and smoke would come out in such abundance, with sparks and hideous noises (things that cared not for Christian's sword, as did Apollyon before), that he was forced to put up his sword, and betake himself to another weapon, called All-prayer. Eph. vi. 18. So he cried in my hearing, 'O Lord, I beseech thee, deliver my soul!' Ps. cxvi. 4. Thus he went on a great while, yet still the flames would be reaching towards him.[1] Also he heard doleful voices, and rushings to and fro, so that sometimes he thought he should be torn in pieces, or trodden down like mire in the streets. This frightful sight was seen, and these dreadful noises were heard by him for several miles together. And, coming to a place, where he thought he heard a company of fiends coming forward to meet him, he stopped and began to muse what he had best to do. Sometimes he had half a thought to go back; then again he thought he might be half way through the valley; he remembered also how he had already vanquished many a danger, and that the danger of going back might be much more than for to go forward; so he resolved to go on. Yet the fiends seemed to come nearer and nearer; but when they were come even almost at him, he cried out with a most vehement voice, 'I will walk in the strength of the Lord God;' so they gave back, and came no further.

Christian put to a stand, but for a while.

One thing I would not let slip; I took notice that now poor Christian was so confounded, that he did not know his own voice; and thus I perceived it. Just when he was come over against the mouth of the burning pit, one of the wicked ones got behind him, and stept up softly to him, and, whisperingly, suggested many grievous blasphemies to him, which he verily thought had proceeded from his own mind. This put Christian more to it than anything that he met with before; even to think that he should now blaspheme him that he loved so much before; yet, if he could have helped it, he would not have done it; but he had not the discretion either to stop his ears, or to know from whence these blasphemies came.[2]

Christian made believe that he spake blasphemies, when it was Satan that suggested them into his mind.

When Christian had travelled in this disconsolate condition some considerable time, he thought he heard the voice of a man, as going before him, saying, 'Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou *art* with me.' Ps. xxiii. 4.[3]

Then he was glad, and that for these reasons:

First, Because he gathered from thence, that some who feared God, were in this valley as well as himself.

Secondly, For that he perceived God was with them, though in that dark and dismal state; and why not, thought he, with me? though, by reason of the impediment that attends this place, I cannot perceive it. Job ix. 11.

Thirdly, For that he hoped, could he overtake them, to have company by and by. So he went on, and called to him that was before; but he knew not what to answer; for that he also thought himself to be alone. And by and by the day broke; then said Christian, He hath turned 'the shadow of death into the morning.' Am. v. 8.[4]

Christian glad at break of day.

Now morning being come, he looked back, not out of desire to return, but to see, by the light of the day, what hazards he had gone through in the dark. So he saw more perfectly the ditch that was on the one hand, and the quag that was on the other; also how narrow the way was which led betwixt them both; also now he saw the hobgoblins, and satyrs, and dragons of the pit, but all afar off (for after break of day, they came not nigh); yet they were discovered to him, according to that which is written, 'He discovereth deep things out of darkness, and bringeth out to light the shadow of death.' Job xii. 22.

Now was Christian much affected with his deliverance from all the dangers of his solitary way; which dangers, though he feared them more before, yet he saw them more clearly now, because the light of the day made them conspicuous to him. And about this time the sun was rising, and this

[1] The sight of an immortal soul in peril of its eternal interests, beset with enemies, engaged in a desperate conflict, with hell opening her mouth before, and fiends and temptations pressing after, is a sublime and awful spectacle. Man cannot aid him: all his help is in God only.—(Cheever.)

[2] And as for the secrets of Satan, such as are suggestions to question the being of God, the truth of his Word, and to be annoyed with devilish blasphemies, none are more acquainted with these than the biggest sinners at their conversion; wherefore thus also they are prepared to be helps in the church to relieve and comfort others.—(*Jerusalem Sinner Saved*, vol. i. p. 80.) See also a very interesting debate upon this subject in *Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ*, vol. i. p. 250. O, no one knows the terrors of these days but myself.—(*Grace Abounding*, Nos. 100—102.) Satan and his angels trouble his head with their stinking breath. How many strange, hideous, and amazing blasphemies have some, that are coming to Christ, had injected upon their spirits against him.—(*Christ a Complete Saviour*, vol. i. p. 209.) He brought me up also out of a horrible pit; a pit of noise of devils, and of my heart answering them with distrust and fear.—(*Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love.*)

[3] The experience of other saints is very encouraging; for the soul finds that others have gone before him in dreadful, dark, and dreary paths.—(Mason.)

[4] To walk in darkness, and not be distressed for it, argues stupidity of the soul. To have the light of God's countenance shine upon us, and not to rejoice and be thankful for it, is impossible.—(Mason.)

was another mercy to Christian; for you must note, that though the first part of the Valley of the Shadow of Death was dangerous, yet this second part which he was yet to go, was, if possible, far more dangerous:[1] for from the place where he now stood, even to the end of the valley, the way was all along set so full of snares, traps, gins, and nets here, and so full of pits, pitfalls, deep holes, and shelvings down there, that had it now been dark, as it was when he came the first part of the way, had he had a thousand souls, they had in reason been cast away;[2] but, as I said, just now the sun was rising. Then said he, 'His candle shineth upon my head, *and* by his light I walk *through* darkness.' Job xxix. 3.

The second part of this valley very dangerous.

In this light, therefore, he came to the end of the valley. Now I saw in my dream, that at the end of this valley lay blood, bones, ashes, and mangled bodies of men, even of pilgrims that had gone this way formerly; and while I was musing what should be the reason, I espied a little before me a cave, where two giants, POPE and PAGAN, dwelt in old time; by whose power and tyranny the men whose bones, blood, ashes, &c., lay there, were cruelly put to death.[3] But by this place Christian went without much danger, whereat I somewhat wondered; but I have learnt since, that PAGAN has been dead many a day; and as for the other, though he be yet alive, he is, by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he can now do little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them.[4]

So I saw that Christian went on his way; yet, at the sight of the Old Man that sat in the mouth of the cave, he could not tell what to think, especially because he spake to him, though he could not go after him; saying, 'You will never mend, till more of you be burned.' But he held his peace, and set a good face on it, and so went by and catched no hurt.[5] Then sang Christian,

> O world of wonders! (I can say no less)
> That I should be preserv'd in that distress
> That I have met with here! O blessed be
> That hand that from it hath deliver'd me!
> Dangers in darkness, devils, hell, and sin,
> Did compass me, while I this vale was in:
> Yea, snares and pits, and traps, and nets, did lie
> My path about, that worthless, silly I
> Might have been catch'd, entangled, and cast down;
> But since I live, let JESUS wear the crown.

Now, as Christian went on his way, he came to a little ascent, which was cast up on purpose, that pilgrims might see before them. Up there, therefore, Christian went; and looking forward, he saw Faithful before him, upon his journey. Then said Christian aloud, 'Ho! ho! Soho! stay, and I will be your companion.'[6] At that, Faithful looked be-

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[1] I would not be too confident, but I apprehend that by this second part of the valley we are taught that believers are not most in danger when under the deepest distress; that the snares and devices of the enemy are so many and various, through the several stages of our pilgrimage, as to baffle all description; and that all the emblems of these valleys could not represent the thousandth part of them. Were it not that the Lord guides his people by the light of his Word and Spirit, they never could possibly escape them.—(Scott.)

[2] The wicked spirits have made and laid for us snares, pits, holes, and what not, if peradventure by something we may be destroyed. Yea, and we should most certainly be so, were it not for the rock that is higher than they.—(Bunyan's *Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love*, vol. ii. p. 8.)

[3] Alas, my dear country! would to God it could not be said to thee, since the departure of paganism and popery, 'The blood of the poor innocents is found in thy skirts, not by a secret search, but upon thy kings, princes, priests, and prophets.' Je. ii. 34, 26. Let us draw a veil over the infamy of PROTESTANT PERSECUTION, and bless Jehovah, who has broken the arrow and the bow.—(Andronicus.) It may be questioned whether popery may not yet so far recover its vigour as to make one more alarming struggle against vital Christianity, before that Man of Sin be finally destroyed. Our author, however, has described no other persecution than what Protestants, in his time, carried on against one another with very great alacrity.—(Scott.)

[4] The quaint and pithy point of this passage stamps it as one of Bunyan's most felicitous descriptions. We who live in a later age may, indeed, suspect that he has somewhat antedated the death of Pagan, and the impotence of Pope; but his picture of their cave and its memorials, his delineation of the survivor of this fearful pair, rank among those master-touches which have won such lasting honour for his genius.—(Bernard Barton.)

[5] Christian having passed the gloomy whirlwind of temptation to despair, now walks in the light of the Sun of Righteousness, through the second part of the valley. There he encounters the persecution of the state church. Act after act of Parliament had been passed—full of atrocious penalties, imprisonments, transportation, and hanging—to deter poor pilgrims from the way to Zion. 'The way was full of snares, traps, gins, nets, pitfalls, and deep holes.' Had the darkness of mental anguish been added to these dangers, he must have perished. The butcheries of Jefferies strewed the way with blood, bones, ashes, and mangled bodies of pilgrims. Pope reared his ugly head, and growled out, 'More of you must be burned.' The desolating tyranny of the church was curbed by the King's turning papist, which paved the way for the glorious Revolution of 1688. It appears from the *Grace Abounding*, that to the time of Bunyan's imprisonment for preaching the gospel, he was involved frequently in deeply-distressing spiritual darkness; but, from his entering the prison, he walked in the light of God's countenance to his dying day.—(ED.)

[6] We are now to be introduced to a new pilgrim, and Christian is no more to go on his way alone. The sweet Christian communion depicted in this book forms one of the most delightful features in it, and Faithful and Hopeful are both of them portraits that stand out in as firm relief as that of Christian himself. Faithful is the Martyr Pilgrim, who goes in a chariot of fire to heaven, and leaves Christian alone; Hopeful springs, as it were, out of Faithful's ashes, and supplies his place all along the remainder of the pilgrimage. The communion between these loving Christians, their sympathy and share in each other's distresses, their mutual counsels and encouragements, temptations and dangers, experience and discipline, their united joys and sorrows, and their very passing of the river of death together, form the sweetest of all examples of the true fellowship of saints, united to the same Saviour, made to drink into the same Spirit, baptized with the same sufferings, partakers of the same consolations, crowned with the same crown of life, entering together upon glory everlast-

hind him; to whom Christian cried again, 'Stay, stay, till I come up to you.' But Faithful answered, 'No, I am upon my life, and the avenger of blood is behind me.'

Christian overtakes Faithful.

At this, Christian was somewhat moved, and putting to all his strength, he quickly got up with Faithful, and did also overrun him; so the last was first. Then did Christian vain-gloriously smile, because he had gotten the start of his brother;[1] but not taking good heed to his feet, he suddenly stumbled and fell, and could not rise again, until Faithful came up to help him.

Christian's fall makes Faithful and he go lovingly together.

Then I saw in my dream, they went very lovingly on together, and had sweet discourse of all things that had happened to them in their pilgrimage; and thus Christian began.

CHR. My honoured and well-beloved brother, Faithful, I am glad that I have overtaken you; and that God has so tempered our spirits, that we can walk as companions in this so pleasant a path.

FAITH. I had thought, dear friend, to have had your company quite from our town; but you did get the start of me, wherefore I was forced to come thus much of the way alone.

CHR. How long did you stay in the City of Destruction, before you set out after me on your pilgrimage?

Their talk about the country from whence they came.

FAITH. Till I could stay no longer; for there was great talk presently after you were gone out, that our city would, in short time, with fire from heaven, be burned down to the ground.

CHR. What! did your neighbours talk so?

FAITH. Yes, it was for a while in everybody's mouth.

CHR. What! and did no more of them but you come out to escape the danger?

FAITH. Though there was, as I said, a great talk thereabout, yet I do not think they did firmly believe it. For in the heat of the discourse, I heard some of them deridingly speak of you, and of your desperate journey (for so they called this your pilgrimage), but I did believe, and do still, that the end of our city will be with fire and brimstone from above; and therefore I have made my escape.

CHR. Did you hear no talk of neighbour Pliable?

FAITH. Yes, Christian, I heard that he followed you till he came at the Slough of Despond, where, as some said, he fell in; but he would not be known to have so done; but I am sure he was soundly bedabbled with that kind of dirt.

CHR. And what said the neighbours to him?

How Pliable was accounted of, when he got home.

FAITH. He hath, since his going back, been had greatly in derision, and that among all sorts of people; some do mock and despise him; and scarce will any set him on work. He is now seven times worse than if he had never gone out of the city.[2]

CHR. But why should they be so set against him, since they also despise the way that he forsook?

FAITH. O! they say, Hang him, he is a turn-coat; he was not true to his profession. I think God has stirred up even his enemies to hiss at him, and make him a proverb, because he hath forsaken the way. Je. xxix. 18, 19.

CHR. Had you no talk with him before you came out?

FAITH. I met him once in the streets, but he leered away on the other side, as one ashamed of what he had done; so I spake not to him.

CHR. Well, at my first setting out, I had hopes of that man; but now I fear he will perish in the overthrow of the city; For 'it is happened to him according to the true proverb, The dog *is* turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.' 2 Pe. ii 22.

The dog and the sow.

FAITH. These are my fears of him too; but who can hinder that which will be?

CHR. Well, neighbour Faithful, said Christian, let us leave him, and talk of things that more immediately concern ourselves. Tell me now, what you have met with in the way as you came; for I know you have met with some things, or else it may be writ for a wonder.

FAITH. I escaped the Slough that I perceived

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ing.—(Cheever.) The author has displayed great skill in introducing a companion to his Pilgrim in this place. Thus far the personal adventures of Christian had been of the most extraordinary kind, and sufficient of themselves to exercise the reader's sympathies for him; but these feelings would have languished from weariness, however intensely the sequel might have been wrought, had attention been claimed for a solitary wanderer to the end of the journey. Here then the history, which had probably reached its climax in the preceding scenes, revives, by taking a new form, and exciting a fresh interest, rather doubled than divided, though two have thenceforward to share it instead of one. Besides, the individual experience of one man, however varied, would not have been sufficient to exemplify all the most useful lessons of the gospel, unless the trials of many persons, of different age, sex, and disposition, were interwoven. The instance at hand will illustrate this point.—(Montgomery.)

[1] Ah, what a smile was that! How much sin was there in it, instead of humble spiritual gratitude, and joy. Now see how he that exalteth himself shall be abased, and how surely, along with spiritual pride, comes carelessness, false security, and a grievous fall.—(Cheever.) The very person's hand we need to help us, whom we thought we had exceeded.—(Mason.) When a consciousness of superiority to other Christians leads to vain glory, a fall will be the consequence; but while it excites compassion, it also cements Christian friendship.—(Ivimey.)

[2] Mr. Anything became a brisk man in the broil; but both sides were against him, because he was true to none. He had, for his malapertness, one of his legs broken, and he that did it wished it had been his neck.—(*Holy War.*)

you fell into, and got up to the gate without that danger; only I met with one whose name was Wanton, who had like to have done me a mischief.

Faithful assaulted by Wanton.

Chr. It was well you escaped her net; Joseph was hard put to it by her, and he escaped her as you did; but it had like to have cost him his life. Ge. xxxix. 11–13. But what did she do to you?

Faith. You cannot think, but that you know something, what a flattering tongue she had; she lay at me hard to turn aside with her, promising me all manner of content.

Chr. Nay, she did not promise you the content of a good conscience.

Faith. You know what I mean; all carnal and fleshly content.

Chr. Thank God you have escaped her; 'The abhorred of the Lord shall fall into her ditch.' Pr. xxii. 14.

Faith. Nay, I know not whether I did wholly escape her or no.

Chr. Why, I trow, [1] you did not consent to her desires?

Faith. No, not to defile myself; for I remembered an old writing that I had seen, which said, 'Her steps take hold on hell.' Pr. v. 5. So I shut mine eyes, because I would not be bewitched with her looks. Job xxxi. 1 Then she railed on me, and I went my way.[2]

Chr. Did you meet with no other assault as you came?

Faith. When I came to the foot of the hill called Difficulty, I met with a very aged man, who asked me what I was, and whither bound. I told him that I am a pilgrim, going to the Celestial City. Then said the old man, Thou lookest like an honest fellow; wilt thou be content to dwell with me for the wages that I shall give thee? Then I asked him his name, and where he dwelt. He said his name was Adam the First, and that he dwelt in the town of Deceit. Eph. iv. 22. I asked him then, what was his work, and what the wages that he would give. He told me, that his work was many delights; and his wages, that I should be his heir at last. I further asked him, what house he kept, and what other servants he had. So he told me, that his house was maintained with all the dainties in the world; and that his servants were those of his own begetting. Then I asked if he had any children. He said that he had but three daughters;

He is assaulted by Adam the first.

the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life, and that I should marry them all [3] if I would. 1 Jn. ii. 16. Then I asked how long time he would have me live with him? And he told me, As long as he lived himself.

Chr. Well, and what conclusion came the old man and you to, at last?

Faith. Why, at first, I found myself somewhat inclinable to go with the man, for I thought he spake very fair; but looking in his forehead, as I talked with him, I saw there written, 'Put off the old man with his deeds.'

Chr. And how then?

Faith. Then it came burning hot into my mind, whatever he said, and however he flattered, when he got me home to his house, he would sell me for a slave.[4] So I bid him forbear to talk, for I would not come near the door of his house. Then he reviled me, and told me, that he would send such a one after me, that should make my way bitter to my soul. So I turned to go away from him; but just as I turned myself to go thence, I felt him take hold of my flesh, and give me such a deadly twitch back, that I thought he had pulled part of me after himself. This made me cry, 'O wretched man!' Ro. vii. 24. So I went on my way up the hill.

Now when I had got about half way up, I looked behind, and saw one coming after me, swift as the wind; so he overtook me just about the place where the settle stands.

Chr. Just there, said Christian, did I sit down to rest me; but being overcome with sleep, I there lost this roll out of my bosom

Faith. But, good brother, hear me out. So soon as the man overtook me, he was but a word and a blow, for down he knocked me, and laid me for dead.[5] But when I was a little come to myself again, I asked him wherefore he served me so. He said, because of my secret inclining to Adam the First: and with that he struck me another deadly blow on the breast, and beat me down backward; so I lay at his foot as dead as before. So, when I came to myself again, I cried him mercy; but he said, I know not how to show mercy; and with that knocked me down again.[6] He had doubtless made an end of me, but that one came by, and bid him forbear.

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[1] 'I trow,' I believe or imagine (*Imp. Dict.*)—(Ed.)

[2] If the experience of Christian is an exhibition of Bunyan's own feelings, the temptations of Madam Wanton are very properly laid in the way of Faithful, and not of Christian. She would have had no chance with the man who admired the wisdom of God in making him shy of women, who rarely carried it pleasantly towards a woman, and who abhorred the common salutation of women.—(*Grace Abounding*, No. 316.)—Ed.

[3] 'All' is omitted from every edition by Bunyan, except the first; probably a typographical error.

[4] An awful slavery! 'None that go unto her return again, neither take they hold of the paths of life.' Pr. ii. 19.—(Ed.)

[5] That sinner who never had a threatening fiery visit from Moses, is yet asleep in his sins, under the curse and wrath of the law of God.—(C.C.V.G.)

[6] As the law giveth no strength, nor life to keep it, so it accepteth none of them that are under it. Sin and Die, is for ever its language. There is no middle way in the law. It hath not ears to hear, nor heart to pity, its penitent ones.—(Bunyan on *Justification*, vol. i. p. 316.)

CHR. Who was that that bid him forbear.

FAITH. I did not know him at first, but as he went by, I perceived the holes in his hands, and in his side; then I concluded that he was our Lord. So I went up the hill.

CHR. That man that overtook you was Moses.

The temper[1] of Moses. He spareth none, neither knoweth he how to show mercy to those that transgress his law.

FAITH. I know it very well; it was not the first time that he has met with me. It was he that came to me when I dwelt securely at home, and that told me he would burn my house over my head, if I stayed there.

CHR. But did you not see the house that stood there on the top of the hill, on the side of which Moses met you?

FAITH. Yes, and the lions too, before I came at it; but for the lions, I think they were asleep; for it was about noon; and because I had so much of the day before me, I passed by the porter, and came down the hill.

CHR. He told me indeed, that he saw you go by, but I wish you had called at the house, for they would have showed you so many rarities, that you would scarce have forgot them to the day of your death. But pray tell me, Did you meet nobody in the Valley of Humility?

FAITH. Yes, I met with one Discontent, who

Faithful assaulted by Discontent. would willingly have persuaded me to go back again with him; his reason was, for that the valley was altogether without honour. He told me, moreover, that there to go was the way to disobey all my friends, as Pride, Arrogancy, Self-conceit, Worldly-glory, with others, who, he knew, as he said, would be very much offended, if I made such a fool of myself as to wade through this valley.

CHR. Well, and how did you answer him?

FAITH. I told him that although all these that

Faithful's answer to Discontent. he named might claim kindred of me, and that rightly, for indeed they were my relations according to the flesh, yet since I became a pilgrim, they have disowned me, as I also have rejected them; and therefore they were to me now no more than if they had never been of my lineage.

I told him, moreover, that as to this valley he had quite misrepresented the thing; 'for before honour is humility; and a haughty spirit before a fall.' Therefore, said I, I had rather go through this valley to the honour that was so accounted by the wisest, than choose that which he esteamed most worthy our affections.

CHR. Met you with nothing else in that valley?

FAITH. Yes, I met with Shame; but of all the men that I met with in my pilgrimage, He is assaulted with Shame. he, I think, bears the wrong name. The others would be said nay, after a little argumentation, and somewhat else; but this bold-faced Shame would never have done.[2]

CHR. Why, what did he say to you?

FAITH. What! why, he objected against religion itself; he said it was a pitiful, low, sneaking business for a man to mind religion; he said that a tender conscience was an unmanly thing; and that for a man to watch over his words and ways, so as to tie up himself from that hectoring liberty, that the brave spirits of the times accustom themselves unto, would make him the ridicule of the times. He objected also, that but few of the mighty, rich, or wise, were ever of my opinion, 1 Co. i. 26; iii. 18. Phi. iii. 7, 8; nor any of them neither, Jn. vii. 48, before they were persuaded to be fools, and to be of a voluntary fondness, to venture the loss of all, for nobody knows what. He moreover objected the base and low estate and condition of those that were chiefly the pilgrims, of the times in which they lived; also their ignorance, and want of understanding in all natural science. Yea, he did hold me to it at that rate also, about a great many more things than here I relate; as, that it was a *shame* to sit whining and mourning under a sermon, and a *shame* to come sighing and groaning home; that it was a *shame* to ask my neighbour forgiveness for petty faults, or to make restitution where I have taken from any. He said also, that religion made a man grow strange to the great, because of a few vices, which he called by finer names; and made him own and respect the base, because of the same religious fraternity. And is not this, said he, a *shame*?[3]

CHR. And what did you say to him?

FAITH, Say! I could not tell what to say at the first. Yea, he put me so to it, that my blood came up in my face; even this Shame fetched it up, and had almost beat me quite off. But, at last, I began to consider, that 'that which is highly esteemed among men, is had in abomination with God.'

[1] The word 'temper' was altered, in the fourth and subsequent editions to 'thunder.'—(ED.)

[2] The delineation of this character is a masterly grouping together of the arguments used by men of this world against religion, in ridicule and contempt of it. Faithful's account of him, and of his arguments, is a piece of vigorous satire, full of truth and life.—(Cheever.)

[3] Nothing can be a stronger proof that we have lost the image of God, than shame concerning the things of God. This shame, joined to the fear of man, is a very powerful enemy to God's truths, Christ's glory, and our soul's comfort. Better at once get out of our pain, by declaring boldly for Christ and his cause, than stand shivering on the brink of profession, ever dreading the loss of our good name and reputation: for Christ says (awful words): 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father.' Mar. viii. 38. It is one thing to be attacked by shame, and another to be conquered by it.—(Mason.)

Lu. xvi. 15. And I thought again, this Shame tells me what men are; but it tells me nothing what God, or the Word of God is. And I thought, moreover, that at the day of doom, we shall not be doomed to death or life, according to the hectoring spirits of the world, but according to the wisdom and law of the Highest. Therefore, thought I, what God says is best, indeed is best, though all the men in the world are against it. Seeing, then, that God prefers his religion; seeing God prefers a tender conscience; seeing they that make themselves fools for the kingdom of heaven are wisest; and that the poor man that loveth Christ is richer than the greatest man in the world that hates him; *Shame*, depart, thou art an enemy to my salvation. Shall I entertain thee against my sovereign Lord? How then shall I look him in the face at his coming? Should I now be ashamed of his ways and servants, how can I expect the blessing? Mar. viii. 38. But, indeed, this Shame was a bold villain; I could scarce shake him out of my company; yea, he would be haunting of me, and continually whispering me in the ear, with some one or other of the infirmities that attend religion; but at last I told him it was but in vain to attempt further in this business; for those things that he disdained, in those did I see most glory; and so at last I got past this importunate one. And when I had shaken him off, then I began to sing—

> The trials that those men do meet withal,
> That are obedient to the heavenly call,
> Are manifold, and suited to the flesh,
> And come, and come, and come again afresh;
> That now, or sometime else, we by them may
> Be taken, overcome, and cast away.
> O let the pilgrims, let the pilgrims, then,
> Be vigilant, and quit themselves like men.

Chr. I am glad, my brother, that thou didst withstand this villain so bravely; for of all, as thou sayest, I think he has the wrong name; for he is so bold as to follow us in the streets, and to attempt to put us to shame before all men; that is, to make us ashamed of that which is good; but if he was not himself audacious, he would never attempt to do as he does. But let us still resist him; for notwithstanding all his bravadoes, he promoteth the fool, and none else. 'The wise shall inherit glory,' said Solomon, 'but shame shall be the promotion of fools.' Pr. iii. 35.

Faith. I think we must cry to him for help against Shame, who would have us to be valiant for the truth upon the earth.

Chr. You say true; but did you meet nobody else in that valley?

Faith. No, not I, for I had sunshine all the rest of the way through that, and also through the Valley of the Shadow of Death.[1]

Chr. It was well for you. I am sure it fared far otherwise with me; I had for a long season, as soon almost as I entered into that valley, a dreadful combat with that foul fiend Apollyon; yea, I thought verily he would have killed me, especially when he got me down and crushed me under him, as if he would have crushed me to pieces; for as he threw me, my sword flew out of my hand; nay, he told me he was sure of me; but I cried to God, and he heard me, and delivered me out of all my troubles. Then I entered into the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and had no light for almost half the way through it.[2] I thought I should have been killed there, over and over; but at last day broke, and the sun rose, and I went through that which was behind with far more ease and quiet.

Moreover, I saw in my dream, that as they went on, Faithful, as he chanced to look on one side, saw a man whose name is Talkative,[3] walking at a distance besides them; for in this place, there was room enough for them all to walk. He was a tall man, and something more comely at a distance than at hand. To this man Faithful addressed himself in this manner. Talkative described.

Faith. Friend, whither away? Are you going to the heavenly country?

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[1] Christian in a great measure escaped the peculiar temptations that assaulted Faithful, yet he sympathized with him; nor did the latter deem the gloomy experiences of his brother visionary or imaginative, though he had been exempted from them. One man, from a complication of causes, is exposed to temptations of which another is ignorant; and in this case he needs much sympathy, which he seldom meets with; while they who are severe on him are liable to be baffled in another way, which, for want of coincidence in habit, temperature, and situation, he is equally prone to disregard. Thus Christians are often led reciprocally to censure, suspect, or dislike each other, on those very grounds which would render them useful and encouraging counsellors and companions!—(Scott.)

[2] Bunyan, in his Pilgrim's Progress, places the Valley of the Shadow of Death, not where we should expect it, at the end of Christian's pilgrimage, but about the middle of it. Those who have studied the history of Bunyan and his times will hardly wonder at this. It was then safer to commit felony than to become a Dissenter. Indeed, a felon was far surer of a fair trial than any Dissenting minister, after the restoration of Charles II. This Bunyan found. Simply and solely for preaching, he was condemned by Keeling to imprisonment. That was to be followed by banishment if he did not conform, and, in the event of his return from banishment without license from the King, the judge added, 'You must stretch by the neck for it; I tell you plainly.' Christian endured, in the first portion of this dismal valley, great darkness and distress of mind about his soul's safety for eternity, and, in the latter part of the valley, the dread of an ignominious, and cruel, and sudden execution in the midst of his days—a fear more appalling than the prospect of a natural death. This he was enabled to bear, because he then enjoyed the light, the presence, and the approbation of his God.—(Ed.)

[3] The character now introduced under a most expressive name, is an admirable portrait, drawn by a masterly hand, from some striking original, but exactly resembling numbers in every age and place, where the truths of the gospel are generally known. Such men are more conspicuous than humble believers, but their profession will not endure a strict investigation.—(Scott.) Reader, be careful not to judge harshly, or despise *a real believer*, who is blessed with fluency of utterance on Divine subjects.—(Ed.)

TALK. I am going to the same place.

FAITH. That is well; then I hope we may have your good company.

TALK. With a very good will, will I be your companion.

Faithful and Talkative enter discourse.

FAITH. Come on, then, and let us go together, and let us spend our time in discoursing of things that are profitable.

TALK. To talk of things that are good, to me is very acceptable, with you, or with any other; and I am glad that I have met with those that incline to so good a work; for, to speak the truth, there are but few that care thus to spend their time (as they are in their travels), but choose much rather to be speaking of things to no profit; and this hath been a trouble to me.

Talkative's dislike of bad discourse.

FAITH. That is indeed a thing to be lamented; for what things so worthy of the use of the tongue and mouth of men on earth, as are the things of the God of heaven?

TALK. I like you wonderful well, for your sayings are full of conviction; and I will add, what thing is so pleasant, and what so profitable, as to talk of the things of God? What things so pleasant (that is, if a man hath any delight in things that are wonderful)? For instance, if a man doth delight to talk of the history or the mystery of things; or if a man doth love to talk of miracles, wonders, or signs, where shall he find things recorded so delightful, and so sweetly penned, as in the Holy Scripture?

FAITH. That is true; but to be profited by such things in our talk should be that which we design.

TALK. That is it that I said; for to talk of such things is most profitable; for by so doing, a man may get knowledge of many things; as of the vanity of earthly things, and the benefit of things above. Thus, in general, but more particularly, by this, a man may learn the necessity of the new birth; the insufficiency of our works; the need of Christ's righteousness, &c. Besides, by this a man may learn, by talk, what it is to repent, to believe, to pray, to suffer, or the like; by this also a man may learn what are the great promises and consolations of the gospel, to his own comfort. Further, by this a man may learn to refute false opinions, to vindicate the truth, and also to instruct the ignorant.[1]

Talkative's fine discourse.

FAITH. All this is true, and glad am I to hear these things from you.

TALK. Alas! the want of this is the cause why so few understand the need of faith, and the necessity of a work of grace in their soul, in order to eternal life; but ignorantly live in the works of the law, by which a man can by no means obtain the kingdom of heaven.

FAITH. But, by your leave, heavenly knowledge of these is the gift of God; no man attaineth to them by human industry, or only by the talk of them.

TALK. All this I know very well. For a man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven; all is of grace, not of works. I could give you a hundred scriptures for the confirmation of this.

O brave Talkative.

FAITH. Well, then, said Faithful, what is that one thing that we shall at this time found our discourse upon?

TALK. What you will. I will talk of things heavenly, or things earthly; things moral, or things evangelical; things sacred, or things profane; things past, or things to come; things foreign, or things at home; things more essential, or things circumstantial; provided that all be done to our profit.

O brave Talkative.

FAITH. Now did Faithful begin to wonder; and stepping to Christian (for he walked all this while by himself), he said to him (but softly), What a brave companion have we got! Surely this man will make a very excellent pilgrim.

Faithful beguiled by Talkative.

CHR. At this Christian modestly smiled, and said, This man, with whom you are so taken, will beguile, with that tongue of his, twenty of them that know him not.

Christian makes a discovery of Talkative, telling Faithful who he was.

FAITH. Do you know him, then?

CHR. Know him! Yes, better than he knows himself.

FAITH. Pray, what is he?

CHR. His name is Talkative; he dwelleth in our town; I wonder that you should be a stranger to him, only I consider that our town is large.

FAITH. Whose son is he? And whereabout does he dwell?

CHR. He is the son of one Say-well; he dwelt in Prating Row; and he is known of all that are acquainted with him, by the name of Talkative in Prating Row; and notwithstanding his fine tongue, he is but a sorry fellow.[2]

FAITH. Well, he seems to be a very pretty man.

CHR. That is, to them who have not thorough acquaintance with him; for he is best abroad;

[1] As an outward profession, without a holy life, is no evidence of religion, neither are excellent gifts any proof that the persons who possess them are partakers of grace: so it is an awful fact, that some have edified the church by their gifts, who have themselves been destitute of the spirit of life.—(Ivimey.) I concluded, a little grace, a little love, a little of the true fear of God, is better than all gifts.—(*Grace Abounding.*)

[2] The Pharisee goes on boldly, fears nothing, but trusteth in himself that his state is good; he hath his mouth full of many fine things, whereby he strokes himself over the head, and calls himself one of God's white boys, that, like the Prodigal's brother, never transgressed.—(*Pharisee and Publican*, vol. ii. p. 215.)

near home, he is ugly enough. Your saying that he is a pretty man, brings to my mind what I have observed in the work of the painter, whose pictures show best at a distance, but, very near, more unpleasing.

FAITH. But I am ready to think you do but jest, because you smiled.

CHR. God forbid that I should jest (although I smiled) in this matter, or that I should accuse any falsely! I will give you a further discovery of him. This man is for any company, and for any talk; as he talketh now with you, so will he talk when he is on the ale-bench; and the more drink he hath in his crown, the more of these things he hath in his mouth; religion hath no place in his heart, or house, or conversation; all he hath, lieth in his tongue, and his religion is to make a noise therewith.

FAITH. Say you so! then am I in this man greatly deceived.[1]

CHR. Deceived! you may be sure of it; remember the proverb, 'They say, and do not.' Mat. xxiii. 3. But the 'kingdom of God *is* not in word, but in power.' 1 Co. iv. 20. He talketh of prayer, of repentance, of faith, and of the new birth; but he knows but only to talk of them. I have been in his family, and have observed him both at home and abroad; and I know what I say of him is the truth. His house is as empty of religion, as the white of an egg is of savour. There is there, neither prayer, nor sign of repentance for sin; yea, the brute in his kind serves God far better than he. He is the very stain, reproach, and shame of religion, to all that know him; it can hardly have a good word in all that end of the town where he dwells, through him. Ro. ii. 24, 25. Thus say the common people that know him, A saint abroad, and a devil at home. His poor family finds it so, he is such a churl, such a railer at, and so unreasonable with his servants, that they neither know how to do for, or speak to him. Men that have any dealings with him, say, it is better to deal with a Turk than with him; for fairer dealing they shall have at their hands. This Talkative (if it be possible) will go beyond them, defraud, beguile, and over-reach them. Besides, he brings up his sons to follow his steps; and if he findeth in any of them a foolish timorousness (for so he calls the first appearance of a tender conscience), he calls them fools, and blockheads, and by no means will employ them in much, or speak to their commendations before others. For my part, I am of opinion, that he has, by his wicked life, caused many to stumble and fall; and will be, if God prevent not, the ruin of many more.[2]

Talkative talks, but does not.

His house is empty of religion.

He is a stain to religion.

The proverb that goes of him.

Men shun to deal with him.

FAITH. Well, my brother, I am bound to believe you; not only because you say you know him, but also because, like a Christian, you make your reports of men. For I cannot think that you speak these things of ill-will, but because it is even so as you say.

CHR. Had I known him no more than you, I might perhaps have thought of him as, at the first, you did; yea, had he received this report at their hands only that are enemies to religion, I should have thought it had been a slander—a lot that often falls from bad men's mouths upon good men's names and professions; but all these things, yea, and a great many more as bad, of my own knowledge, I can prove him guilty of. Besides, good men are ashamed of him; they can neither call him brother, nor friend; the very naming of him among them makes them blush, if they know him.

FAITH. Well, I see that saying and doing are two things, and hereafter I shall better observe this distinction.

CHR. They are two things indeed, and are as diverse as are the soul and the body; for as the body without the soul is but a dead carcass, so saying, if it be alone, is but a dead carcass also. The soul of religion is the practical part: 'Pure religion and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, *and* to keep himself unspotted from the world.' Ja. i. 27; see ver. 22–26. This Talkative is not aware of; he thinks that hearing and saying will make a good Christian, and thus he deceiveth his own soul. Hearing is but as the sowing of the seed; talking is not sufficient to prove

The carcass of religion.

[1] Talkative seems to have been introduced on purpose that the author might have a fair opportunity of stating his sentiments concerning the practical nature of evangelical religion, to which numbers in his day were too inattentive; so that this admired allegory has fully established the important distinction between a *dead* and a *living* faith, *on which the whole controversy depends.*—(Scott.) 'Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.' 1 Co. xiii. 1. Just thus it is with him who has gifts, but wants grace. Shall I be proud, because I am sounding brass. Is it so much to be a fiddle? Hath not the least creature that hath life, more of God in it than these? —(*Grace Abounding*, No. 297–300.) Some professors are pretty busy and ripe, able to hold you in a very large discourse of the glorious gospel; but, if you ask them concerning heart work, and its sweet influences and virtues on their souls and consciences, they may answer, I find by preaching that I am turned from my sins in a good measure, and have learned [in tongue] to plead for the gospel. This is not far enough to prove them under the covenant of grace.—(*Law and Grace*, vol. i. p. 515.)

[2] Read this, and tremble, ye whose profession lies only on your tongue, but who never knew the love and grace of Christ in your souls. O how do you trifle with the grace of God, with precious Christ, and with the holy Word of truth! O what an awful account have you to give hereafter to a holy, heart-searching God! Ye true pilgrims of Jesus, read this, and give glory to your Lord, for saving you from resting in barren notions, and taking up with talking of truths; and that he has given you to know the truth in its power, to embrace it in your heart, and to live and walk under its constrainiug, sanctifying influences. Who made you to differ?—(Masou.)

that fruit is indeed in the heart and life; and let us assure ourselves, that at the day of doom men shall be judged according to their fruits. Mat. xiii., xxv. It will not be said then, Did you believe? but, Were you doers, or talkers only? and accordingly shall they be judged. The end of the world is compared to our harvest; and you know men at harvest regard nothing but fruit. Not that anything can be accepted that is not of faith, but I speak this to show you how insignificant the profession of Talkative will be at that day.

FAITH. This brings to my mind that of Moses, by which he describeth the beast that is clean.

Faithful convinced of the badness of Talkative.

Lev. xi. Deut. xiv. He is such a one that parteth the hoof and cheweth the cud; not that parteth the hoof only, or that cheweth the cud only. The hare cheweth the cud, but yet is unclean, because he parteth not the hoof. And this truly resembleth Talkative, he cheweth the cud, he seeketh knowledge, he cheweth upon the word; but he divideth not the hoof, he parteth not with the way of sinners; but, as the hare, he retaineth the foot of a dog or bear, and therefore he is unclean.[1]

CHR. You have spoken, for aught I know, the true gospel sense of those texts. And I will add another thing: Paul calleth some men, yea, and those great talkers too, 'sounding brass, and tinkling cymbals,' that is, as he expounds them in another place, 'things without life, giving sound.' 1 Co. xiii. 1–3; xiv. 7. Things without life, that is, without the true faith and grace of the gospel; and consequently, things that shall never be placed in the kingdom of heaven among those that are the children of life; though their sound, by their talk, be as if it were the tongue or voice of an angel.

Talkative like to things that sound without life.

FAITH. Well, I was not so fond of his company at first, but I am as sick of it now. What shall we do to be rid of him?

CHR. Take my advice, and do as I bid you, and you shall find that he will soon be sick of your company too, except God shall touch his heart, and turn it.

FAITH. What would you have me to do?

CHR. Why, go to him, and enter into some serious discourse about the power of religion; and ask him plainly (when he has approved of it, for that he will) whether this thing be set up in his heart, house, or conversation?[2]

FAITH. Then Faithful stepped forward again, and said to Talkative, Come, what cheer? How is it now?

TALK. Thank you, well. I thought we should have had a great deal of talk by this time.

FAITH. Well, if you will, we will fall to it now; and since you left it with me to state the question, let it be this: How doth the saving grace of God discover itself, when it is in the heart of man?

TALK. I perceive then, that our talk must be about the power of things. Well, it is a very good question, and I shall be willing to answer you. And take my answer in brief, thus: First, Where the grace of God is in the heart, it causeth there a great outery against sin. Secondly——

Talkative's false discovery of a work of grace.

FAITH. Nay, hold, let us consider of one at once. I think you should rather say, It shows itself by inclining the soul to abhor its sin.

TALK. Why, what difference is there between crying out against, and abhorring of sin?

FAITH. O! a great deal. A man may cry out against sin of policy, but he cannot abhor it, but by virtue of a godly antipathy against it. I have heard many cry out against sin in the pulpit, who yet can abide it well enough in the heart, house, and conversation. Joseph's mistress cried out with a loud voice, as if she had been very holy; but she would willingly, notwithstanding that, have committed uncleanness with him. Ge. xxxix. 15. Some cry out against sin, even as the mother cries out against her child in her lap, when she calleth it slut and naughty girl, and then falls to hugging and kissing it.[3]

To cry out against sin, no sign of grace.

TALK. You lie at the catch, I perceive.[4]

FAITH. No, not I; I am only for setting things right. But what is the second thing whereby you would prove a discovery of a work of grace in the heart?

TALK. Great knowledge of gospel mysteries.

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[1] This spiritual application of the law of Moses is found in the narrative of Bunyan's experience in the *Grace Abounding*, No. 71: 'I was also made, about this time, to see something concerning the beasts that Moses counted clean and unclean. I thought those beasts were types of men: the clean, types of them that were the people of God; but the unclean, types of such as were the children of the wicked one. Now, I read, that the clean beasts *chewed the cud;* that is, thought I, they show us we must *feed upon the Word of God;* they also *parted the hoof,* I thought that signified we must part, if we would be saved, with the ways of ungodly men.'

[2] True faith will ever show itself by its fruits; real conversion, by the life and conversation. Be not deceived; God is not to be mocked with the tongue, if the heart is not right towards him in love and obedience.—(Mason.)

[3] This distinction between *speaking* against sin, and feeling a hatred to it, is so vastly important, that it forms the only infallible test to distinguish between those who are 'quickened' by the Spirit of God, and those who 'have a name to live and are dead.' It is a very awful statement, but, it is to be feared, strictly correct, that ministers may declaim against sin in the pulpit, who yet indulge it in the parlour. There may be much *head knowledge*, where there is no *heart religion*.—(Ivimey.)

[4] Christian faithfulness detects mere talkatives, and they complain, 'in so saying thou condemnest us also;' they will bear no longer, but seek refuge under more comfortable preachers, or in more candid company, and represent those faithful monitors as censorious, peevish, and melancholy men—lying at the catch.—(Scott.)

FAITH. This sign should have been first; but first or last, it is also false; for knowledge, great knowledge, may be obtained in the mysteries of the gospel, and yet no work of grace in the soul. 1 Co. xiii. Yea, if a man have all knowledge, he may yet be nothing, and so consequently be no child of God. When Christ said, 'Do you know all these things?' and the disciples had answered, Yes; he addeth, 'Blessed are ye if ye do them.' He doth not lay the blessing in the knowing of them, but in the doing of them. For there is a knowledge that is not attended with doing: 'He that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not.' A man may know like an angel, and yet be no Christian, therefore your sign of it is not true. Indeed, *to know* is a thing that pleaseth talkers and boasters; but *to do* is that which pleaseth God. Not that the heart can be good without knowledge; for without that the heart is naught. There is, therefore, knowledge and knowledge. Knowledge that resteth in the bare speculation of things; and knowledge that is accompanied with the grace of faith and love; which puts a man upon doing even the will of God from the heart: the first of these will serve the talker; but without the other the true Christian is not content. 'Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law; yea, I shall observe it with *my* whole heart.' Ps. cxix. 34.

Great knowledge no sign of grace.

Knowledge and knowledge.

True knowledge attended with endeavours.

TALK. You lie at the catch again; this is not for edification.[1]

FAITH. Well, if you please, propound another sign how this work of grace discovereth itself where it is.

TALK. Not I, for I see we shall not agree.

FAITH. Well, if you will not, will you give me leave to do it?

TALK. You may use your liberty.

FAITH. A work of grace in the soul discovereth itself, either to him that hath it, or to standers by.

One good sign of grace.

To him that hath it thus: It gives him conviction of sin, especially of the defilement of his nature and the sin of unbelief (for the sake of which he is sure to be damned, if he findeth not mercy at God's hand, by faith in Jesus Christ). Jn. xvi. 8. Ro. vii. 24. Jn. xvi. 9. Mar. xvi. 16. This sight and sense of things worketh in him sorrow and shame for sin; he findeth, moreover, revealed in him the Saviour of the world, and the absolute necessity of closing with him for life, at the which he findeth hungerings and thirstings after him; to which hungerings, &c., the promise is made. Ps. xxxviii. 18. Je. xxxi. 19. Ga. ii. 16. Ac. iv. 12. Mat. v. 6. Re. xxi. 6. Now, according to the strength or weakness of his faith in his Saviour, so is his joy and peace, so is his love to holiness, so are his desires to know him more, and also to serve him in this world. But though I say it discovereth itself thus unto him, yet it is but seldom that he is able to conclude that this is a work of grace; because his corruptions now, and his abused reason, make his mind to misjudge in this matter; therefore, in him that hath this work, there is required a very sound judgment before he can, with steadiness, conclude that this is a work of grace.

To others, it is thus discovered:

1. By an experimental confession of his faith in Christ. Ro. x. 10. Phi. i. 27. Mat. v. 19.

2. By a life answerable to that confession; to wit, a life of holiness; heart-holiness, family-holiness (if he hath a family), and by conversation-holiness in the world; which, in the general, teacheth him, inwardly, to abhor his sin, and himself for that, in secret; to suppress it in his family, and to promote holiness in the world; not by talk only, as a hypocrite or talkative person may do, but by a practical subjection, in faith and love, to the power of the Word. Jn. xiv. 15. Ps. l. 23. Job xlii. 5, 6. Eze. xx. 43. And now, Sir, as to this brief description of the work of grace, and also the discovery of it, if you have aught to object, object; if not, then give me leave to propound to you a second question.

TALK. Nay, my part is not now to object, but to hear; let me, therefore, have your second question.

FAITH. It is this: Do you experience this first part of this description of it? and doth your life and conversation testify the same? or standeth your religion in word or in tongue, and not in deed and truth? Pray, if you incline to answer me in this, say no more than you know the God above will say Amen to; and, also, nothing but what your conscience can justify you in; 'for, not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth.' Besides, to say, I am thus, and thus, when my conversation, and all my neighbours, tell me I lie, is great wickedness.[2]

Another good sign of grace.

TALK. Then Talkative at first began to blush;

[1] In the *Jerusalem Sinner Saved*, Bunyan explains his meaning of 'lying at the catch' in these solemn words, referring to those who abide in sin, and yet expect to be saved by grace: 'Of this sort are they that build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity; that judge for reward, and teach for hire, and divine for money, and lean upon the Lord. Mic. iii. 10, 11. This is doing things with a high hand against the Lord our God, and a taking him, as it were, *at the catch!* This is, as we say among men, to seek to put a trick upon God, as if he had not sufficiently fortified his proposals of grace by his Holy Word, against all such kind of fools as these.'—(Vol. i. p. 93.)

[2] Blessed faithful dealing! O that it was more practised in the world, and in the church! How then would vain talkers be detected in the one, and driven out of the other. —(Mason.)

but, recovering himself, thus he replied: You come now to experience, to conscience, and God; and to appeal to him for justification of what is spoken. This kind of discourse I did not expect; nor am I disposed to give an answer to such questions, because I count not myself bound thereto, unless you take upon you to be a catechiser, and, though you should so do, yet I may refuse to make you my judge. But, I pray, will you tell me why you ask me such questions?[1]

Talkative not pleased with Faithful's question.

FAITH. Because I saw you forward to talk, and because I knew not that you had aught else but notion. Besides, to tell you all the truth, I have heard of you, that you are a man whose religion lies in talk, and that your conversation gives this your mouth-profession the lie. They say, you are a spot among Christians; and that religion fareth the worse for your ungodly conversation; that some already have stumbled at your wicked ways, and that more are in danger of being destroyed thereby; your religion, and an ale-house, and covetousness, and uncleanness, and swearing, and lying, and vain company keeping, &c., will stand together. The proverb is true of you which is said of a whore, to wit, that she is a shame to all women; so are you a shame to all professors.[2]

The reasons why Faithful put to him that question.

Faithful's plain dealing to Talkative.

TALK. Since you are ready to take up reports, and to judge so rashly as you do, I cannot but conclude you are some peevish or melancholy man, not fit to be discoursed with; and so adieu.[3]

Talkative flings away from Faithful.

CHR. Then came up Christian, and said to his brother, I told you how it would happen; your words and his lusts could not agree; he had rather leave your company than reform his life. But he is gone, as I said; let him go, the loss is no man's but his own; he has saved us the trouble of going from him; for he continuing (as I suppose he will do) as he is, he would have been but a blot in our company; besides, the apostle says, 'From such withdraw thyself.'

A good riddance.

FAITH. But I am glad we had this little discourse with him; it may happen that he will think of it again; however, I have dealt plainly with him, and so am clear of his blood, if he perisheth.

CHR. You did well to talk so plainly to him as you did; there is but little of this faithful dealing with men now-a-days, and that makes religion to stink so in the nostrils of many, as it doth; for they are these talkative fools whose religion is only in word, and are debauched and vain in their conversation, that (being so much admitted into the fellowship of the godly) do puzzle the world, blemish Christianity, and grieve the sincere. I wish that all men would deal with such as you have done; then should they either be made more conformable to religion, or the company of saints would be too hot for them. Then did Faithful say,

> How Talkative at first lifts up his plumes!
> How bravely doth he speak! How he presumes
> To drive down all before him! But so soon
> As Faithful talks of heart-work, like the moon
> That's past the full, into the wane he goes.
> And so will all, but he that HEART-WORK knows.

Thus they went on talking of what they had seen by the way, and so made that way easy which would, otherwise, no doubt, have been tedious to them; for now they went through a wilderness.

Now, when they were got almost quite out of this wilderness, Faithful chanced to cast his eye back, and espied one coming after them, and he knew him. Oh! said Faithful to his brother, Who comes yonder? Then Christian looked, and said, It is my good friend Evangelist. Aye, and my good friend too, said Faithful, for it was he that set me the way to the gate. Now was Evangelist come up unto them, and thus saluted them:

Evangelist overtakes them again.

EVAN. Peace be with you, dearly beloved; and peace be to your helpers.

CHR. Welcome, welcome, my good Evangelist; the sight of thy countenance brings to my remembrance thy ancient kindness and unwearied labouring for my eternal good.

They are glad at the sight of him.

FAITH. And a thousand times welcome, said good Faithful. Thy company, O sweet Evangelist, how desirable it is to us poor pilgrims![4]

EVAN. Then said Evangelist, How hath it fared

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[1] Heart searching, soul examining, and close questioning of the conduct of life, will not do with talkative professors. Ring a peal on the doctrines of grace, and many will chime in with you; but speak closely how grace operates upon the heart, and influences the life to follow Christ in self-denying obedience, they cannot bear it; they are offended with you, and will turn away from you, and call you legal.—(Mason.)

[2] I observe that, as there are trees wholly noble, so there are also their semblance; not right, but ignoble. There is the grape, and the wild grape; the rose, and the canker rose; the apple and the crab. Now, fruit from these wild trees, however it may please children to play with, yet the prudent count it of no value. There are also in the world a generation of professors that bring forth nothing but wild olive berries; saints only before men, devils and vipers at home; saints in word, but sinners in heart and life. Well, saith God, this profession is but a cloak: I will loose the reins of this man, and give him up to his own vile affections. 'I will answer him by myself.' Ezc. xiv. 7. Thou art too hard for the church: she knows not how to deal with thee. Well, I will deal with that man myself.—(Bunyan's *Barren Fig-tree*.)

[3] Where the heart is rotten, it will ward off conviction, turn from a faithful reprover, condemn him, and justify itself. Faithful dealing will not do for unfaithful souls. Mind not that, but be faithful to the truth.—(Mason.)

[4] How they rejoiced again to meet Evangelist, and listen to his encouraging and animating exhortations; of which, as they were now near the great town of Vanity Fair, they would stand in special need. Indeed, it was to forewarn them of what they

with you, my friends, since the time of our last parting? What have you met with, and how have you behaved yourselves?

Then Christian and Faithful told him of all things that had happened to them in the way; and how, and with what difficulty, they had arrived to that place.[1]

His exhortation to them.

Evan. Right glad am I, said Evangelist, not that you have met with trials, but that you have been victors; and for that you have, notwithstanding many weaknesses, continued in the way to this very day.

I say, right glad am I of this thing, and that for mine own sake and yours. I have sowed, and you have reaped; and the day is coming, when both he that sowed and they that reaped shall rejoice together; that is, if you hold out; 'for in due season ye shall reap, if ye faint not.' Jn. iv. 36. Ga. vi. 9. The crown is before you, and it is an incorruptible one; 'so run, that you may obtain' it. 1 Co. ix. 24–27. Some there be that set out for this crown, and, after they have gone far for it, another comes in, and takes it from them; hold fast, therefore, that you have, let no man take your crown. Re. iii. 11.[2] You are not yet out of the gun-shot of the devil; you have not resisted unto blood, striving against sin; let the kingdom be always before you, and believe steadfastly concerning things that are invisible. Let nothing that is on this side the other world get within you; and, above all, look well to your own hearts, and to the lusts thereof, 'for they are deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;' set your faces like a flint; you have all power in heaven and earth on your side.

They do thank him for his exhortation.

Chr. Then Christian thanked him for his exhortation; but told him, withal, that they would have him speak further to them for their help the rest of the way, and the rather, for that they well knew that he was a prophet, and could tell them of things that might happen unto them, and also how they might resist and overcome them. To which request Faithful also consented. So Evangelist began as followeth:

He predicteth what troubles they shall meet with in Vanity Fair, and encourageth them to steadfastness.

Evan. My sons, you have heard in the words of the truth of the gospel that you must, through many tribulations, enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again, that in every city bonds and afflictions abide in you; and therefore you cannot expect that you should go long on your pilgrimage without them, in some sort or other. You have found something of the truth of these testimonies upon you already, and more will immediately follow; for now, as you see, you are almost out of this wilderness, and therefore you will soon come into a town that you will by and by see before you; and in that town you will be hardly beset with enemies, who will strain hard but they will kill you; and be you sure that one or both of you must seal the testimony which you hold, with blood; but be you faithful unto death, and the King will give you a crown of life. He that shall die there, although his death will be unnatural, and his pain perhaps great, he will yet have the better of his fellow; not only because he will be arrived at the Celestial City soonest, but because he will escape many miseries that the other will meet with in the rest of his journey. But when you are come to the town, and shall find fulfilled what, I have here related, then remember your friend and quit yourselves like men, and commit the keeping of your souls to your God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator.[3]

He whose lot it will be there to suffer, will have the better of his brother.

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were to meet with there, and to exhort them, amidst all persecutions, to quit themselves like men, that Evangelist now came to them. His voice, so solemn and deep, yet so inspiring and animating, sounded like the tones of a trumpet on the eve of battle.—(Cheever.)

[1] The pilgrims are now about to enter upon a new era—to leave their privacy in the wilderness, and commence a more public scene—perhaps alluding to Bunyan's being publicly set apart to the work of the ministry. It was in the discharge of these public duties that he was visited with such severe persecution. This interview with Evangelist reminds one of the setting apart of Dissenting ministers. It is usual, on these occasions, for the Christians entering on such important duties, to give a short account of what 'had happened in the way,' and their reasons for hoping that they were called by God to the work. They receive the advice of their ministering elder, and the pastor prays for their peace and prosperity. Evangelist's address would make a good outline of an ordination sermon. Bunyan's account of his being thus set apart in 1656 (with seven other members of the same church) is narrated in *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 266—270. The second address of Evangelist peculiarly relates to the miseries endured by Nonconformist ministers in the reign of Charles II.—(Ed.)

[2] Shall the world venture their soul's ruin for a poor corruptible crown; and shall not we venture the loss of a few trifles for an eternal crown? Shall they venture the loss of eternal life for communion with base, drunken, covetous wretches; and shall we not labour as hard, run as fast, nay, a hundred times more diligently, for such glorious and eternal friends as God to love, Christ to redeem, the Holy Spirit to comfort, and saints and angels in heaven for company? Shall it be said at the last day, that the wicked made more haste to hell than you to heaven? O let it not be so, but run with all might and main! They that will have heaven must run for it, because the devil will follow them. There is never a poor soul that is gone to it, but he is after that soul. And I assure them the devil is nimble; he is light of foot, and can run apace. He hath overtaken many, tripped up their heels, and given them an everlasting fall.—(*Heavenly Footman.*)

[3] Bunyan illustrates the care of Christ for his afflicted ones with striking simplicity. 'I love to play the child with children. I have met with a child that had a sore finger, so that it was useless. Then have I said, Shall we cut off this finger, and buy my child a better, a brave golden finger? At this he started, and felt indignation against me. Now, if a child has such tenderness for a useless member, how much more tender is the Son of God to his afflicted members?'—(*Saint's Privilege*, vol. i. p. 674.) The text here quoted forms the foundation of Bunyan's admirable *Advice to Sufferers*, in which he delight-

Then I saw in my dream, that when they were got out of the wilderness, they presently saw a town before them, and the name of that town is Vanity; and at the town there is a fair kept, called Vanity Fair: it is kept all the year long; it beareth the name of Vanity Fair, because the town where it is kept is lighter than vanity; and also because all that is there sold, or that cometh thither, is vanity. As is the saying of the wise, 'All that cometh *is* vanity.' Ec. i.; ii. 11, 17; xi. 8. Is. xl 17.

This fair is no new-erected business, but a thing of ancient standing; I will show you the original of it.

The antiquity of this fair.

Almost five thousand years agone, there were pilgrims walking to the Celestial City as these two honest persons are: and Beelzebub, Apollyon, and Legion, with their companions, perceiving by the path that the pilgrims made, that their way to the city lay through this town of Vanity, they contrived here to set up a fair; a fair wherein should be sold all sorts of vanity, and that it should last all the year long: there-

The merchandise of this fair.

fore at this fair are all such merchandise sold, as houses, lands, trades, places, honours, preferments, titles, countries, kingdoms, lusts, pleasures, and delights of all sorts, as whores, bawds, wives, husbands, children, masters, servants, lives, blood, bodies, souls, silver, gold, pearls, precious stones, and what not.[1]

And, moreover, at this fair there is at all times to be seen juggling, cheats, games, plays, fools, apes, knaves, and rogues, and that of every kind.

Here are to be seen too, and that for nothing, thefts, murders, adulteries, false swearers, and that of a blood-red colour.[2]

And as in other fairs of less moment, there are the several rows and streets, under their proper names, where such and such wares are vended; so here likewise you have the proper places, rows, streets (viz. countries and kingdoms), where the wares of this fair are soonest to be found. Here is the Britain Row, the French Row, the Italian Row, the Spanish Row, the German Row, where several sorts of vanities are to be sold. But, as in other fairs, some one commodity is as the chief of all the fair, so the ware of Rome and her merchandise is greatly promoted in this fair; only our English nation, with some others, have taken a dislike thereat.[3]

The streets of this fair.

Now, as I said, the way to the Celestial City lies just through this town where this lusty fair is kept; and he that will go to the City, and yet not go through this town, must needs 'go out of the world.' 1 Co. v. 10. The Prince of princes himself, when here, went through this town to his own country, and that upon a fair day too; yea, and as I think, it was Beelzebub, the chief lord of this fair, that invited him to buy of his vanities; yea, would have made him lord of the fair, would he but have done him reverence as he went through the town. Mat. iv. 8. Lu. iv. 5–7. Yea, because he was such a person of honour, Beelzebub

Christ went through this fair.

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fully dwells upon the topics which Evangelist addresses to the Pilgrims, when on the verge of bitter persecution.—(Ed.)

[1] Vanity Fair is the City of Destruction in its gala dress, in its most seductive and sensual allurements. It is this world in miniature, with its various temptations. Hitherto we have observed the pilgrims by themselves, in loneliness, in obscurity, in the hidden life and experience of the people of God. The allegory thus far has been that of the soul, amidst its spiritual enemies, toiling towards heaven; now there comes a scene more open, tangible, external; the allurements of the world are to be presented, with the manner in which the true pilgrim conducts himself amidst them. It was necessary that Bunyan should show his pilgrimage in its external as well as its secret spiritual conflicts; it was necessary that he should draw the contrast between the pursuits and deportment of the children of this world and the children of light; that he should show how a true pilgrim appears, and is likely to be regarded, who, amidst the world's vanities, lives above the world, is dead to it, and walks through it as a stranger and a pilgrim towards heaven.—(Cheever.)

[2] A just description of this wicked world. How many, though they profess to be pilgrims, have never yet set one foot out of this fair; but live in it all the year round! They 'walk according to the course of this world,' Ep. ii. 2; for 'the god of this world hath blinded their minds.' 2 Co. iv. 4. But all those for whose sins Jesus hath died 'he delivers from this present evil world.' Ga. i. 4. You cannot be a pilgrim, if you are not delivered from this world and its vanities; for if you love the world, if it has your supreme affections, the love of God is not in you, 1 Jn. ii. 15; you have not one grain of precious faith in precious Jesus.—(Mason.)

[3] Mr. James, who, in 1815, published the 'Pilgrim' in verse, conjectures that Bunyan's description of the Fair arose from his having been at Sturbridge Fair, near Cambridge. It was thus described in 1786:—'The shops or booths are built in rows like streets, having each its name; as Garlick Row, Bookseller's Row, Cook Row, &c. Here are all sorts of traders, who sell by wholesale or retail; as goldsmith's toymen, braziers, turners, milliners, haberdashers, hatters, mercers, drapers, pewterers, china warehouses, and, in a word, most trades that can be found in London. Here are also taverns, coffee-houses, and eating-houses, in great plenty. The chief diversions are puppets, rope-dancing, and music booths. To this Fair, people from Bedfordshire and the adjoining counties still resort. Similar kinds of fairs are now kept at Frankfort and Leipzig. These mercantile fairs were very injurious to morals; but not to the extent of debauchery and villany, which reign in our present annual fairs, near the metropolis and large cities.' See an account of this fair in Hone's *Year Book*, p. 1538.—(Ed.) Our author evidently designed to exhibit in his allegory the grand outlines of the difficulties, temptations, and sufferings, to which believers are exposed in this evil world; which, in a work of this nature, must be related as if they came upon them one after another in regular succession; though in actual experience several may meet together, many may molest the same person again and again, and some harass him in every stage of his journey. We should, therefore, singly consider the instruction conveyed by every allegorical incident, without measuring our experience, or calculating our progress, by comparing them with *circumstances* which might be reversed or altered with almost endless variety. In general, Vanity Fair represents the wretched state of things in those populous places especially, where true religion is neglected and persecuted; and, indeed, 'in the whole world lying in wickedness,' as distinguished from the church of redeemed sinners.'—(Scott.)

had him from street to street, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world in a little time, that he might, if possible, allure the Blessed One to cheapen and buy some of his vanities; but he had no mind to the merchandise, and therefore left the town, without laying out so much as one farthing upon these vanities. This fair, therefore, is an ancient thing, of long standing, and a very great fair. Now these Pilgrims, as I said, must needs go through this fair.[1] Well, so they did; but, behold, even as they entered into the fair, all the people in the fair were moved, and the town itself as it were in a hubbub about them; and that for several reasons; for—

Christ bought nothing in this fair.

The Pilgrims enter the fair.

The fair in a hubbub about them.

First, The pilgrims were clothed with such kind of raiment as was diverse from the raiment of any that traded in that fair. The people, therefore, of the fair, made a great gazing upon them: some said they were fools, some they were bedlams, and some they are outlandish men.[2] 1 Co. ii. 7, 8.

The first cause of the hubbub.

Secondly, And as they wondered at their apparel, so they did likewise at their speech; for few could understand what they said; they naturally spoke the language of Canaan, but they that kept the fair were the men of this world; so that, from one end of the fair to the other, they seemed barbarians each to the other.

Second cause of the hubbub.

Thirdly, But that which did not a little amuse the merchandisers was, that these pilgrims set very light by all their wares; they cared not so much as to look upon them; and if they called upon them to buy, they would put their fingers in their ears, and cry, 'Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity,'[3] and look upwards, signifying that their trade and traffic was in heaven. Ps. cxix. 37. Phil. iii. 19, 20.

Third cause of the hubbub.

One chanced mockingly, beholding the carriage of the men, to say unto them, What will ye buy? But they, looking gravely upon him, answered, 'We buy the truth.'[4] Pr. xxiii. 23. At that there was an occasion taken to despise the men the more: some mocking, some taunting, some speaking reproachfully, and some calling upon others to smite them. At last things came to a hubbub, and great stir in the fair, insomuch that all order was confounded. Now was word presently brought to the great one of the fair, who quickly came down, and deputed some of his most trusty friends to take these men into examination, about whom the fair was almost overturned. So the men were brought to examination; and they that sat upon them, asked them whence they came, whither they went, and what they did there in such an unusual garb? The men told them, that they were pilgrims and strangers in the world, and that they were going to their own country, which was the heavenly Jerusalem, He. ix. 13–16; and that they had given no occasion to the men of the town, nor yet to the merchandisers, thus to abuse them, and to let them in their journey, except it was, for that, when one asked them what they would buy, they said they would buy the truth.[4] But they that were appointed to examine them did not believe them to be any other than bedlams and mad, or else such as came to put all things into a confusion in the fair. Therefore they took them and beat them, and besmeared them with dirt, and then put them into the cage, that they might be made a spectacle to all the men of the fair. There, therefore, they lay for some time, and were made the objects of any man's sport, or malice, or revenge, the great one of the fair laughing still at all that befell them. But the men being patient, and not rendering railing for railing, but contrariwise, blessing, and giving good words for bad, and kindness for injuries done, some men in the fair that were more observing, and less prejudiced than the rest, began to check and blame the baser sort for their continual abuses done by them to the men; they, therefore, in angry man-

They are mocked.

The fair in a hubbub.

They are examined.

They tell who they are, and whence they came.

They are not believed.

They are put in the cage.

Their behaviour in the cage.

[1] Christ will not allow his followers to bury their talent in the earth, or to put their light under a bushel; they are not to go out of the world, or to retire into cloisters, monasteries, or deserts; but they MUST all go through this fair. Thus our Lord endured all the temptations and sufferings of this evil world, without being impeded or entangled by them, or stepping in the least aside to avoid them; and he was exposed to greater enmity and contempt than any of his followers.—(Scott.)

[2] The world will seek to keep you out of heaven with mocks, flouts, taunts, threatenings, jails, gibbets, halters, burnings, and deaths. There ever was enmity between the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman, and no endeavours can reconcile them. The world says, They will never come over to us; and we again say, By God's grace we will not go over to them.

[3] Holy Hunt of Hitchin, as he was called, a friend of Bunyan's, passing the market-place where mountebanks were performing, one cried after him, 'Look there, Mr. Hunt.' Turning his head another way, he replied, 'Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity.'—(Ivimey.)

[4] An odd reply. What do they mean? That they are neither afraid nor ashamed to own what was the one subject of their souls' pursuit—the truth. Understand hereby, that the whole world, which lieth in wickedness, is deceived by a lie, and is under the delusion of the father of lies. In opposition to this, all believers in Christ are said to be of the truth. 1 Jn. iii. 19. They know and believe that capital truth with which God spake from heaven, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' Mat. iii. 17. This truth—that Jesus is the Son of God, and our only Saviour—lies at the foundation of all their hope; and to get more and more acquainted with him, is the grand object of their pursuits. For this the world hates them; and Satan, who is an enemy to this truth, stirs up the world against them. 'For,' says our Lord, 'they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.' Jn. xvii. 16.—(Mason.)

ner, let fly at them again, counting them as bad as the men in the cage, and telling them that they seemed confederates, and should be made partakers of their misfortunes.[1] The other replied, that for aught they could see, the men were quiet, and sober, and intended nobody any harm; and that there were many that traded in their fair, that were more worthy to be put into the cage, yea, and pillory too, than were the men that they had abused. Thus, after divers words had passed on both sides, the men behaving themselves all the while very wisely and soberly before them, they fell to some blows among themselves, and did harm one to another. Then were these two poor men brought before their examiners again, and there charged as being guilty of the late hubbub that had been in the fair. So they beat them pitifully, and hanged irons upon them, and led them in chains up and down the fair, for an example and a terror to others, lest any should speak in their behalf, or join themselves unto them.[2] But Christian and Faithful behaved themselves yet more wisely, and received the ignominy and shame that was cast upon them, with so much meekness and patience, that it won to their side, though but few in comparison of the rest, several of the men in the fair. This put the other party yet into greater rage, insomuch that they concluded the death of these two men. Wherefore they threatened, that the cage nor irons should serve their turn, but that they should die, for the abuse they had done, and for deluding the men of the fair.

The men of the fair do fall out among themselves about these two men.

They are made the authors of this disturbance.

They are led up and down the fair in chains, for a terror to others.

Some of them of the fair won to them.

Their adversaries resolve to kill them.

Then were they remanded to the cage again, until further order should be taken with them. So they put them in, and made their feet fast in the stocks.

Here, therefore, they called again to mind what they had heard from their faithful friend Evangelist, and were the more confirmed in their way and sufferings, by what he told them would happen to them.[3] They also now comforted each other, that whose lot it was to suffer, even he should have the best of it; therefore each man secretly wished that he might have that preferment: but committing themselves to the all-wise disposal of Him that ruleth all things, with much content they abode in the condition in which they were, until they should be otherwise disposed of.[4]

Then a convenient time being appointed, they brought them forth to their trial, in order to their condemnation. When the time was come, they were brought before their enemies and arraigned. The Judge's name was Lord Hate-good. Their indictment was one and the same in substance, though somewhat varying in form, the contents whereof were this:—

They are again put into the cage, and after brought to trial.

'That they were enemies to, and disturbers of their trade; that they had made commotions and divisions in the town, and had won a party to their own most dangerous opinions, in contempt of the law of their prince.'[5]

Their Indictment.

Then Faithful began to answer, that he had only set himself against that which had set itself against him that is higher than the highest. And, said he, as for disturbance, I make none, being myself a man of peace; the parties that were won to us, were won by beholding our truth and innocence, and they are only turned from the worse to the better. And as to the king you talk of, since he is Beelzebub, the enemy of our Lord, I defy him and all his angels.

Faithful's answer for himself.

Then proclamation was made, that they that had aught to say for their lord the king against the prisoner at the bar, should forthwith appear and give in their evidence. So there came in three

[1] In 1670, the town porters of Bedford being commanded to assist in a brutal attack upon the Nonconformists, ran away, saying, 'They would be hanged, drawn, and quartered, before they would assist in that work;' for which cause the justices committed two of them (which they could take) to the jail. The shops were shut up, so that it seemed like a place visited with the pest, where usually is written upon the door, 'Lord, have mercy upon us!'—(*Narrative of Proceedings against Nonconformists*, p. 5. 4to, 1670.)

[2] This is a true representation of what took place in England in Bunyan's time. It was a disgrace to our nation, that Englishmen, urged on by a fanatic church, treated two young and interesting women with a barbarity that would make savages (so called) blush. It was at Carlisle that two female pilgrims, Dorothy Waugh and Ann Robinson, were dragged through the streets, with each an iron instrument of torture, called a bridle, upon their heads; and were treated with gross indecency.—(Ed.)

[3] The great object of the gospel is to fit man for his active duties in this world, and prepare him for heavenly enjoyments in the world to come. Not like those lazy creeping things that shut themselves up in nunneries or monasteries to avoid the temptations and troubles, the resistance or bearing of which glorifies God. Christians are to be as lights—not hid under a bushel, but seen of all men. The prayer of their Lord was and is, not that they should be taken out of the world, but kept from its evil contaminations.—(Ed.)

[4] In Bunyan's account of his imprisonment, he closes it with these words:—'Thus have I, in short, declared the manner and occasion of my being in prison; where I lie waiting the good will of God to do with me as he pleaseth; knowing that not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without the will of my Father which is in heaven. Let the rage and malice of men be ever so great, they can do no more, nor go any further, than God permits them. When they have done their worst, "we know that all things work together for good to them that love God."' Ro. viii. 28.

[5] The description of the process against the pilgrims, is framed in such a manner as emphatically to expose the secret reasons which influence men thus to persecute their innocent neighbours. The very names employed declare the several corrupt principles of the heart from whence this atrocious conduct results.—(Scott.)

witnesses, to wit, Envy, Superstition, and Pickthank. They were then asked if they knew the prisoner at the bar; and what they had to say for their lord the king against him.

Then stood forth Envy, and said to this effect:

Envy begins.

My Lord, I have known this man a long time, and will attest upon my oath before this honourable bench, that he is——

JUDGE. Hold. Give him his oath. (So they sware him.) Then he said—

ENVY. My Lord, this man, notwithstanding his plausible name, is one of the vilest men in our country. He neither regardeth prince nor people, law nor custom; but doth all that he can to possess all men with certain of his disloyal notions,[1] which he in the general calls principles of faith and holiness. And, in particular, I heard him once myself affirm, that Christianity and the customs of our town of Vanity, were diametrically opposite, and could not be reconciled. By which saying, my Lord, he doth at once not only condemn all our laudable doings, but us in the doing of them.

JUDGE. Then did the Judge say to him, Hast thou any more to say?

ENVY. My Lord, I could say much more, only I would not be tedious to the court. Yet, if need be, when the other gentlemen have given in their evidence, rather than anything shall be wanting that will despatch him, I will enlarge my testimony against him. So he was bid stand by.

Then they called Superstition, and bid him look upon the prisoner. They also asked, what he could say for their lord the king against him. Then they sware him; so he began.

SUPER. My Lord, I have no great acquaintance with this man, nor do I desire to have further knowledge of him; however, this I know, that he is a very pestilent fellow, from some discourse that, the other day, I had with him in this town; for then talking with him, I I heard him say, that our religion was naught, and such by which a man could by no means please God. Which sayings of his, my Lord, your Lordship very well knows, what necessarily thence will follow, to wit, that we do still worship in vain, are yet in our sins, and finally shall be damned; and this is that which I have to say.[2]

Superstition follows.

Then was Pickthank sworn, and bid say what he knew, in behalf of their lord the king, against the prisoner at the bar.

PICK. My Lord, and you gentlemen all, This fellow I have known of a long time, and have heard him speak things that ought not to be spoke; for he hath railed on our noble prince Beelzebub, and hath spoken contemptibly of his honourable friends, whose names are the Lord Old Man, the Lord Carnal Delight, the Lord Luxurious, the Lord Desire of Vain Glory, my old Lord Lechery, Sir Having Greedy, with all the rest of our nobility; and he hath said, moreover, That if all men were of his mind, if possible, there is not one of these noblemen should have any longer a being in this town. Besides, he hath not been afraid to rail on you, my Lord, who are now appointed to be his judge, calling you an ungodly villain, with many other such like vilifying terms, with which he hath bespattered most of the gentry of our town.[3]

Pickthank's testimony.

Sins are all lords and great ones.

When this Pickthank had told his tale, the Judge directed his speech to the prisoner at the bar, saying, Thou runagate, heretic, and traitor, hast thou heard what these honest gentlemen have witnessed against thee?

FAITH. May I speak a few words in my own defence?

JUDGE. Sirrah! Sirrah! thou deservest to live no longer, but to be slain immediately upon the place; yet, that all men may see our gentleness towards thee, let us hear what thou, vile runagate, hast to say.

FAITH. 1. I say, then, in answer to what Mr. Envy hath spoken, I never said aught but this, That what rule, or laws, or custom, or people, were flat against the Word of God, are diametrically opposite to Christianity. If I have said amiss in this, convince

Faithful's defence of himself.

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[1] This is one of Satan's lies, much used by his emissaries, to the present day. A Christian fears God, and honours the king; he renders unto civil government that which belongs to civil and temporal things, but he dares not render unto Cæsar the things that belong to God; and for thus righteously doing he is called disloyal.—(ED.)

[2] Superstition, or false devotion, is a most bitter enemy to Christ's truth and his followers. This fellow's evidence is very true; for as the lawyer said of Christ's doctrine, 'Master, thus saying, thou reproachest us also.' Lu. xi. 45. So false worshippers, who rest in forms, and rites, and shadows, are stung to the quick at those who worship God in the Spirit, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh; such a conduct pours the utmost contempt upon all the will-worship, and doctrines, and superstition of carnal men.—(Mason.) With such, traditions, human inventions, forms, and externals, appear venerable and sacred; and they are mistaken with pertinaceous ignorance for the substance of religion. What is pompous and burdensome appears to such men meritorious; and the excitement of mere natural passions, as at a tragedy, is falsely deemed a needful help to true devotion. Their zeal hardens their hearts, and causes bitter rage, enmity, and calumny, against the pious Christians.—(Scott.)

[3] As soon as the poor sinner says, 'O Lord our God, *other* lords beside thee have had dominion over us: *but* by thee only will we make mention of thy name,' Is. xxvi. 13, your officious Pickthanks are always ready to bear testimony against him; and a blessed testimony this is; it is well worth living to gain, and dying in the cause of. If we are real disciples of Christ, we shall, as he did, testify of the world that the works thereof are evil, and the world will hate us for his sake. Jn. vii. 7.—(Mason.) Pickthank has no real principle, but puts on zeal for any party that will promote his interests; he inwardly despises both the superstitious and the spiritual worshipper.—(Scott.)

me of my error, and I am ready here before you to make my recantation.

2. As to the second, to wit, Mr. Superstition, and his charge against me, I said only this, That in the worship of God there is required a Divine faith; but there can be no Divine faith without a Divine revelation of the will of God. Therefore, whatever is thrust into the worship of God that is not agreeable to Divine revelation, cannot be done but by a human faith, which faith will not be profitable to eternal life.

3. As to what Mr. Pickthank hath said, I say (avoiding terms, as that I am said to rail, and the like), that the prince of this town, with all the rabblement, his attendants, by this gentleman named, are more fit for a being in hell, than in this town and country: and so, the Lord have mercy upon me![1]

The Judge's speech to the jury.

Then the Judge called to the jury (who all this while stood by, to hear and observe);[2] Gentlemen of the jury, you see this man about whom so great an uproar hath been made in this town. You have also heard what these worthy gentlemen have witnessed against him. Also you have heard his reply and confession. It lieth now in your breasts to hang him, or save his life; but yet I think meet to instruct you into our law.

There was an Act made in the days of Pharaoh the Great, servant to our prince, that lest those of a contrary religion should multiply, and grow too strong for him, their males should be thrown into the river. Ex. i. There was also an Act made in the days of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, another of his servants, that whosoever would not fall down and worship his golden image, should be thrown into a fiery furnace. Da. iii. There was also an Act made in the days of Darius, that whoso, for some time, called upon any God but him, should be cast into the lions' den. Da. vi. Now the substance of these laws this rebel has broken, not only in thought (which is not to be borne) but also in word and deed; which must therefore needs be intolerable.

For that of Pharaoh, his law was made upon a supposition, to prevent mischief, no crime being yet apparent; but here is a crime apparent. For the second and third, you see he disputeth against our religion; and for the treason he hath confessed, he deserveth to die the death.

The jury and their names.

Then went the jury out, whose names were, Mr. Blind-man, Mr. No-good, Mr. Malice, Mr. Love-lust, Mr. Live-loose, Mr. Heady, Mr. High-mind, Mr. Enmity, Mr. Liar, Mr. Cruelty, Mr. Hate-light, and Mr. Implacable; who every one gave in his private verdict against him among themselves, and afterwards unanimously concluded to bring him in guilty before the Judge. And first, among themselves, Mr. Blind-man, the foreman, said, I see clearly that this man is a heretic.[3] Then said Mr. No-good, Away with such a fellow from the earth. Ay, said Mr. Malice, for I hate the very looks of him. Then said Mr. Love-lust, I could never endure him. Nor I, said Mr. Live-loose, for he would always be condemning my way. Hang him, hang him, said Mr. Heady. A sorry scrub, said Mr. High-mind. My heart riseth against him, said Mr. Enmity. He is a rogue, said Mr. Liar. Hanging is too good for him, said Mr. Cruelty. Let us despatch him out of the way, said Mr. Hate-light. Then said Mr. Implacable, Might I have all the world given me, I could not be reconciled to him; therefore, let us forthwith bring him in guilty of death.[4] And so they did; therefore he was presently condemned, to be had from the place where he was, to the place from whence he came, and there to be put to the most cruel death that could be invented.[5]

Every one's private verdict.

They conclude to bring him in guilty of death.

They, therefore, brought him out, to do with him according to their law; and, first, they scourged him, then they buffeted him, then they lanced his flesh with knives; after that,

The cruel death of Faithful.

[1] This is the Christian's plea and glory. While he knows 'the tender mercies of the wicked *are* cruel,' Pr. xii. 10, yet he also knows that the 'merciful kindness of the Lord is great, and the truth of the Lord *endureth* for ever.' Ps. cxvii. 2.—(Mason.)

[2] A more just and keen satirical description of such legal iniquities can scarcely be imagined, than that contained in this passage. The statutes and precedents adduced, with a humourous reference to the style in which charges are commonly given to juries, show what patterns persecutors choose to copy, and whose kingdom they labour to uphold. Nor can any impartial man deny, that the inference is fair, which our author meant the reader to deduce, namely, that nominal Protestants, enacting laws requiring conformity to their own creeds and forms, and inflicting punishments on such as peaceably dissent from them, are actually involved in the guilt of these heathen persecutors.—(Scott.)

[3] These words, and this trial, were quoted (January 25, 1848) by the Attorney-General, at Westminster Hall, in answer to the manner in which Dr. Hampden was then charged with heresy by the Puseyites.—(Ed.)

[4] If the Lord were to leave us in the hands of men, we should still find that their tender mercies are cruel. Such a jury as tried Faithful might be found in every county of Britain. —(Burder.) To this may be added, that the witnesses are *still living*.—(Ed.)

[5] Nothing can be more masterly than the satire contained in this trial. The judge, the witnesses, and the jury, are portraits sketched to the life, and finished, every one of them, in quick, concise, and graphic touches; the ready testimony of Envy is especially characteristic. Rather than anything should be wanting that might be necessary to despatch the prisoner, he would enlarge his testimony against him to any requisite degree. The language and deportment of the judge are a copy to the life of some of the infamous judges under King Charles, especially Jefferies. You may find, in the trial of the noble patriot Algernon Sidney, the abusive language of the judge against Faithful almost word for word. The charge to the jury, with the Acts and laws on which the condemnation of the prisoner was founded, are full of ingenuity and meaning. —(Cheever.)

they stoned him with stones, then pricked him with their swords; and, last of all, they burned him to ashes at the stake. Thus came Faithful to his end.[1]

A chariot and horses wait to take away Faithful.

Now I saw that there stood behind the multitude, a chariot and a couple of horses, waiting for Faithful, who (so soon as his adversaries had despatched him) was taken up into it, and straightway was carried up through the clouds, with sound of trumpet, the nearest way to the Celestial Gate.[2]

Christian is still alive.

But as for Christian, he had some respite, and was remanded back to prison. So he there remained for a space; but he that overrules all things, having the power of their rage in his own hand, so wrought it about, that Christian for that time escaped them, and went his way;[3] and as he went, he sang, saying—

The Song that Christian made of Faithful after his death

Well, Faithful, thou hast faithfully profest
Unto thy Lord; with whom thou shalt be blest,
When faithless ones, with all their vain delights,
Are crying out under their hellish plights,
Sing, Faithful, sing, and let thy name survive;
For, though they kill'd thee, thou art yet alive.

Christian has another companion.

Now I saw in my dream, that Christian went not forth alone, for there was one whose name was Hopeful (being made so by the beholding of Christian and Faithful in their words and behaviour, in their sufferings at the Fair), who joined himself unto him, and, entering into a brotherly covenant, told him that he would be his companion. Thus, one died to bear testimony to the truth, and another rises out of his ashes, to be a companion with Christian in his pilgrimage.[4] This Hopeful also told Christian, that there were many more of the men in the Fair, that would take their time and follow after.

There are more of the men of the fair will follow.

So I saw that quickly after they were got out of the Fair, they overtook one that was going before them, whose name was By-ends; so they said to him, What countryman, Sir? and how far go you this way? He told them, that he came from the town of Fair-speech, and he was going to the Celestial City, but told them not his name.

They overtake By-ends.

From Fair-speech! said Christian. Is there any good that lives there? Pr. xxvi. 25.

By-ends. Yes, said By-ends, I hope.

Chr. Pray, Sir, What may I call you? said Christian.

By-ends. I am a stranger to you, and you to me: if you be going this way, I shall be glad of your company; if not, I must be content.

By-ends loath to tell his name.

Chr. This town of Fair-speech, said Christian, I have heard of; and, as I remember, they say it is a wealthy place.

By-ends. Yes, I will assure you that it is; and I have very many rich kindred there.

Chr. Pray, who are your kindred there? if a man may be so bold.

By-ends. Almost the whole town; and in particular, my Lord Turn-about, my Lord Time-server, my Lord Fair-speech (from whose ancestors that town first took its name), also Mr. Smooth-man, Mr. Facing-both-ways, Mr. Any-thing; and the parson of our parish, Mr. Two-tongues, was my mother's own brother, by father's side; and to tell you the truth, I am become a gentleman of good quality, yet my great-grandfather was but a waterman, looking one way and rowing another, and I got most of my estate by the same occupation.

Chr. Are you a married man?

The wife and kindred of By-ends.

By-ends. Yes, and my wife is a very virtuous woman, the daughter of a virtuous woman; she was my Lady Feigning's daughter, therefore she came of a very honourable family, and is arrived to such a pitch of breeding, that she knows how to carry it to all, even to prince and peasant. It is true we somewhat differ in religion from those of the stricter sort, yet but in two small points; first, we never strive against wind and tide; secondly, we are always most zealous when religion goes in his silver slippers; we love much to walk with him in the street, if the sun shines, and the people applaud him.[5]

Where By-ends differs from others in religion.

[1] Bunyan gives a good portrait of Faithful in his *House of Lebanon*, referring to the character of Pomporius Algerius, mentioned in Fox's *Book of Martyrs*. 'Was not this man, think you, a giant? did he not behave himself valiantly? was not his mind elevated a thousand degrees beyond sense, carnal reason, fleshly love, and the desires of embracing temporal things? This man had got *that* by the end that pleased him; neither could all the flatteries, promises, threats, reproaches, make him once listen to, or inquire after, what the world, or the glory of it could afford. His mind was captivated with delights invisible. He coveted to show his love to his Lord, by laying down his life for His sake. He longed to be where there shall be no more pain, nor sorrow, nor sighing, nor tears, nor troubles. He was a man of a thousand!' Speaking of the pillars in that house at Lebanon, he says, 'These men had the faces of lions, they have triumphed in the flames.'

[2] This is a most exquisitely beautiful sketch; it is drawn to the life from many an era of pilgrimage in this world; there are in it the materials of glory, that constituted spirits of such noble greatness as are catalogued in the eleventh of Hebrews—traits of cruel mockings and scourgings, bonds and imprisonments.—(Cheever.)

[3] Political interests engage ungodly princes to promote toleration, and chain up the demon of persecution. The cruelties they exercise disgust the people, and they are disheartened by the ill success of their efforts to extirpate the hated sect.—(Scott.)

[4] I have often recorded it with thankfulness, that though in the dreary day of my pilgrimage, the Lord hath taken away a dear and faithful Christian friend, yet he has always raised up another. A very great blessing this, for which Christians can never be thankful enough.—(Mason.)

[5] Is not this too much the case with professors of this day?

Then Christian stepped a little aside to his fellow Hopeful, saying, It runs in my mind that this is one By-ends of Fair-speech; and if it be he, we have as very a knave in our company, as dwelleth in all these parts. Then said Hopeful, Ask him; methinks he should not be ashamed of his name. So Christian came up with him again, and said, Sir, you talk as if you knew something more than all the world doth;[1] and if I take not my mark amiss, I deem I have half a guess of you: Is not your name Mr. By-ends, of Fair-speech?

By-ends. This is not my name, but indeed it is a nickname that is given me by some that cannot abide me; and I must be content to bear it as a reproach, as other good men have borne theirs before me.

Chr. But did you never give an occasion to men to call you by this name?

By-ends. Never, never! The worst that ever I did to give them an occasion to give me this name was, that I had always the luck to jump in my judgment with the present way of the times, whatever it was, and my chance was to get thereby; but if things are thus cast upon me, let me count them a blessing; but let not the malicious load me therefore with reproach.

How By-ends got his name.

Chr. I thought, indeed, that you were the man that I heard of; and to tell you what I think, I fear this name belongs to you more properly than you are willing we should think it doth.

By-ends. Well, if you will thus imagine, I cannot help it; you shall find me a fair company-keeper, if you will still admit me your associate.

He desires to keep company with Christian.

Chr. If you will go with us, you must go against wind and tide;[2] the which, I perceive, is against your opinion; you must also own religion in his rags, as well as when in his silver slippers; and stand by him, too, when bound in irons, as well as when he walketh the streets with applause.

By-ends. You must not impose, nor lord it over my faith; leave me to my liberty, and let me go with you.

Chr. Not a step further, unless you will do in what I propound, as we.

Then said By-ends, I shall never desert my old principles, since they are harmless and profitable. If I may not go with you, I must do as I did before you overtook me, even go by myself, until some overtake me that will be glad of my company.[3]

By-ends and Christian part.

Now I saw in my dream, that Christian and Hopeful forsook him, and kept their distance before him; but one of them looking back, saw three men following Mr. By-ends, and behold, as they came up with him, he made them a very low *congé*; and they also gave him a compliment. The men's names were Mr. Hold-the-world, Mr. Money-love, and Mr. Save-all;[4] men that Mr. By-ends had formerly been acquainted with; for in their minority they were schoolfellows, and were taught by one Mr. Gripeman, a schoolmaster in Love-gain, which is a market town in the county of Coveting, in the north. This schoolmaster taught them the art of getting, either by violence, cozenage, flattery, lying, or by putting on a guise of religion; and these four gentlemen had attained much of the art of their master, so that they could each of them have kept such a school themselves.

He has new companions.

Well, when they had, as I said, thus saluted each other, Mr. Money-love said to Mr. By-ends, Who are they upon the road before us? (for Christian and Hopeful were yet within view.)

By-ends. They are a couple of far countrymen, that, after their mode, are going on pilgrimage.

By-ends' character of the Pilgrims.

Money-love. Alas! Why did they not stay, that we might have had their good company? for they, and we, and you, Sir, I hope, are all going on a pilgrimage.

By-ends. We are so, indeed; but the men before us are so rigid, and love so much their own notions,[5] and do also so lightly esteem the opinions

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The Spirit of truth says, 'All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.' 2 Ti. iii. 12. But how many act as if they had found the art of making the Spirit of truth a liar! for they can so trim and shape their conduct, as they vainly think to follow Christ, and yet to keep in with the world, which is at enmity against him—a most fatal and soul-deceiving error.—(Mason.)

[1] What is this something that By-ends knew more than all the world? How to unite heaven and hell—how to serve God and Mammon—how to be a Christian and a hypocrite at the same time. O the depth of the depravity of the human heart; alas! how many similar characters now exist, with two tongues in one mouth, looking one way and rowing another.—(Ed.)

[2] Fear not, therefore, in her for to abide,
She keeps her ground, come weather, wind, or tide.
—(Bunyan's *House of God*, vol. ii. p. 579.)

If we will follow Christ, he tells us that we must take up our cross. The wind sets always on my face; and the foaming rage of the sea of this world, and the proud and lofty waves thereof do continually beat upon the sides of the bark, or ship, that myself, my cause, and my followers are in.—(Bunyan's *Greatness of the Soul*, vol. i. p. 107.)

[3] Mind how warily these pilgrims acted to this deceitful professor. They did not too rashly take up an ill opinion against him; but when they had full proof of what he was, they did not hesitate one moment, but dealt faithfully with him, and conscientiously withdrew from him.—(Mason.) In a letter written in 1661, from Exeter jail, by Mr. Abraham Chear, a Baptist minister of Plymouth, who suffered greatly for nonconformity, and at length died in a state of banishment, there is this remark, 'We have many brought in here daily, who go out again almost as soon, for a week in a prison tries a professor more than a month in a church.'—(Ivimey.)

[4] It might have been supposed that the persons here introduced were settled inhabitants of the town of Vanity, or the City of Destruction; but, indeed, they professed themselves pilgrims, and desired, during the 'sunshine,' to associate with pilgrims, provided they would allow them to *hold the world, love money*, and *save all*, whatever became of faith and holiness, of honesty, piety, truth, and charity.—(Scott.)

[5] Pretended friends come with such expostulations as these:

of others, that let a man be never so godly, yet if he jumps not with them in all things, they thrust him quite out of their company.

Save-all. That is bad, but we read of some that are righteous overmuch;[1] and such men's rigidness prevails with them to judge and condemn all but themselves. But, I pray, what, and how many, were the things wherein you differed?[2]

By-ends. Why, they, after their headstrong manner, conclude that it is duty to rush on their journey all weathers; and I am for waiting for wind and tide. They are for hazarding all for God at a clap; and I am for taking all advantages to secure my life and estate. They are for holding their notions, though all other men are against them; but I am for religion in what, and so far as the times, and my safety, will bear it. They are for religion when in rags and contempt; but I am for him when he walks in his golden slippers, in the sunshine, and with applause.[3]

Mr. Hold-the-world. Aye, and hold you there still, good Mr. By-ends; for, for my part, I can count him but a fool, that, having the liberty to keep what he has, shall be so unwise as to lose it. Let us be wise as serpents; it is best to make hay when the sun shines; you see how the bee lieth still all winter, and bestirs her only when she can have profit with pleasure. God sends sometimes rain, and sometimes sunshine; if they be such fools to go through the first, yet let us be content to take fair weather along with us. For my part, I like that religion best, that will stand with the security of God's good blessings unto us; for who can imagine, that is ruled by his reason, since God has bestowed upon us the good things of this life, but that he would have us keep them for his sake? Abraham and Solomon grew rich in religion. And Job says, that a good man shall lay up gold as dust. But he must not be such as the men before us, if they be as you have described them.

Mr. Save-all. I think that we are all agreed in this matter, and therefore there needs no more words about it.[4]

Mr. Money-love. No, there needs no more words about this matter indeed; for he that believes neither Scripture nor reason (and you see we have both on our side), neither knows his own liberty, nor seeks his own safety.[5]

Mr. By-ends. My brethren, we are, as you see, going all on pilgrimage; and for our better diversion from things that are bad, give me leave to propound unto you this question:

Suppose a man, a minister, or a tradesman, &c., should have an advantage lie before him, to get the good blessings of this life, yet so as that he can by no means come by them except, in appearance at least, he becomes extraordinary zealous in some points of religion that he meddled not with before; may he not use this means to attain his end, and yet be a right honest man?

Mr. Money-love. I see the bottom of your question; and, with these gentlemen's good leave, I will endeavour to shape you an answer. And first to speak to your question as it concerns a minister himself: Suppose a minister, a worthy man, possessed but of a very small benefice, and has in his eye a greater, more fat, and plump by far; he has also now an opportunity of getting of it, yet so as by being more studious, by preaching more frequently, and zealously, and, because the temper of the people requires it, by altering of some of his principles; for my part, I see no reason but a man may do this (provided he has a call), aye, and more a great deal besides, and yet be an honest man. For why—

1. His desire of a greater benefice is lawful (this cannot be contradicted), since it is set before him by Providence; so then, he may get it, if he can, making no question for conscience sake.

Why, dear Sir, will you give such offence? How much would it be for your comfort and interest in the world if you would but be a little more complying, and give way in some particular points and phrases. O what a syren's song! May the Lord enable every faithful servant to reply, 'Get thee behind me, Satan.'—(J. B.)

[1] These words of Solomon are thus wickedly misapplied by many to the present day. Ec. vii. 16, 17 probably refers to the administration of justice which should be tempered with mercy, but not with laxity; or it may refer to the foolish opinions expressed upon the characters of pharisee and publican, exalting the one or decrying the other *overmuch*. It cannot be meant to censure the utmost efforts after true righteousness, nor to sanction the slightest degree of wickedness.—(Ed.)

[2] Woe unto them who wander from the way.
Art bound for hell, against all wind and weather?
Or art thou one agoing backward thither?
Or dost thou wink, because thou would'st not see?
Or dost thou sideling go, and would'st not be
Suspected? Yet these prophets can thee tell,
Which way thou art agoing down to hell.
—(Acts viii. 20–22. Bunyan's *House of God*, vol. ii. p. 582.)

[3] Notwithstanding By-ends could be reserved with faithful pilgrims, yet he can speak out boldly to those of his own spirit and character. O the treacherous deceivings of the desperate wickedness of the human heart! Who can know it? No one but the heart-searching God.—(Mason.)

[4] Some men's hearts are narrow upwards, and wide downwards: narrow as for God, but wide for the world. They *gape* for the one, but shut themselves up against the other. The heart of a wicked man is widest downward; but it is not so with the righteous man. His desires, like the temple Ezekiel saw in the vision, are still widest upwards, and spread towards heaven. A full purse, with a lean soul, is a great curse. Many, while lean in their estates, had fat souls; but the fattening of their estates has made their souls as lean as a rake as to good.—(Bunyan's *Righteous Man's Desires*, vol. i. p. 745.)

[5] This dialogue is not in the least more absurd and selfish than the discourse of many who now attend on the preaching of the gospel. If worldly lucre be the honey, they imitate the bee, and only attend to religion when they can gain by it; they determine to keep what they have at any rate, and to get more, if it can be done without open scandal.—(Scott.)

2. Besides, his desire after that benefice makes him more studious, a more zealous preacher, &c., and so makes him a better man; yea, makes him better improve his parts, which is according to the mind of God.

3. Now, as for his complying with the temper of his people, by dissenting, to serve them, some of his principles, this argueth—(1.) That he is of a self-denying temper. (2.) Of a sweet and winning deportment. And so (3.) More fit for the ministerial function.

4. I conclude then, that a minister that changes a small for a great, should not, for so doing, be judged as covetous; but rather, since he is improved in his parts and industry thereby, be counted as one that pursues his call, and the opportunity put into his hand to do good.[1]

And now to the second part of the question, which concerns the tradesman you mentioned. Suppose such an one to have but a poor employ in the world, but by becoming religious, he may mend his market, perhaps get a rich wife, or more, and far better customers to his shop; for my part, I see no reason but that this may be lawfully done. For why—

1. To become religious is a virtue, by what means soever a man becomes so.

2. Nor is it unlawful to get a rich wife, or more custom to my shop.

3. Besides, the man that gets these by becoming religious, gets that which is good, of them that are good, by becoming good himself; so then here is a good wife, and good customers, and good gain, and all these by becoming religious, which is good; therefore, to become religious to get all these, is a good and profitable design.[2]

This answer, thus made by this Mr. Money-love to Mr. By-ends's question, was highly applauded by them all; wherefore they concluded, upon the whole, that it was most wholesome and advantageous. And because, as they thought, no man was able to contradict it, and because Christian and Hopeful were yet within call, they jointly agreed to assault them with the question as soon as they overtook them; and the rather because they had opposed Mr. By-ends before. So they called after them, and they stopped, and stood still till they came up to them; but they concluded, as they went, that not Mr. By-ends, but old Mr. Hold-the-world, should propound the question to them, because, as they supposed, their answer to him would be without the remainder of that heat that was kindled betwixt Mr. By-ends and them, at their parting a little before.

So they came up to each other, and after a short salutation, Mr. Hold-the-world propounded the question to Christian and his fellow, and bid them to answer it if they could.

CHR. Then said Christian, Even a babe in religion may answer ten thousand such questions. For if it be unlawful to follow Christ for loaves (as it is in the sixth of John), how much more abominable is it to make of him and religion a stalking-horse, to get and enjoy the world![3] Nor do we find any other than heathens, hypocrites, devils, and witches, that are of this opinion.[4]

1. Heathens; for when Hamor and Shechem had a mind to the daughter and cattle of Jacob, and saw that there was no ways for them to come at them, but by becoming circumcised; they say to their companions, if every male of us be circumcised, as they are circumcised, shall not their cattle, and their substance, and every beast of theirs, be ours? Their daughter and their cattle were that which they sought to obtain, and their religion the stalking-horse they made use of to come at them. Read the whole story, GEN. xxxiv. 20–23.

2. The hypocritical Pharisees were also of this religion; long prayers were their pretence; but to get widows' houses was their intent; and greater damnation was from God their judgment. LU. xx. 46, 47.

3. Judas the devil was also of this religion; he was religious for the bag, that he might be possessed of what was therein; but he was lost, cast away, and the very son of perdition.

4. Simon the witch was of this religion too; for he would have had the Holy Ghost, that he might have got money therewith; and his sentence from Peter's mouth was according, AC. viii. 19–22.

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[1] There is a fund of satirical humour in the supposed case here very gravely stated; and if the author, in his accurate observations on mankind, selected his example from among the mercenaries that are the scandal of the Established Church, her most faithful friends will not greatly resent this conduct of a dissenter.—(Scott.) Dr. Paley would have done well to have read this chapter in Bunyan before composing some of the chapters in his *Moral Philosophy*, and his *Sermon on the Utility of Distinctions in the Ministry*.—(Cheever.)

[2] Here is worldly wisdom, infernal logic, and the sophistry of Satan. We hear this language daily, from money-loving professors, who are destitute of the power of faith. But in opposition to all this, the Holy Ghost testifies, 'The love of money is the root of all evil,' 1 Ti. vi. 10, and a covetous man is an idolater. Col. iii. 5. Hear this, and tremble, ye avaricious professors. Remember, ye followers of the Lamb, ye are called to '*let your* conversation *be* without covetousness,' He. xiii. 5; your Lord testifies, 'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.' Lu. xvi. 13.—(Mason.)

[3] How doth this commend itself to those who make merchandise of souls. What swarms of such locusts are there in this day!—(J. B.)

[4] If thou art one who tradeth in both ways:
God's now, the devil's then; or if delays
Thou mak'st of coming to thy God for life;
Or if thy light and lusts are at a strife
About who should be master of thy soul,
And lovest one, the other dost control;
These prophets tell thee can which way thou bendest,
On which thou frown'st, to which a hand thou lendest.
—(Tit. i. 16. *See* vol. ii. p. 582.)

5. Neither will it out of my mind, but that that man that takes up religion for the world, will throw away religion for the world; for so surely as Judas designed the world in becoming religious, so surely did he also sell religion and his Master for the same. To answer the question therefore affirmatively, as I perceive you have done; and to accept of, as authentic, such answer, is both heathenish, hypocritical, and devilish; and your reward will be according to your works.[1] Then they stood staring one upon another, but had not wherewith to answer Christian. Hopeful also approved of the soundness of Christian's answer; so there was a great silence among them. Mr. By-ends and his company also staggered and kept behind, that Christian and Hopeful might outgo them. Then said Christian to his fellow, If these men cannot stand before the sentence of men, what will they do with the sentence of God? And if they are mute when dealt with by vessels of clay, what will they do when they shall be rebuked by the flames of a devouring fire?[2]

Then Christian and Hopeful outwent them again, and went till they came at a delicate plain, called Ease, where they went with much content; but that plain was but narrow, so they were quickly got over it. Now at the further side of that plain, was a little Hill called Lucre, and in that hill a silver mine, which some of them that had formerly gone that way, because of the rarity of it, had turned aside to see; but going too near the brink of the pit, the ground being deceitful under them, broke, and they were slain; some also had been maimed there, and could not, to their dying day, be their own men again.

The ease that pilgrims have is but little in this life.

Lucre Hill, a dangerous hill.

Then I saw in my dream, that a little off the road, over against the silver mine, stood Demas (gentleman-like) to call to passengers to come and see; who said to Christian and his fellow, Ho! turn aside hither, and I will show you a thing.[3]

Demas at the Hill Lucre. He calls to Christian and Hopeful to come to him.

CHR. What thing so deserving as to turn us out of the way to see it?

DEMAS. Here is a silver mine, and some digging in it for treasure. If you will come, with a little pains you may richly provide for yourselves.

HOPE. Then said Hopeful, Let us go see.[4]

Hopeful tempted to go, but Christian holds him back.

CHR. Not I, said Christian, I have heard of this place before now; and how many have there been slain; and besides that, treasure is a snare to those that seek it; for it hindereth them in their pilgrimage. Then Christian called to Demas, saying, Is not the place dangerous? Hath it not hindered many in their pilgrimage? HOS. xiv. 8.

DEMAS. Not very dangerous, except to those that are careless (but withal, he blushed as he spake).

CHR. Then said Christian to Hopeful, Let us not stir a step, but still keep on our way.

HOPE. I will warrant you, when By-ends comes up, if he hath the same invitation as we, he will turn in thither to see.

CHR. No doubt thereof, for his principles lead him that way, and a hundred to one but he dies there.

DEMAS. Then Demas called again, saying, But will you not come over and see?

CHR. Then Christian roundly answered, saying, Demas, thou art an enemy to the right ways of the Lord of this way, and hast been already condemned for thine own turning aside, by one of his Majesty's judges, 2 TIM. iv. 10; and why seekest thou to bring us into the like condemnation? Besides, if we at all turn aside, our Lord the King will certainly hear thereof, and will there put us to shame, where we would stand with boldness before him.

Christian roundeth up Demas.

Demas cried again, That he also was one of

[1] Bunyan, in his *Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity*, thus addresses such characters: 'This is the man that hath the breath of a dragon; he poisons the air round about him. This is the man that slays his children, his kinsmen, his friend, and himself—he that offends God's little ones. O the millstone that God will shortly hang about your neck, when the time is come that you must be drowned in the sea and deluge of God's wrath!'—(*See* vol. ii. p. 530.) The answer of Christian, though somewhat rough, is so conclusive as to fortify every honest mind against all the arguments which the whole tribe of time-serving professors ever did, or ever can adduce, in support of their ingenious schemes and insidious efforts to reconcile religion with covetousness and the love of the world, or to render it subservient to their secular interests.—(Scott.)

[2] Here see the blessedness of being mighty in the Scripture, and the need of that exhortation, 'Let the Word of Christ dwell in you richly.' Col. iii. 16. For the Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword; it pierces through all the subtle devices of Satan, and the cunning craftiness of carnal professors; and divideth asunder the carnal reasonings of the flesh, and the spiritual wisdom which cometh from above.

Teach me, my God and King,
In all things THEE to see,
And what I do in any thing
To do it as for THEE.—(Mason.)

[3] The Hill Lucre stands somewhat *out of the way*, but temptingly near. They that will profit by the mine must turn aside for it. Pr. xxviii. 20, 22. Sir J. Mandeville, in his *Travels*, says, that in the Vale Perilous is plenty of gold and silver, and many Christian men go in for the treasure, but few come out again, for this are strangled of the devil. But good Christian men, that are stable in the faith, enter without peril. —(ED.)

[4] Eve expected some sweet and pleasant sight, that would tickle and delight her deluded fancy; but, behold sin, and the wrath of God, appear to the shaking of her heart; and thus, even to this day, doth the devil delude the world. His temptations are gilded with sweet and fine pretences, that men shall be wiser, richer, more in favour, live merrier, fare better, or something; and by such like things the fools are easily allured. But when their eyes are opened, instead of seeing what the devil falsely told them, they see themselves involved in wrath. —(Bunyan *on Genesis*, vol. ii. p. 431.)

their fraternity; and that if they would tarry a little, he also himself would walk with them.

CHR. Then said Christian, What is thy name? Is it not the same by the which I have called thee?

DEMAS. Yes, my name is Demas; I am the son of Abraham

CHR. I know you; Gehazi was your great-grandfather, and Judas your father; and you have trod in their steps. 2 Ki. v. 20. Mat. xxvi. 14, 15; xxvii. 1–5. It is but a devilish prank that thou usest; thy father was hanged for a traitor, and thou deservest no better reward. Assure thyself, that when we come to the King, we will do him word of this thy behaviour. Thus they went their way.

By this time By-ends and his companions were come again within sight, and they, at the first beck, went over to Demas. Now, whether they fell into the pit by looking over the brink thereof, or whether they went down to dig, or whether they were smothered in the bottom by the damps that commonly arise, of these things I am not certain; but this I observed, that they never were seen again in the way.[1] Then sang Christian—

By-ends goes over to Demas.

> By-ends and silver Demas both agree;
> One calls, the other runs, that he may be
> A sharer in his lucre; so these do
> Take up in this world, and no further go.

Now I saw that, just on the other side of this plain, the Pilgrims came to a place where stood an old monument, hard by the highway side; at the sight of which they were both concerned, because of the strangeness of the form thereof; for it seemed to them as if it had been a woman transformed into the shape of a pillar; here therefore they stood looking, and looking upon it, but could not for a time tell what they should make thereof. At last Hopeful espied written above the head thereof, a writing in an unusual hand; but he being no scholar, called to Christian (for he was learned) to see if he could pick out the meaning; so he came, and after a little laying of letters together, he found the same to be this, 'Remember Lot's wife.' So he read it to his fellow; after which they both concluded that that was the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was turned, for her looking back with a covetous heart, when she was going from Sodom for safety,[2] Ge. xix. 26; which sudden and amazing sight gave them occasion of this discourse.

They see a strange monument.

CHR. Ah, my brother! this is a seasonable sight; it came opportunely to us after the invitation which Demas gave us to come over to view the Hill Lucre; and had we gone over, as he desired us, and as thou wast inclining to do, my brother, we had, for aught I know, been made ourselves like this woman, a spectacle for those that shall come after to behold.

HOPE. I am sorry that I was so foolish, and am made to wonder that I am not now as Lot's wife; for wherein was the difference betwixt her sin and mine? She only looked back; and I had a desire to go see. Let grace be adored, and let me be ashamed, that ever such a thing should be in mine heart.

CHR. Let us take notice of what we see here, for our help for time to come. This woman escaped one judgment, for she fell not by the destruction of Sodom; yet she was destroyed by another, as we see she is turned into a pillar of salt.

HOPE. True, and she may be to us both caution and example; caution, that we should shun her sin; or a sign of what judgment will overtake such as shall not be prevented by this caution; so Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with the two hundred and fifty men that perished in their sin, did also become a sign or example to others to beware. Num. xxvi. 9, 10. But above all, I muse at one thing, to wit, how Demas and his fellows can stand so confidently yonder to look for that treasure, which this woman, but for looking behind her, after (for we read not that she stepped one foot out of the way) was turned into a pillar of salt; especially since the judgment which overtook her did make her an example, within sight of where they are; for they cannot choose but see her, did they but lift up their eyes.

CHR. It is a thing to be wondered at, and it argueth that their hearts are grown desperate in the case; and I cannot tell who to compare them to so fitly, as to them that pick pockets in the presence of the judge, or that will cut purses under the gallows.[3] It is said of the men of Sodom, that they were sinners exceedingly, because they were

[1] Here you see the end of double-minded men, who vainly attempt to temper the love of money with the love of Christ. They go on with their art for a season, but the end makes it manifest what they were. Take David's advice, 'Fret not thyself because of evil-doers.' Ps. xxxvii. 1. 'Be not thou afraid when one is made rich, when the glory of his house is increased.' Ps. xlix. 16. But go thou into the sanctuary of thy God, read his Word, and understand the end of these men.—(Mason.) Often, as the motley reflexes of my experience move in long processions of manifold groups before me, the distinguished and world-honoured company of Christian mammonists appear to the eye of my imagination as a drove of camels heavily laden, yet all at full speed; and each in the confident expectation of passing through the eye of the needle, without stop or halt, both beasts and baggage.—(Coleridge.)

[2] I have sometimes wondered at Lot. His wife looked behind her, and died immediately; but he would not so much as look behind him to *see* her. We do not read that he did so much as once look where she was, or what was become of her. His heart was set upon his journey; and well it might. There was the mountains before him, and the fire and brimstone behind him. His life lay at stake; and had he looked behind him he had lost it. Do thou so run, and 'remember Lot's wife.'—(Bunyan's *Heavenly Footman.*)

[3] In former times, the purse was carried hanging to a girdle round the waist, and great dexterity was requisite to cut and carry it away without the knowledge of the owner. Public executions for theft had so little effect in repressing crime, that thefts were committed in sight of, or even under the gallows.—(ED.)

sinners before the Lord, that is, in his eyesight, and notwithstanding the kindnesses that he had showed them, Gen. xiii. 13; for the land of Sodom was now like the garden of Eden heretofore. Gen. xiii. 10. This, therefore, provoked him the more to jealousy, and made their plague as hot as the fire of the Lord out of heaven could make it. And it is most rationally to be concluded, that such, even such as these are, that shall sin in the sight, yea, and that too in despite of such examples that are set continually before them, to caution them to the contrary, must be partakers of severest judgments.

HOPE. Doubtless thou hast said the truth; but what a mercy is it, that neither thou, but especially I, am not made myself this example! This ministereth occasion to us to thank God, to fear before him, and always to remember Lot's wife.[1]

A river.

I saw, then, that they went on their way to a pleasant river; which David the king called 'the river of God,' but John 'the river of the water of life.'[2] Ps. lxv. 9. Re. xxii. Eze. xlvii. Now their way lay just upon the bank of the river; here, therefore, Christian and his companion walked with great delight; they drank also of the water of the river, which was pleasant, and enlivening to their weary spirits:[3] besides, on the banks of this river, on either side, were green trees, that bore all manner of fruit; and the leaves of the trees were good for medicine; with the fruit of these trees they were also much delighted; and the leaves they eat to prevent surfeits, and other diseases that are incident to those that heat their blood by travels. On either side of the river was also a meadow, curiously beautified with lilies, and it was green all the year long. In this meadow they lay down, and slept; for here they might lie down safely. When they awoke, they gathered again of the fruit of the trees, and drank again of the water of the river, and then lay down again to sleep. Ps. xxiii. 2. Is. xiv. 30. Thus they did several days and nights.[4] Then they sang—

Trees by the river. The fruit and leaves of the trees.

A meadow in which they lie down to sleep.

> Behold ye how these crystal streams do glide,
> To comfort pilgrims by the highway side;
> The meadows green, besides their fragrant smell,
> Yield dainties for them: and he that can tell
> What pleasant fruit, yea, leaves, these trees do yield,
> Will soon sell all, that he may buy this field.

So when they were disposed to go on (for they were not, as yet, at their journey's end), they ate and drank, and departed.[5]

Now, I beheld in my dream, that they had not journeyed far, but the river and the way for a time parted; at which they were not a little sorry; yet they durst not go out of the way. Now the way from the river was rough, and their feet tender, by reason of their travels; 'so the souls of the pilgrims were much discouraged because of the way.' Nu. xxi. 4. Wherefore, still as they went on, they wished for better way.[6] Now, a little before them, there was on the left hand of the road a meadow, and a stile to go over into it; and that meadow is called By-path Meadow. Then said Christian to his fellow, If this meadow lieth along by our way-side, let us go over into it.[7] Then he went to the stile to see, and behold, a path lay along by the way, on the other side of the fence. It is according to my wish, said Christian. Here is the easiest going; come, good Hopeful, and let us go over.

By-path Meadow.

One temptation does make way for another.

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[1] Alas! poor pilgrims, like Peter, you soon forgot the judgment, although your sight of Lot's wife had so affected your spirits. How soon you went into By-path Meadow! 'wherefore, let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.' 1 Co. x. 12.—(ED.)

[2] By this river, which is called 'a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb,' Re. xxii. 1, we may understand clear and comfortable views of God's everlasting love and electing grace. They could see in it God's glory shining in the face of Jesus Christ, and view their own faces in it, to their inexpressible joy. This is the river 'the streams whereof make glad the city of God.' Ps. xlvi. 4. The streams which flow from this river of electing love, are vocation to Christ, justification by Christ, sanctification in Christ, perseverance through Christ, glorification with Christ, and all joy and peace in believing on Christ. All this these pilgrims now enjoyed, and all this every fellow-citizen of the saints is called to enjoy in his pilgrimage to Zion. God hath chosen us in Christ, and blessed us with all spiritual blessings in him. O how happy, peaceful, and joyful are pilgrims, when the Spirit takes of the things of Christ, shows them to us, and blesses us with a sense of interest in all the love of God, and finished salvation of Jesus!—(Mason.)

[3] Blessed state indeed, but of short duration! Too often these desirable consolations of the Spirit render the Christian careless and unwatchful.—(Burder.)

[4] A scene to soothe and calm a mind fretted and harassed with the cares and turmoils of this every-day world; a sunny vista into the future, welcome in a weary hour to the worn spirit, which longs, as for the wings of the dove, that it may flee away, and be at rest; a glimpse of Sabbath quietness on earth, given as a pledge and foretaste of the more glorious and eternal Sabbath of heaven.—(Bernard Barton.)

[5] Now had I an evidence, as I thought, of my salvation from heaven, with many golden seals thereon, all hanging in my sight. Now could I remember the manifestations of grace with comfort; and longed that the last day were come, that I might for ever be inflamed with the sight, and joy, and communion with him, whose soul was made an offering for my sins. Before this I lay trembling at the mouth of hell; now I had got so far therefrom that I could scarce discern it. O, thought I, that I were fourscore years old, that I might die quickly, and my soul be gone to rest.—(*Grace Abounding*, No. 128.)

[6] They should have said, It is true this way is not so pleasant as the meadow, but it is the Lord's way, and the best, doubtless, for us to travel in. A man speedily enters into temptation when he becomes discontented with God's allotments; then Satan presents allurements, and from wishing for a better way, the soul goes into a worse. The discontented wish is father to a sinful will; *I wish for a better* is followed by, *I will have a better*, and so the soul goes astray.—(Cheever.)

[7] The transition into the by-path is easy, for it lies close to the right way; only you must get over a stile, that is, you must quit Christ's imputed righteousness, and trust in your own inherent righteousness; and then you are in By-path Meadow directly.—(Mason.)

HOPE. But how if this path should lead us out of the way?[1]

CHR. That is not like, said the other. Look, doth it not go along by the way-side? So Hopeful, being persuaded by his fellow, went after him over the stile.

Strong Christians may lead weak ones out of the way.

When they were gone over, and were got into the path, they found it very easy for their feet; and withal, they, looking before them, espied a man walking as they did (and his name was Vain-confidence); so they called after him, and asked him whither that way led. He said, To the Celestial Gate.[2] Look, said Christian, did not I tell you so? By this you may see we are right. So they followed, and he went before them. But, behold, the night came on, and it grew very dark; so that they that were behind, lost the sight of him that went before.

See what it is too suddenly to fall in with strangers.

He, therefore, that went before[3] (Vain-confidence by name), not seeing the way before him, fell into a deep pit, Is. ix. 16, which was on purpose there made, by the Prince of those grounds, to catch vain-glorious fools withal, and was dashed in pieces with his fall.[4]

A pit to catch the vain-glorious in.

Now Christian and his fellow heard him fall. So they called to know the matter, but there was none to answer; only they heard a groaning. Then said Hopeful, Where are we now? Then was his fellow silent, as mistrusting that he had led him out of the way; and now it began to rain, and thunder, and lighten[5] in a very dreadful manner; and the water rose amain.[6]

Reasoning between Christian and Hopeful.

Then Hopeful groaned in himself, saying, O that I had kept on my way!

CHR. Who could have thought that this path should have led us out of the way?

HOPE. I was afraid on it at the very first, and therefore gave you that gentle caution. I would have spoke plainer, but that you are older than I.[7]

CHR. Good brother, be not offended; I am sorry I have brought thee out of the way, and that I have put thee into such imminent danger; pray, my brother, forgive me; I did not do it of an evil intent.[8]

Christian's repentance for leading of his brother out of the way.

HOPE. Be comforted, my brother, for I forgive thee; and believe too that this shall be for our good.

CHR. I am glad I have with me a merciful brother; but we must not stand thus: let us try to go back again.

HOPE. But, good brother, let me go before.

CHR. No, if you please, let me go first, that if there be any danger, I may be first therein, because by my means we are both gone out of the way.

HOPE. No, said Hopeful, you shall not go first; for your mind being troubled may lead you out of the way again. Then, for their encouragement, they heard the voice of one saying, 'Set thine heart toward the highway, *even* the way which thou wentest; turn again.' Je. xxxi. 21. But by this time the waters were greatly risen, by reason of which the way of going back was very dangerous. (Then I thought that it is easier going out of the way when we are in, than going in when we are out.) Yet they adventured to go back, but it was so dark, and the flood was so high, that in their going back they had like to have been drowned nine or ten times.[9]

They are in danger of drowning as they go back.

Neither could they, with all the skill they had, get again to the stile that night. Wherefore, at last, lighting under a little shelter, they sat down there until the day-break; but, being weary, they fell asleep. Now there was, not far from the place where they lay, a castle, called Doubting Castle, the owner whereof was Giant Despair;[10] and it was in his

They sleep in the grounds of Giant Despair.

[1] The best cautious I can give to others, or take myself, is, not to be guided in matters of faith by men, but to make the Scriptures our only rule—to look to God for the teaching of his blessed Spirit, that he may keep our feet from the ways of death.—(J. B.)

[2] 'There is a way that seems right unto a man, but the end thereof *are* the ways of death.' Pr. xiv. 12. Vain confidence is this very way. O how easy do professors get into it! yea, real pilgrims are prone also to take up with it, owing to that legality, pride, and self-righteousness, which work in their fallen nature. See the end of it, and tremble; for it leads to darkness, and ends in death. Lord, humble our proud hearts, and empty us of self-righteousness, pride, and vain confidence.—(Mason.)

[3] So, sometimes, real pilgrims take counsel and example of strangers, of worldly men, and of presumptuous careless persons. Vain confidence is a sad guide anywhere, but especially when one has wandered out of the way.—(Cheever.)

[4] If thou be prying into God's secret decrees, or entertain questions about nice curiosities, thou mayest stumble and fall to thine eternal ruin. Take heed of that lofty spirit, that, devil-like, cannot be content with its own station.—(*Heavenly Footman.*)

[5] The thunder and lightning plainly show that this by-path leads to Sinai, not to Zion. One step over the stile, by giving way to a self-righteous spirit, and you enter the territories of despair.—(J. B.)

[6] How varied is the experience of a Christian! he had just before overcome Demas, and conquered By-ends and his companions; is warned by Lot's wife, and now elated with the strength of his principles; boldness takes the place of caution; he ventures upon an easier path, and is involved in misery.—(ED.)

[7] When Bunyan pleaded, so energetically, for the communion of saints, irrespective of water-baptism, one of his arguments was, 'The strongest may sometimes be out of the way.' 'Receive ye one another as Christ also received us.'—(Vol. ii. p. 610.)

[8] Here see, that as Christians are made helpful, so also, through prevailing corruptions, they are liable to prove hurtful to each other. But observe how grace works: it humbles, it makes the soul confess and be sorry for its misfortunes. Here is no reviling one another; but a tender sympathy and feeling concern for each other. O the mighty power of that grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ! How does it cement souls in the fellowship of love!—(Mason.)

[9] How easy it is to trace the path that led the pilgrims astray! To avoid the roughness of the way, they entered the by-path, that by measures of carnal policy they might avoid afflictions. Guided by Vain-confidence, they were led from the road, and when this Vain-confidence was destroyed, they were involved in distress and danger.—(Ivimey.)

[10] The personification of Despair is one of the most instruc-

grounds they now were sleeping: wherefore he, getting up in the morning early, and walking up and down in his fields, caught Christian and Hopeful asleep in his grounds. Then, with a grim and surly voice, he bid them awake; and asked them whence they were, and what they did in his grounds. They told him they were pilgrims, and that they had lost their way. Then said the Giant, You have this night trespassed on me, by trampling in, and lying on my grounds, and therefore you must go along with me. So they were forced to go, because he was stronger than they.[1] They also had but little to say, for they knew themselves in a fault. The Giant therefore drove them before him, and put them into his castle, into a very dark dungeon, nasty and stinking to the spirits of these two men. Ps. lxxviii. 18. Here then they lay from Wednesday morning till Saturday night, without one bit of bread, or drop of drink, or light, or any to ask how they did; they were therefore here in evil case, and were far from friends and acquaintance. Now in this place Christian had double sorrow,[2] because it was through his unadvised counsel that they were brought into this distress.[3]

He finds them in his ground, and carries them to Doubting Castle.

The grievousness of their imprisonment.

Now, Giant Despair had a wife, and her name was Diffidence.[4] So, when he was gone to bed, he told his wife what he had done; to wit, that he had taken a couple of prisoners, and cast them into his dungeon, for trespassing on his grounds. Then he asked her also what he had best to do further to them. So she asked him what they were, whence they came, and whither they were bound; and he told her. Then she counselled him, that when he arose in the morning he should beat them without any mercy. So, when he arose, he getteth him a grievous crab-tree cudgel, and goes down into the dungeon to them, and there first falls to rating of them as if they were dogs, although they never gave him a word of distaste. Then he falls upon them, and beats them fearfully, in such sort, that they were not able to help themselves, or to turn them upon the floor. This done, he withdraws and leaves them, there to condole their misery, and to mourn under their distress. So all that day they spent the time in nothing but sighs and bitter lamentations. The next night, she, talking with her husband about them further, and understanding that they were yet alive, did advise him to counsel them to make away themselves. So when morning was come, he goes to them in a surly manner as before, and perceiving them to be very sore with the stripes that he had given them the day before, he told them, that since they were never like to come out of that place, their only way would be forthwith to make an end of themselves, either with knife, halter, or poison, for why, said he, should you choose life, seeing it is attended with so much bitterness?[5] But they desired him to let them

On Thursday, Giant Despair beats his prisoners.

On Friday, Giant Despair counsels them to kill themselves.

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tive and beautiful portions of Bunyan's allegory. It appeals either to every man's experience, or to every man's sense of what may come upon him, on account of sin. It is at once, in some respects, the very gloomiest and very brightest part of the 'Pilgrim's Progress;' for it shows at once to what a depth of misery sin may plunge the Christian, and also to what a depth the mercy of God in Christ may reach. The colouring of the picture is extremely vivid, the remembrance of it can never pass from the mind; and, as in a gallery of beautiful paintings, there may often be one that so strongly reminds you of your own experience, or that in itself is so remarkably beautiful as to keep you dwelling upon it with unabated interest; so it is with this delineation of Giant Despair, among the many admirable sketches of Bunyan's piety and genius. It is so full of deep life and meaning that you cannot exhaust it, and it is of such exquisite propriety and beauty that you are never tired with examining it.—(Cheever.)

[1] Sooner or later Doubting Castle will be the prison, and Giant Despair the keeper of all those who turn aside from Christ and his righteousness, to trust in any wise in themselves, and to their righteousness. 'Our God is a jealous God,' ever jealous of his own glory, and of the honour of his beloved Son. —(Mason.) So under the old cut, illustrating the Pilgrims in Doubting Castle, are these lines:—

> 'The pilgrims now, to gratify the flesh,
> Will seek its ease; but O! how they afresh
> Do thereby plunge themselves new griefs into!
> Who seek to please the flesh, themselves undo.'

[2] Blessed sorrow! how many are there who never tasted the bread of heaven, nor the water of life from the wells of salvation; who are strangers to the communion of saints, but do not feel themselves to be 'in evil case,' nor have wept under a sense of their wretched state.—(Ed.)

[3] What! such highly-favoured Christians in Doubting Castle? After having travelled so far in the way of salvation, seen so many glorious things in the way, experienced so much of the grace and love of their Lord, and having so often proved his faithfulness? Is not this strange? No; it is common—the strongest Christians are liable to err and get out of the way, and then to be beset with very great and distressing doubts.—(Mason.) Despair, like a tremendous giant, will at last seize on the souls of all unbelievers; and when Christians conclude, from some misconduct, that they belong to that company, they are exposed to be taken captive by him. They do not, indeed, fall and perish with Vain-confidence; but for a season they find it impossible to rise superior to prevailing gloomy doubts bordering on despair, or to obtain the least comfortable hope of deliverance, or encouragement to use the proper means of seeking it.—(Scott.)

[4] The wife of Despair is Diffidence, or a distrust of God's faithfulness, and a want of confidence in his mercy. When a Christian follows such counsels, gloom and horror of mind will be produced, and life become a burden.—(Ivimey.)

[5] Bunyan, in one of his delightful treatises of comfort against despair, introduces the following striking colloquy:—'Says Satan, Dost thou not know that thou art one of the vilest in all the pack of professors? Yes, says the soul, I do. Says Satan, Dost thou not know that thou hast horribly sinned? Yes, says the soul, I do. Well, saith Satan, now will I come upon thee with my appeals. Art thou not a graceless wretch? Yes. Hast thou an heart to be sorry for this wickedness? No, not as I should. And albeit, saith Satan, thou prayest sometimes, yet is not thy heart possessed with a belief that God will not regard thee? Yes, says the sinner. Why, then, despair, and go hang thyself, saith the devil. And now we are at the end of the thing designed and driven at by Satan. But what shall I now do, saith the sinner? I answer, take up the words of the text against him, 'That ye may be able to

go. With that he looked ugly upon them, and, rushing to them, had doubtless made an end of them himself, but that he fell into one of his fits (for he sometimes, in sunshiny weather, fell into fits),[1] and lost for a time the use of his hand; wherefore he withdrew, and left them as before, to consider what to do. Then did the prisoners consult between themselves, whether it was best to take his counsel or no; and thus they began to discourse:

The Giant sometimes has fits.

CHR. Brother, said Christian, what shall we do? The life that we now live is miserable. For my part, I know not whether is best, to live thus, or to die out of hand. 'My soul chooseth strangling rather than life,' and the grave is more easy for me than this dungeon. Job vii. 15. Shall we be ruled by the Giant?[2]

Christian crushed.

HOPE. Indeed, our present condition is dreadful, and death would be far more welcome to me than thus for ever to abide; but yet, let us consider, the Lord of the country to which we are going hath said, Thou shalt do no murder: no, not to another man's person; much more, then, are we forbidden to take his counsel to kill ourselves. Besides, he that kills another, can but commit murder upon his body; but for one to kill himself, is to kill body and soul at once. And, moreover, my brother, thou talkest of ease in the grave; but hast thou forgotten the hell, whither for certain the murderers go? For 'no murderer hath eternal life,' &c.[3] And let us consider, again, that all the law is not in the hand of Giant Despair. Others, so far as I can understand, have been taken by him, as well as we; and yet have escaped out of his hand. Who knows, but that God that made the world may cause that Giant Despair may die? or that, at some time or other, he may forget to lock us in? or that he may, in a short time, have another of his fits before us, and may lose the use of his limbs? and if ever that should come to pass again, for my part, I am resolved to pluck up the heart of a man, and to try my utmost to get from under his hand. I was a fool that I did not try to do it before; but, however, my brother, let us be patient, and endure a while. The time may come that may give us a happy release; but let us not be our own murderers. With these words, Hopeful at present did moderate the mind of his brother; so they continued together (in the dark) that day, in their sad and doleful condition.[4]

Hopeful comforts him.

Well, towards evening, the Giant goes down into the dungeon again, to see if his prisoners had taken his counsel; but when he came there, he found them alive; and truly, alive was all; for now, what for want of bread and water, and by reason of the wounds they received when he beat them, they could do little but breathe. But, I say, he found them alive; at which he fell into a grievous rage, and told them, that seeing they had disobeyed his counsel, it should be worse with them than if they had never been born.

At this they trembled greatly,[5] and I think that Christian fell into a swoon;[6] but, coming a little to himself again, they renewed their discourse about the Giant's counsel, and whether yet they had best to take it or no. Now Christian again seemed to be for doing it,[7] but Hopeful made his second reply as followeth:—

Christian still dejected.

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comprehend the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge.'—(*Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love*, vol. ii. p. 37.)

[1] Giant Despair, it seems, has fits in sunshiny weather; that is, a gleam of hope, from Christ the Sun of righteousness, sometimes darted into their minds.—(Burder.)

[2] Satan and his angels will not be wanting to help forward the calamity of the man, who, in coming to Christ, is beat out of breath, out of heart, out of courage, by wind that blows him backward. They will not be wanting to throw up his heels in their dirty places, nor to trouble his head with the fumes of their foul breath. And now it is hard coming to God; Satan has the art of making the most of every sin; he can make every hair on the head as big as a cedar. But, soul, Christ can save unto the uttermost! come, man, come. He can do exceeding abundantly above all we can ask or think.'—(Bunyan's *Complete Saviour*, vol. i. p. 209.) Poor Christian! what! tempted to destroy thyself? Lord, what is man! But see, despairing souls, mark the truth of that word, 'There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man; but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will, with the temptation, also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.' 1 Co. x. 13.—(Mason.)

[3] Bunyan had an acute sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and no saint had suffered more severely from despair. One of his great objects, in most of his works, is to arm poor pilgrims against desponding fears. Thus, in his first treatise on *Gospel Truths*—'He (the devil) will be sure to present to thy conscience the most sad sentences of the Scripture; yea, and set them home with such cunning arguments, that if it be possible he will make thee despair, and make away thyself as did Judas.'—(Vol. ii. p. 132.) Sin, when seen in its colours, and when appearing in its monstrous shape and hue, frighteth all mortals out of their wits, away from God, and, if he stops them not, also out of the world. This is manifest by Cain, Judas, Saul, and others. They fly from before God, one to one fruit of despair, and one to another.—(*Pharisee and Publican*, vol. ii. p. 260.)

[4] An admirable chain of reasoning, pointing out the evils of despair, is to be found in the *Jerusalem Sinner Saved*, vol. i. pp. 91, 92, under the head *Filthy*. 'It will make a man his own tormentor, and flounce and fling like a wild bull in a net. Is. li. 20. Despair! it drives a man to the study of his own ruin, and brings him at last to be his own executioner.' 2 Sa. xvii. 23. Mat. xxvii. 3–5.—(ED.)

[5] Alas, how chang'd! Expressive of his mind,
His eyes are sunk, arms folded, head reclin'd;
Those awful syllables, hell, death, and sin,
Though whisper'd, plainly tell what works within.
—(Cowper's *Hope*.)

'A wounded spirit who can bear?'

[6] To bring the state of Christian's mind before us, read the lamentations of the Psalmist, when he was a prisoner in Doubting Castle, under Giant Despair, in Ps. lxxxviii.; and Bunyan's experience, as narrated in No. 163 of *Grace Abounding*. Despair swallowed him up, and that passage fell like a hot thunderbolt upon his conscience, 'He was rejected, for he found no place for repentance.'—(Ivimey.)

[7] Dr. Donne, the celebrated Dean of St. Paul's, had recently

Hopeful comforts himagain, by calling former things to remembrance.

HOPE. My brother, said he, rememberest thou not how valiant thou hast been heretofore? Apollyon could not crush thee, nor could all that thou didst hear, or see, or feel, in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. What hardship, terror, and amazement hast thou already gone through! And art thou now nothing but fear! Thou seest that I am in the dungeon with thee, a far weaker man by nature than thou art; also, this Giant has wounded me as well as thee, and hath also cut off the bread and water from my mouth; and with thee I mourn without the light. But let us exercise a little more patience; remember how thou playedst the man at Vanity Fair, and wast neither afraid of the chain, nor cage, nor yet of bloody death. Wherefore let us (at least to avoid the shame, that becomes not a Christian to be found in) bear up with patience as well as we can.[1]

Now, night being come again, and the Giant and his wife being in bed, she asked him concerning the prisoners, and if they had taken his counsel. To which he replied, They are sturdy rogues, they choose rather to bear all hardship, than to make away themselves. Then said she, Take them into the castle-yard to-morrow, and show them the bones and skulls of those that thou hast already despatched, and make them believe, ere a week comes to an end, thou also wilt tear them in pieces, as thou hast done their fellows before them.[2]

So when the morning was come, the Giant goes to them again, and takes them into the castle-yard, and shows them, as his wife had bidden him. These, said he, were pilgrims as you are, once, and they trespassed in my grounds, as you have done; and when I thought fit, I tore them in pieces, and so, within ten days, I will do you. Go, 'get you down to your den again; and with that, he beat them all the way thither. They lay, therefore, all day on Saturday in a lamentable case, as before.[3] Now, when night was come, and when Mrs. Diffidence and her husband, the Giant, were got to bed, they began to renew their discourse of their prisoners; and withal the old Giant wondered, that he could neither by his blows nor his counsel bring them to an end. And with that his wife replied, I fear, said she, that they live in hope that some will come to relieve them, or that they have picklocks about them, by the means of which they hope to escape. And sayest thou so, my dear? said the Giant; I will, therefore, search them in the morning.

On Saturday, the Giant threatened that shortly he would pull them in pieces.

Well, on Saturday, about midnight, they began to pray, and continued in prayer till almost break of day.[4]

Now, a little before it was day, good Christian, as one half-amazed, brake out in this passionate speech: What a fool, quoth he, am I, thus to lie in a stinking dungeon, when I may as well walk at liberty! I have a key in my bosom, called Promise, that will, I am persuaded, open any lock in Doubting Castle. Then said Hopeful, That is good news, good brother; pluck it out of thy bosom, and try.[5]

A key in Christian's bosom, called Promise, opens any lock in Doubting Castle.

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published a thesis, to prove that suicide, under some circumstances, was justifiable. Hopeful answers all his arguments, and proves it to be the foulest of murders. Bunyan, in his treatise on *Justification*, vol. i. p. 314, thus notices the jailer's intent to commit suicide, when the doors of the prison in which Paul was confined were thrown open:—'Even now, while the earthquake shook the prison, he had murder in his heart—murder, I say, and that of a high nature, even to have killed his own body and soul at once.'—(Ed.)

[1] Here is the blessing of a hopeful companion; here is excellent counsel. Let vain professors say what they may against looking back to past experiences, it is most certainly good and right so to do; not to encourage present sloth and presumption, but to excite fresh confidence of hope in the Lord. We have David's example, and Paul's word to encourage us to this, 'The Lord that delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, he will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine,' 1 Sa. xvii. 37; and says Paul, 'We had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead.' 2 Co. i. 9.—(Mason.)

[2] It is a curious picture which Bunyan has drawn of the intercourse between the giant and his wife Diffidence. They form a very loving couple in their way; and the giant takes no new step in the treatment of the pilgrims without consulting Mrs. Diffidence over night, so that the curtain lectures to which we listen are very curious. But Mrs. Diffidence ought rather to have been called Dame Desperation, or Desperate Resolution; for she seems, if anything, the more stubborn genius of the two.—(Cheever.) By these conversations between Diffidence and Despair, after they had retired to bed, Bunyan perhaps designed to intimate that, as melancholy persons seldom get rest at night, the gloominess of the season contributes to the distress of their minds. So Asaph complains: 'My sore ran in the night, and ceased not: my soul refused to be comforted.' Ps. lxxvii. 2.—(Ivimey.)

[3] How would the awful lesson of the man in the iron cage, at the Interpreter's house, now recur to poor Christian's mind: 'I cannot get out, O now I cannot! I left off to watch, and am shut up in this iron cage, nor can all the men in the world let me out.' Christian's answer to the despairing pilgrim now soon broke upon his memory: 'The Son of the Blessed is very pitiful.'—(Ed.)

[4] What! Pray in the custody of Giant Despair, in the midst of Doubting Castle, and when their own folly brought them there too? Yes; mind this, ye pilgrims, ye are exhorted, 'I will that men pray everywhere, without doubting.' 1 Ti. ii. 8. We can be in no place but God can hear, nor in any circumstance but God is able to deliver us from. And be assured, that when the spirit of prayer comes, deliverance is nigh at hand.—(Mason.) Perhaps the author selected Saturday at midnight for the precise time when the prisoners began to pray, in order to intimate that the preparation for the Lord's day, which serious persons are reminded to make for its sacred services, are often the happy means of recovering those that have fallen into sin and despondency.—(Scott.)

[5] All at once, by a new revelation, which none but the Saviour could make, Christian finds the promises. Christ had been watching over his erring disciples—he kept back the hand of Despair from destroying them—he binds up the broken heart, and healeth all their wounds.—(Cheever.) As

Then Christian pulled it out of his bosom, and began to try at the dungeon door, whose bolt (as he turned the key) gave back, and the door flew open with ease, and Christian and Hopeful both came out. Then he went to the outward door that leads into the castle-yard, and, with his key, opened that door also. After, he went to the iron gate, for that must be opened too; but that lock went damnable hard,[1] yet the key did open it. Then they thrust open the gate to make their escape with speed, but that gate, as it opened, made such a creaking, that it waked Giant Despair, who, hastily rising to pursue his prisoners, felt his limbs to fail, for his fits took him again, so that he could by no means go after them.[2] Then they went on, and came to the King's highway, and so were safe, because they were out of his jurisdiction.[3]

Now, when they were gone over the stile, they began to contrive with themselves what they should do at that stile, to prevent those that should come after, from falling into the hands of Giant Despair.[4] So they consented to erect there a pillar, and to engrave upon the side thereof this sentence—'Over this stile is the way to Doubting Castle, which is kept by Giant Despair, who despiseth the King of the Celestial Country, and seeks to destroy his holy pilgrims.' Many, therefore, that followed after, read what was written, and escaped the danger. This done, they sang as follows:— A pillar erected by Christian and his fellow.

> Out of the way we went, and then we found
> What 'twas to tread upon forbidden ground;
> And let them that come after have a care,
> Lest heedlessness makes them, as we, to fare.
> Lest they for trespassing his prisoners are,
> Whose castle 's Doubting, and whose name 's Despair.

They went then till they came to the Delectable Mountains, which mountains belong to the Lord of that hill of which we have spoken before; so they went up to the mountains, to behold the gardens and orchards, the vineyards and fountains of water; where also they drank and washed themselves, and did freely eat of the vineyards.[5] Now there were on the tops of these mountains, shepherds feeding their flocks, and they stood by the highway side. The Pilgrims therefore went to them, and leaning upon their staves (as is common with weary pilgrims, when they stand to talk with any by the way), they asked, Whose Delectable Mountains are these? And whose be the sheep that feed upon them? The Delectable Mountains. They are refreshed in the mountains. Talk with the Shepherds.

Shep. These mountains are Immanuel's Land, and they are within sight of his city; and the sheep also are his, and he laid down his life for them. Jn. x. 11.

Chr. Is this the way to the Celestial City?

Shep. You are just in your way.

Chr. How far is it thither?

Shep. Too far for any but those that shall get thither indeed.

Chr. Is the way safe or dangerous?

Shep. Safe for those for whom it is to be safe; 'but the transgressors shall fall therein.'[6] Ho. xiv. 9.

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a key enters all the intricate wards of a lock, and throws back its bolts, so the precious promises of God in his Word, if turned by the strong hand of faith, will open all the doors which unbelief and despair have shut upon us.—(Burder.)

[1] Bunyan was a plain-spoken man, and feared not to offend delicate ears when truth required honest dealing. In his treatise on the *Law and Grace*, he says: 'And therefore, my brethren, seeing God, our Father, hath sent us, damnable traitors, a pardon from heaven, even all the promises of the gospel, and hath also sealed to the certainty of it with the heart-blood of his dear Son, let us not be daunted.—(Vol. i. p. 562.)

[2] Precious promise! The promises of God in Christ are the life of faith, and the quickeners of prayer. O how oft do we neglect God's great and precious promises in Christ Jesus, while doubts and despair keep us prisoners! So it was with these pilgrims; they were kept under hard bondage of soul for four days. Hence see what it is to grieve the Spirit of God: for he only is the Comforter: and if he withdraws his influences, who or what can comfort us? Though precious promises are revealed in the Word, yet we can get no comfort from them but by the grace of the Spirit.—(Mason.)

[3] It was Sabbath morning. The sun was breaking over the hills, and fell upon their pale, haggard countenances. It was to them a new creation; they breathed the fresh, reviving air, and brushed, with hasty steps, the dew from the untrodden grass, and fled the nearest way to the stile, over which they had wandered. They had learned a lesson by suffering, which nothing else could have taught them, and which would remain with them to the day of their death.—(Cheever.) The experience of these 'three or four' dreadful days is specially recorded in *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 261–263. The key which opened the doors in Doubting Castle was these words, applied with power to his soul, 'I must go to Jesus,' in connection with He. xii. 22–24. Of the first night of his deliverance he says, 'I could scarcely lie in my bed for joy and peace, and triumph through Christ.'—(Ed.)

[4] They fell to devising what soldiers, and how many, Diabolus should go against Mansoul with, to take it; and after some debate, it was concluded that none were more fit for that expedition than an army of terrible DOUBTERS. They therefore concluded to send against Mansoul an army of sturdy doubters. Diabolus was to beat up his drum for twenty or thirty thousand men in the Land of Doubting, which land lieth upon the confines of a place called Hell-gate Hill. Captain Rage was over the election doubters; his were the red colours; his standard-bearer was Mr. Destructive; and the great red dragon he had for his scutcheon. Captain Fury was over the vocation doubters; his standard-bearer was darkness; his colours were pale; and his scutcheon the fiery flying serpent. Captain Damnation was over the grace doubters; his were the red colours; Mr. No-life bore them; his scutcheon was the Black Den, &c. —(*Holy War.*)

[5] When offending Christians are brought to deep repentance, renewed exercises of lively faith, and willing obedience in those self-denying duties which they had declined, the Lord 'restores to them the joy of his salvation,' and their former comforts become more abundant and permanent. The Delectable Mountains seem intended to represent those calm seasons of peace and comfort.—(Scott.)

[6] O how many professors grow weary of the way, fall short, and fail of coming to the end! Though the way be too far, too strait, and too narrow for many who set out, and never hold out to the end; yet all who are begotten by the Word of grace, and born of the Spirit of truth, shall persevere to the

CHR. Is there, in this place, any relief for pilgrims that are weary and faint in the way?

SHEP. The Lord of these mountains hath given us a charge not to be 'forgetful to entertain strangers,' He. xiii. 2; therefore the good of the place is before you.

I saw also in my dream, that when the Shepherds perceived that they were wayfaring men, they also put questions to them, to which they made answer as in other places; as, Whence came you? And, How got you into the way? And, By what means have you so persevered therein? For but few of them that begin to come hither, do show their face on these mountains. But when the Shepherds heard their answers, being pleased therewith, they looked very lovingly upon them,

The Shepherds welcome them.

and said, Welcome to the Delectable Mountains.[1]

The Shepherds, I say, whose names were Knowledge, Experience, Watchful, and Sincere, took them by the hand, and had them to their tents, and made them partake of that which was ready at present.[2] They said, moreover, We would that ye should stay here a while, to be acquainted with us; and yet more to solace yourselves with the good of these Delectable Mountains. They then told them that they were content to stay; so they went to their rest that night, because it was very late.

The names of the Shepherds.

Then I saw in my dream, that in the morning the Shepherds called up Christian and Hopeful to walk with them upon the mountains: so they went forth with them, and walked a while, having a pleasant prospect on every side. Then said the Shepherds one to another, Shall we show these Pilgrims some wonders? So when they had concluded to do it, they had them first to the top of a hill called Error, which was very steep on the furthest side, and bid them look down to the bottom. So Christian and Hopeful looked down, and saw at the bottom several men dashed all to pieces by a fall that they had from the top. Then said Christian, What meaneth this? The Shepherds answered, Have you not heard of them that were made to err, by hearkening to Hymeneus and Philetus, as concerning the faith of the resurrection of the body? 2 TI. ii. 17, 18. They answered, Yes. Then said the Shepherds, Those that you see lie dashed in pieces at the bottom of this mountain are they; and they have continued to this day unburied, as you see, for an example to others to take heed how they clamber too high, or how they come too near the brink of this mountain.[4]

They are sure[3] wonders.

The Mountain of Error.

Then I saw that they had them to the top of another mountain, and the name of that is Caution, and bid them look afar off;[5] which, when they did, they perceived, as they thought, several men walking up and down among the tombs that were there; and they perceived that the men were blind, because they stumbled sometimes upon the tombs, and because they could not get out from among them.[6] Then said Christian, What means this?

Mount Caution.

The Shepherds then answered, Did you not see a little below these mountains a stile that led into a meadow, on the left hand of this way? They answered, Yes. Then said the Shepherds, From that stile there goes a path that leads directly to Doubting Castle, which is kept by Giant Despair, and these, pointing to them among the tombs, came once on pilgrimage as you do now, even till they came to that same stile; and because the right way was rough in that place, they chose to go out of it into that meadow, and there were taken by Giant Despair, and cast into Doubting Castle: where, after they had been a while kept in the dungeon, he at last did put out their eyes, and led them among those tombs, where he has left them to wander to this very day, that the saying of the wise man might be fulfilled, 'He that wandereth out of the way of understanding, shall remain in the congregation of the dead.'

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end, being kept by the mighty power of God, through faith, unto eternal salvation. 1 Pe. i. 5.—(Mason.)

[1] There is in this laconic description of the homely dreamer a richness of beauty which no efforts of the artist can adequately portray; and in the concise dialogue of the speakers, a simple sublimity of eloquence which any commentary could only weaken. While our feelings are excited by this description, we cannot but remember that 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.—(Bernard Barton.)

[2] Precious names! What is a pilgrim without knowledge? What is head-knowledge without heart-experience? And watchfulness and sincerity ought to attend us every step. When these graces are in us and abound, they make delectable mountains indeed.—(Mason.)

[3] This was Bunyan's note; but, after his decease, it was altered in 1707 to 'shown wonders,' and so has continued to the present time. The author's meaning was, that these wonders were real, undoubted, *sure*. From the introduction of this note to the time of Bunyan's death, he continued the word 'sure.'—(ED.)

[4] Fine-spun speculations and curious reasonings lead men from simple truth and implicit faith into many dangerous and destructive errors.—(Mason.)

[5] It is well for us to be much on this mount. We have constant need of caution. Take heed and beware, says our Lord. Paul takes the Corinthians up to this Mount Caution, and shows them what awful things have happened to professors of old; and he leaves this solemn word for us, 'Wherefore, let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.' 1 Co. x. 12.—(Mason.)

[6] O the unthought-of imaginations, frights, fears, and terrors, that are effected by a thorough application of guilt, yielding to desperation! This is the man that hath his dwelling among the tombs with the dead, that is always crying out, and cutting himself with stones. Mar. v. 3. But all in vain; desperation will not comfort him, the old covenant will not save him.—(*Grace Abounding*, No. 185.)

Pr. xxi. 16.[1] Then Christian and Hopeful looked upon one another, with tears gushing out, but yet said nothing to the Shepherds.[2]

Then I saw in my dream, that the Shepherds had them to another place, in a bottom, where was a door in the side of a hill, and they opened the door, and bid them look in. They looked in, therefore, and saw that within it was very dark and smoky; they also thought that they heard there a rumbling noise as of fire, and a cry of some tormented, and that they smelt the scent of brimstone. Then said Christian, What means this?

A by-way to Hell. The Shepherds told them, This is a by-way to hell, a way that hypocrites go in at; namely, such as sell their birthright, with Esau; such as sell their master, with Judas; such as blaspheme the gospel, with Alexander; and that lie and dissemble, with Ananias and Sapphira his wife.[3] Then said Hopeful to the Shepherds, I perceive that these had on them, even every one, a show of pilgrimage, as we have now; had they not?

SHEP. Yes, and held it a long time too.

HOPE. How far might they go on in pilgrimage in their day, since they notwithstanding were thus miserably cast away?

SHEP. Some further, and some not so far, as these mountains.[4]

Then said the Pilgrims one to another, We had need to cry to the Strong for strength.

SHEP. Aye, and you will have need to use it, when you have it, too.

By this time the Pilgrims had a desire to go forward, and the Shepherds a desire they should; so they walked together towards the end of the mountains. Then said the Shepherds one to another, Let us here show to the Pilgrims the gates of the Celestial City, if they have skill to look through our perspective glass.[5] The Pilgrims then lovingly accepted the motion; so they had them to the top of a high hill, called Clear, and gave them their glass to look.

The Shepherds' perspective glass.

The Hill Clear.

Then they essayed to look, but the remembrance of that last thing that the Shepherds had showed them, made their hands shake; by means of which impediment, they could not look steadily through the glass; yet they thought they saw something like the gate, and also some of the glory of the place.[6] Then they went away, and sang this song—

The fruits of servile fear.

> Thus, by the Shepherds, secrets are reveal'd,
> Which from all other men are kept conceal'd.
> Come to the Shepherds, then, if you would see
> Things deep, things hid, and that mysterious be.[7]

When they were about to depart, one of the Shepherds gave them a note of the way. Another of them bid them beware of the Flatterer. The third bid them take heed that they sleep not upon the Enchanted Ground. And the fourth bid them God speed. So I awoke from my dream.[8]

A twofold caution.

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[1] Some retain the name of Christ, and the notion of him as a Saviour; but cast him off in the very things wherein the essential parts of his sacrifice, merits, and priesthood consist. In this lies the mystery of their iniquity. They dare not altogether deny that Christ doth save his people, as a Priest; but then their art is to confound his offices, until they jostle out of doors the merit of his blood and the perfection of his justifying righteousness. Such draw away the people from the cross (put out their eyes), and lead them among the infidels. —(Bunyan's *Israel's Hope*, vol. i. p. 615.)

[2] Probably to guard pilgrims against the Popish doctrine of auricular confession.—(ED.)

[3] Those *seem* to shun the common broad road; but having only the mark of religion, while their hearts are not right with God, are as effectually ruined as the most profligate and open offenders.—(Burder.)

[4] Thus we read of some who were once enlightened, and had tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the world to come. He. vi. 6. It is hard to say how far or how long a person may carry on a profession, and yet fall away, and come short of the kingdom at last. This should excite to diligence, humility, and circumspection, ever looking to Jesus to keep us from falling.—(Mason.)

[5] It reflects the highest credit on the diffidence of Bunyan's genius—a genius as rich in its inventions, and as aspiring in its imaginative flights, as ever poet could possess or lay claim to—that, after such an exordium, he should have made no effort minutely to describe what was in its own splendour of glory indescribable. How beautifully, without exciting any disappointment in a reader of taste, feeling, and judgment, does he, by a few artless words, render most impressive and sublime, what more elaborate description could only have made confused and unsatisfactory. Nothing can be more admirable than this brief and indistinct report of the perspective glass; it cannot offend the most fastidious taste, yet leaves scope for the exercise of the most ardent and aspiring imagination.—(Bernard Barton.)

[6] Such mountains round about this house do stand
As one from thence may see the Holy Land.
—(Bunyan's *House of God*, vol. ii. p. 579.)

[7] After going through the conflict with Apollyon, the Valley of the Shadow of Death, the scenes in Vanity Fair, and the dread experience of the pilgrims in Giant Despair's Castle, it is well to note what a gallery of solemn REALITIES is here, what a system of Divine truth, commending itself to all men's consciences. It is not so much the richness of imagination, nor the tenderness of feeling here exhibited, nor the sweetness and beauty of the imagery, with which this book is filled, as it is the presence of these REALITIES that constitutes the secret of its unbounded power over the soul. Walk up and down in this rich and solemn gallery. How simple are its ornaments! How grave, yet beautiful, its architecture! Amidst all this deep, serene beauty to the imagination, by how much deeper a tone do these pictures speak to the inner spiritual being of the soul! When you have admired the visible beauty of the paintings, turn again to seek their meaning in that light from eternity by which the artist painted them, and by which he would have all men examine their lessons, and receive and feel the full power of their colouring. In this light, the walls of this gallery seem moving with celestial figures speaking to the soul. They are acting the drama of a life which, by most men, is only dreamed of; but the drama is the reality, and it is the spectators only who are walking in a vain show.—(Cheever.)

[8] This is the first break in the dream, and, doubtless, had an important meaning. Perhaps the pilgrimage may be divided into four parts: 1. The convert flying from the wrath to come; instructed at the Interpreter's house; relieved of his

And I slept, and dreamed again, and saw the same two Pilgrims going down the mountains along the highway towards the city. Now, a little below these mountains, on the left hand, lieth the country of Conceit;[1] from which country there comes into the way in which the Pilgrims walked, a little crooked lane. Here, therefore, they met with a very brisk lad, that came out of that country; and his name was Ignorance. So Christian asked him from what parts he came, and whither he was going.

The Country of Conceit, out of which came Ignorance.

Ignor. Sir, I was born in the country that lieth off there, a little on the left hand, and I am going to the Celestial City.

Christian and Ignorance have some talk.

Chr. But how do you think to get in at the gate? for you may find some difficulty there.

Ignor. As other good people do, said he.

Chr. But what have you to show at that gate, that may cause that the gate should be opened to you?

Ignor. I know my Lord's will, and I have been a good liver; I pay every man his own; I pray, fast, pay tithes, and give alms, and have left my country for whither I am going.[2]

The ground of Ignorance's hope.

Chr. But thou camest not in at the wicket-gate that is at the head of this way; thou camest in hither through that same crooked lane, and therefore, I fear, however thou mayest think of thyself, when the reckoning day shall come, thou wilt have laid to thy charge that thou art a thief and a robber, instead of getting admittance into the city.

Ignor. Gentlemen, ye be utter strangers to me, I know you not; be content to follow the religion of your country, and I will follow the religion of mine. I hope all will be well. And as for the gate that you talk of, all the world knows that that is a great way off of our country. I cannot think that any man in all our parts doth so much as know the way to it, nor need they matter whether they do or no, since we have, as you see, a fine pleasant green lane, that comes down from our country, the next way into the way.

He saith to every one that he is a fool.

When Christian saw that the man was 'wise in his own conceit,' he said to Hopeful, whisperingly, '*There is* more hope of a fool than of him.' Pr. xxvi. 12. And said, moreover, 'When he that is a fool walketh by the way, his wisdom faileth *him*, and he saith to every one *that* he is a fool.' Ec. x. 3. What, shall we talk further with him, or out-go him at present, and so leave him to think of what he hath heard already, and then stop again for him afterwards, and see if by degrees we can do any good to him? Then said Hopeful—

How to carry it to a fool.

> Let Ignorance a little while now muse
> On what is said, and let him not refuse
> Good counsel to embrace, lest he remain
> Still ignorant of what's the chiefest gain.
> God saith, those that no understanding have,
> Although he made them, them he will not save.

Hope. He further added, It is not good, I think, to say all to him at once; let us pass him by, if you will, and talk to him anon, even as he is able to bear it.[3]

So they both went on, and Ignorance he came after. Now when they had passed him a little way, they entered into a very dark lane, where they met a man whom seven devils had bound with seven strong cords, and were carrying of him back to the door that they saw on the side of the hill.[4] Mat. xii. 45. Pr. v. 22. Now good Christian began to tremble, and so did Hopeful his companion; yet as the devils led away the man, Christian looked to see if he knew him; and he thought it might be one Turn-away, that dwelt in the town of Apostasy. But he did not perfectly see his face, for he did hang his head like a thief that is found.[5] But being once past,

The destruction of one Turn-away.

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burden at the cross; ascends the Hill Difficulty; overcomes his timidity; and, 2. Enters a church at the House Beautiful; and, as a private member, continues his journey, until, 3. He meets Evangelist, near Vanity Fair, and is found fit to become an itinerant preacher; in which calling he suffers persecution, and obtains that fitness which enables him, 4. On the Delectable Mountains, to enter upon the responsible duties of a ministering elder or pastor of a church, and is ordained by Knowledge, Experience, Watchful, and Sincere. Is this commencement of his public labours the important point when the author 'awoke from his dream?'—(Ed.)

[1] This country we are all born in; all are ignoramuses by nature. Some live long in the country of Conceit, and many end their days in it. Are you come out of it? So was Ignorance; but he breathed his native air. So long as a sinner thinks he can do anything towards making himself righteous before God, his name is Ignorance; he is full of self-conceit, and destitute of the faith of Christ.—(Mason.)

[2] Now, is it not very common to hear professors talk at this rate? Yes, and many who make a very high profession too; their hopes are plainly grounded upon what they are in themselves, and how they differ from their former selves and other sinners, instead of what Christ is to us and what we are in Christ. But the profession of such is begun with an ignorant, whole, self-righteous heart; it is continued in pride, self-seeking, and self-exalting, and ends in awful disappointment. For such are called by our Lord thieves and robbers; they rob him of the glory of his grace and the gift of his imputed righteousness.—(Mason.)

[3] It is best not to converse much at once with persons of this character, but, after a few warnings, to leave them to their reflections; for their self-conceit is often cherished by altercations, in which they deem themselves very expert, however disgusting their discourse may prove to others.—(Scott.)

[4] An awful scene was beheld by the pilgrims. A professor, named Turn-away, bound with seven cords, was led by devils to the by-way to hell. Let every one inquire, Who is this wanton professor?—He who discovers a trifling, worldly, wanton spirit, dreads not the appearance of evil, complies with the fashions of the carnal world, and associates with the enemies of our Lord; and, in time, becomes a damnable apostate. Lord, keep us from such a beginning and such an end!—(Burder.)

[5] The 'very dark lane' in which 'Turn-away' was met by the pilgrims, represents the total darkness of the minds of

Hopeful looked after him, and espied on his back a paper with this inscription, 'Wanton professor, and damnable apostate.'[1] Then said Christian to his fellow, Now I call to remembrance, that which was told me of a thing that happened to a good man hereabout. The name of the man was Little-faith, but a good man, and he dwelt in the town of Sincere. The thing was this: At the entering in at this passage, there comes down from Broad-way Gate, a lane called Dead Man's Lane;[2] so called because of the murders that are commonly done there; and this Little-faith going on pilgrimage, as we do now, chanced to sit down there, and slept. Now there happened, at that time, to come down the lane from Broad-way Gate, three sturdy rogues, and their names were Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt (three brothers), and they espying Little-faith, where he was, came galloping up with speed. Now the good man was just awake from his sleep, and was getting up to go on his journey. So they came up all to him, and with threatening language bid him stand. At this, Little-faith looked as white as a clout, and had neither power to fight nor fly. Then said Faint-heart, Deliver thy purse. But he making no haste to do it (for he was loath to lose his money), Mistrust ran up to him, and thrusting his hand into his pocket, pulled out thence a bag of silver. Then he cried out, Thieves! Thieves! With that, Guilt, with a great club that was in his hand, struck Little-faith on the head, and with that blow felled him flat to the ground; where he lay bleeding as one that would bleed to death.[3] All this while the thieves stood by. But, at last, they hearing that some were upon the road, and fearing lest it should be one Great-grace, that dwells in the city of Good-confidence, they betook themselves to their heels, and left this good man to shift for himself. Now, after a while, Little-faith came to himself, and getting up, made shift to scrabble on his way.[4] This was the story.

Christian telleth his companion a story of Little-faith.

Broad-way gate.

Dead Man's lane.

Little-faith robbed by Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt.

They got away his silver, and knocked him down.

Hope. But did they take from him all that ever he had?

Chr. No; the place where his jewels were they never ransacked, so those he kept still. But, as I was told, the good man was much afflicted for his loss, for the thieves got most of his spending-money. That which they got not (as I said) were jewels,[5] also he had a little odd money left, but scarce enough to bring him to his journey's end, 1 Pe. iv. 18; nay, if I was not misinformed, he was forced to beg as he went, to keep himself alive; for his jewels he might not sell. But beg, and do what he could, he went (as we say) with many a hungry belly the most part of the rest of the way.[6]

Little-faith lost not his best things.

Little-faith forced to beg to his journey's end.

Hope. But is it not a wonder they got not from him his certificate, by which he was to receive his admittance at the Celestial Gate?

Chr. It is a wonder; but they got not that, though they missed it not through any good cunning of his; for he, being dismayed with their coming upon him, had neither power nor skill to hide anything; so it was more by good Providence than by his endeavour, that they missed of that good thing.[7]

He kept not his best things by his own cunning. 2 Ti. i. 14.

such wicked professors; for 'if the light that is in them be darkness, how great is that darkness!' When their characters are made manifest, they are ashamed to look their former pious friends in the face. 'The wicked shall be holden with the cords of his sins.' Pr. v. 22.—(Ivimey.)

[1] O beware of a light trifling spirit and a wanton behaviour. It is often the forerunner of apostasy from God. It makes one tremble to hear those who profess to follow Christ in the regeneration, crying, What harm is there in this game and the other diversion? The warmth of love is gone, and they are become cold, dead, and carnal. O how many instances of these abound!—(Mason.)

[2] In times of persecution, loose professors are driven down Dead Man's Lane to Broad-way Gate; thus Satan murders the souls of men, by threatening to kill their bodies. Believers that are weak in faith are betrayed into sinful compliances; they sleep when they ought to watch, they conceal or deny their profession, and thus contract guilt; Faint-heart assaults them, Mistrust plunders them, and Guilt beats them down.—(Scott.)

[3] The fly in the spider's net is the emblem of the soul in such a condition. If the soul struggleth, Satan laboureth to hold it down. If it make a noise, he bites it with blasphemous mouth; insomuch that it must needs die at last in the net, if the Lord Jesus help not. Believing is sure sweating work. Only strong faith can make Satan flee. O the toil of a gracious heart in this combat, if faith be weak! The man can get no higher than his knees, till an arm from heaven help him up.—(Bunyan's *Holy City*.)

[4] When Bunyan was imprisoned, his sentence was—To be transported, if he did not conform in three months; and then, if found as a Nonconformist, in this country, he should be hung. Determined at all hazards not to be a traitor to his God, he anticipated being hung; and was anxious, in such a cause, to meet death with firmness. When his fears prevailed, he dreaded lest he should make but a *scrabbling* shift to clamber up the ladder.—(See *Grace Abounding*, No. 334.)

[5] Where there is a faint heart in God's cause, and mistrust of God's truths, there will be guilt in the conscience, and but little faith. These rogues will prevail over, and rob such souls of the comforts of God's love and of Christ's salvation. By his jewels, we may understand those radical graces of the Spirit—faith, hope, and love. By his spending-money, the sealing and earnest of the Spirit in his heart. 2 Co. i. 22. Of this Divine assurance, and the sense of the peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, he was robbed; so that, though he still went on in the ways of the Lord, yet he dragged on but heavily and uncomfortably.—(Mason.)

[6] Bunyan throws great light upon this subject in his *Christ a Complete Saviour*, vol. i. p. 215:—'We are saved by Christ; brought to glory by Christ; and all our works are no otherwise made acceptable to God, but by the person and excellencies of Christ. Therefore, whatever *the jewels* are, and the bracelets and the pearls that thou shalt be adorned with, as a reward of service done to God in this world, for them thou must thank Christ, and, before all, confess that he was the meritorious cause thereof.'

[7] What was this good thing? His precious faith, whose

HOPE. But it must needs be a comfort to him, that they got not this jewel from him.[1]

CHR. It might have been great comfort to him, had he used it as he should; but they that told me the story said, that he made but little use of it all the rest of the way, and that because of the dismay that he had in the taking away his money; indeed, he forgot it a great part of the rest of his journey; and besides, when at any time it came into his mind, and he began to be comforted therewith, then would fresh thoughts of his loss come again upon him, and those thoughts would swallow up all. 1 Pe. i. 9.

He is pitied by both.

HOPE. Alas! poor man. This could not but be a great grief to him.

CHR. Grief! aye, a grief indeed. Would it not have been so to any of us, had we been used as he, to be robbed, and wounded too, and that in a strange place, as he was? It is a wonder he did not die with grief, poor heart! I was told that he scattered almost all the rest of the way with nothing but doleful and bitter complaints; telling also to all that overtook him, or that he overtook in the way as he went, where he was robbed, and how; who they were that did it, and what he lost; how he was wounded, and that he hardly escaped with his life.[2]

HOPE. But it is a wonder that his necessity did not put him upon selling or pawning some of his jewels,[3] that he might have wherewith to relieve himself in his journey.

CHR. Thou talkest like one upon whose head is the shell to this very day; for what should he pawn them, or to whom should he sell them? In all that country where he was robbed, his jewels were not accounted of; nor did he want that relief which could from thence be administered to him. Besides, had his jewels been missing at the gate of the Celestial City, he had (and that he knew well enough) been excluded from an inheritance there; and that would have been worse to him than the appearance and villany of ten thousand thieves.

Christian snubbeth his fellow for unadvised speaking.

HOPE. Why art thou so tart, my brother? Esau sold his birthright, and that for a mess of pottage, and that birthright was his greatest jewel; and if he, why might not Little-faith do so too? He. xii. 16.

CHR. Esau did sell his birthright indeed, and so do many besides, and by so doing exclude themselves from the chief blessing, as also that caitiff did; but you must put a difference betwixt Esau and Little-faith, and also betwixt their estates. Esau's birthright was typical, but Little-faith's jewels were not so; Esau's belly was his god, but Little-faith's belly was not so; Esau's want lay in his fleshly appetite, Little-faith's did not so. Besides, Esau could see no further than to the fulfilling of his lusts; 'Behold I *am* at the point to die (said he), and what profit shall this birthright do me?' Ge. xxv. 32. But Little-faith, though it was his lot to have but a little faith, was by his little faith kept from such extravagances, and made to see and prize his jewels more than to sell them, as Esau did his birthright. You read not anywhere that Esau had faith, no, not so much as a little; therefore no marvel if, where the flesh only bears sway (as it will in that man where no faith is to resist), if he sells his birthright, and his soul and all, and that to the devil of hell; for it is with such, as it is with the ass, who in her occasions cannot be turned away. Je. ii. 24. When their minds are set upon their lusts, they will have them whatever they cost. But Little-faith was of another temper, his mind was on things divine; his livelihood was upon things that were spiritual, and from above; therefore, to what end should he that is of such a temper sell his jewels (had there been any that would have bought them) to fill his mind with empty things? Will a man give a penny to fill his belly with hay; or can you persuade the turtle-dove to live upon carrion like the crow? Though faithless ones can, for carnal lusts, pawn, or mortgage, or sell what they have, and themselves outright to boot; yet they that have faith, saving faith, though but a little of it, cannot do so. Here, therefore, my brother, is thy mistake.

A discourse about Esau and Little-faith.

Esau was ruled by his lusts.

Esau never had faith.

Little-faith could not live upon Esau's pottage.

A comparison between the turtle-dove and the crow.

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author, finisher, and object is precious Jesus. And where he gives this precious gift of faith, though it be but little, even as a grain of mustard-seed, not all the powers of earth and hell can rob the heart of it. Christ prayed for his disciple that his faith should not fail, or be totally lost; therefore, though Peter lost his comforts for a season, yet not his faith totally, not his soul eternally; for, says Jesus, of all his dear flock, yea, of those of little faith too, None shall pluck them out of my hand. There is one blessed security, not in ourselves, but in our Lord. —(Mason.)

[1] Hope, love, humility, meekness, patience, longsuffering, compassion, and mercy, are gracious dispositions wrought in the heart by the Holy Ghost. These are the believer's jewels; and it is his duty to keep them clean, that their beauty and lustre may be apparent.—(Andronicus.)

[2] Little-faith cannot come all the way without crying. So long as its holy boldness lasts, so long it can come with peace, but it will go the rest of the way with crying.—(Bunyan's *Come and Welcome*, vol. i. p. 288.)

[3] Bunyan shows the difference between 'his spending-money,' or that treasure which the Christian carries in his earthen vessel, and his jewels, in *Grace Abounding*, No. 232:—'It was glorious to me to see his [Christ's] exaltation. Now I could look from myself to him, and should reckon that all those graces of God that now were green in me, were yet but like those cracked groats and fourpence-halfpennies,[1] that rich men carry in their purses, when their GOLD is in their trunks at home. Oh! I saw that my gold was in my trunk at home, in Christ my Lord and Saviour. Now, Christ was all; all my wisdom, all my righteousness, all my sanctification, and all my redemption.'

[1] Irish sixpences, which, in the dearth of silver coin in England, were made current at fourpence-halfpenny.—(ED.)

HOPE. I acknowledge it; but yet your severe reflection had almost made me angry.[1]

CHR. Why, I did but compare thee to some of the birds that are of the brisker sort, who will run to and fro in untrodden paths, with the shell upon their heads; but pass by that, and consider the matter under debate, and all shall be well betwixt thee and me.

HOPE. But, Christian, these three fellows, I am persuaded in my heart, are but a company of cowards;[2] would they have run else, think you, as they did, at the noise of one that was coming on the road? Why did not Little-faith pluck up a greater heart? He might, methinks, have stood one brush with them, and have yielded when there had been no remedy.

Hopeful swaggers.

CHR. That they are cowards, many have said, but few have found it so in the time of trial. As for a great heart, Little-faith had none; and I perceive by thee, my brother, hadst thou been the man concerned, thou art but for a brush, and then to yield. And, verily, since this is the height of thy stomach, now they are at a distance from us, should they appear to thee as they did to him, they might put thee to second thoughts.

No great heart for God, where there is but little faith.

We have more courage when out, than when in [the conflict].

But, consider again, they are but journeymen thieves, they serve under the king of the bottomless pit, who, if need be, will come in to their aid himself, and his voice is as the roaring of a lion. I myself have been engaged as this Little-faith was, and I found it a terrible thing. These three villains set upon me, and I beginning, like a Christian, to resist, they gave but a call, and in came their master. I would, as the saying is, have given my life for a penny; but that, as God would have it, I was clothed with armour of proof. Aye, and yet, though I was so harnessed, I found it hard work to quit myself like a man. No man can tell what in that combat attends us, but he that hath been in the battle himself.[3]

Christian tells his own experience in this case.

Ps. vii. 2. 1 Pe. v. 8.

HOPE. Well, but they ran, you see, when they did but suppose that one Great-grace was in the way.[4]

CHR. True, they have often fled, both they and their master, when Great-grace hath but appeared; and no marvel; for he is the King's Champion. But, I trow,[5] you will put some difference betwixt Little-faith and the King's Champion. All the King's subjects are not his champions, nor can they, when tried, do such feats of war as he. Is it meet to think that a little child should handle Goliah as David did? Or that there should be the strength of an ox in a wren? Some are strong, some are weak; some have great faith, some have little. This man was one of the weak, and therefore he went to the wall.

The King's Champion.

HOPE. I would it had been Great-grace for their sakes.

CHR. If it had been, he might have had his hands full; for I must tell you, that though Great-grace is excellent good at his weapons, and has, and can, so long as he keeps them at sword's point, do well enough with them; yet, if they get within him, even Faint-heart, Mistrust, or the other, it shall go hard but they will throw up his heels. And when a man is down, you know, what can he do?

Whoso looks well upon Great-grace's face, shall see those scars and cuts there, that shall easily give demonstration of what I say. Yea, once I heard that he should say (and that when he was in the combat), 'We despaired even of life.'[6] How did these sturdy rogues and their fellows make David groan, mourn, and roar? Yea, Heman and Hezekiah, too, though champions in their day, were forced to bestir them, when by these assaulted; and yet, notwithstanding, they had their coats soundly brushed by them. Peter, upon a time, would go try what he could do; but though some do say of him that he is the prince of the apostles, they handled him so, that they made him at last afraid of a sorry girl.

Besides, their king is at their whistle. He is never out of hearing; and if at any time they be put to the worst, he, if possible, comes in to help

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[1] Hopeful was not the first pilgrim who has been 'almost made angry' while holding a friendly debate upon that highly-important subject, the doctrine of the saints' final perseverance. Pilgrims ought to debate upon those subjects without being angry.—(ED.)

[2] Hopeful here expresses himself as if *he had read* Bunyan on *Christ's Love*:—'But to fear man is to forget God. He taketh part with them that fear HIM; so that we may boldly say, "The Lord *is* my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me." He. xiii. 6. Would it not be amazing to see a man encompassed with chariots, and horses, and weapons of defence, yet afraid of being sparrow-blasted, or overrun by a grasshopper?'—(Vol. ii. p. 13.)

[3] Who can stand in the evil day of temptation, when beset with Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt, backed by the power of their master, Satan? No one, unless armed with the whole armour of God; and even then, the power of such infernal foes makes it a hard fight to the Christian. But this is our glory, the Lord shall fight for us, and we shall hold our peace. We shall be silent as to ascribing any glory to ourselves, knowing our very enemies are part of ourselves, and that we are more than conquerors over all these (only) through HIM who loved us. Ro. viii. 37.—(Mason.)

[4] 'One Great-grace;' a believer, or minister, who having honourably stood his ground, endeavours to restore the fallen. The remembrance of such, helps to drive away despondency, and inspires the trembling penitent with hope of mercy.—(Scott.)

[5] 'I trow;' I imagine or believe: nearly obsolete.—(ED.)

[6] Now here you see what is meant by Great-grace, who is so often mentioned in this book, and by whom so many valiant things were done. We read, 'With great power the apostles gave witness of the resurrection of Jesus.' Why was it? Because 'great grace was upon them all.' Ac. iv. 33. So you see all is of grace, from first to last, in salvation. If we do great things for Christ, yet, not unto us, but unto the great grace of our Lord, be all the glory.—(Mason.)

them; and of him it is said, 'The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold; the spear, the dart, nor the habergeon: he esteemeth iron as straw, *and* brass as rotten wood. The arrow cannot make him flee; sling stones are turned with him into stubble. Darts are counted as stubble: he laugheth at the shaking of a spear.' Job xli. 26–29. What can a man do in this case? It is true, if a man could, at every turn, have Job's horse, and had skill and courage to ride him, he might do notable things; 'for his neck is clothed with thunder, he will not be afraid of the grasshopper; the glory of his nostrils *is* terrible; he paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in *his* strength, he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted, neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear, and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage, neither believeth he that *it is* the sound of the trumpet. He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha! and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting.' Job xxxix. 19–25.

Leviathan's sturdiness.

The excellent mettle that is in Job's horse.

But for such footmen as thee and I are, let us never desire to meet with an enemy, nor vaunt as if we could do better, when we hear of others that they have been foiled, nor be tickled at the thoughts of our own manhood; for such commonly come by the worst when tried.[1] Witness Peter, of whom I made mention before. He would swagger, aye, he would; he would, as his vain mind prompted him to say, do better, and stand more for his Master than all men; but who so foiled, and run down by these villains, as he?[2]

When, therefore, we hear that such robberies are done on the King's highway, two things become us to do: 1. To go out harnessed, and to be sure to take a shield with us; for it was for want of that, that he that laid so lustily at Leviathan could not make him yield; for, indeed, if that be wanting, he fears us not at all. Therefore, he that had skill hath said, 'Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.' Ep. vi. 16.

2. It is good, also, that we desire of the King a convoy,[3] yea, that he will go with us himself. This made David rejoice when in the Valley of the Shadow of Death; and Moses was rather for dying where he stood, than to go one step without his God. Ex. xxxiii. 15. O my brother, if he will but go along with us, what need we be afraid of ten thousands that shall set themselves against us? Ps. iii. 5–8; xxvii. 1–3. But, without him, the proud helpers 'fall under the slain.' Is. x. 4.

It is good to have a convoy.

I, for my part, have been in the fray before now; and though, through the goodness of him that is best, I am, as you see, alive; yet I cannot boast of my manhood. Glad shall I be, if I meet with no more such brunts; though, I fear, we are not got beyond all danger.[4] However, since the lion and the bear have not as yet devoured me, I hope God will also deliver us from the next uncircumcised Philistine. Then sang Christian—

> Poor Little-faith! Hast been among the thieves?
> Wast robb'd? Remember this, whoso believes,
> And gets more faith, shall then a victor be
> Over ten thousand, else scarce over three.

So they went on, and Ignorance followed. They went then till they came at a place where they saw a way put itself into their way, and seemed withal to lie as straight as the way which they should go; and here they knew not which of the two to take, for both seemed straight before them; therefore, here they stood still to consider. And as they were thinking about the way, behold a man, black of flesh, but covered with a very light robe, came to them, and asked them why they stood there.[5] They answered, they were going to the

A way, and a way.

The flatterer finds them.

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[1] If we saw our own weakness, we should never court dangers, nor run in the way of temptation; yet, if our temptations be ever so sharp and strong, and our dangers ever so great, if the Lord is our strength, we need not fear.—(J. B.)

[2] From this sweet and edifying conversation, learn not to think more highly of yourself than you ought to think; but to think soberly, according to the measure of faith which God hath dealt to you. Ro. xii. 3. Now, it is of the very essence of faith to lead us out of all self-confidence and vain vaunting. For we know not how soon Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt may spring up in us, and rob us of our comforts, and spoil our joys.—(Mason.)

[3] Instead of saying, 'Though all men deny thee, yet will not I,' it behoves us to use all means of grace diligently, and to be instant in prayer, that the Lord himself may protect us by his power, and animate us by his presence, and then only shall we be enabled to overcome both the fear of man and the temptations of the devil.—(Scott.)

[4] But how contrary to this is the walk and conduct of some who profess to be pilgrims, and yet can wilfully and deliberately go upon the devil's ground, and indulge themselves in carnal pleasures and sinful diversions! Such evidently declare in plain language, that they desire not the presence of God, but that he should depart from them; but a day will come which will bring on terrible reflections of mind for such things.—(Mason.)

[5] Mr. Ivimey's opinion is, that this 'way which put itself into their way,' and the flatterer, relates to Antinomianism. Of this I can form no accurate judgment, never having met with an Antinomian, or one who professed to be against the law of God. I have met with those who consider that believers are bound to prefer the law of God as revealed by Jesus Christ, in Mat. xxii. 37–40, to be their rule of life, instead of limiting themselves to the law of God as given by Moses, in Ex. xx.; but it has been for this reason, that the law proclaimed by Christ unites in it the law given by Moses, and ALL the law and the prophets. This law, as given by Christ, is in a few words of beautiful simplicity, which can neither be misunderstood nor be forgotten. Mason says, 'It is plain the author means the way of self-righteousness,' into which the flatterer enticed the pilgrims, out of the Scripture highway to heaven, in the righteousness of Christ. When ministers differ, private Christians must think for themselves. My judgment goes with Mr. Mason.—(Ed.) This

Celestial City, but knew not which of these ways to take. Follow me, said the man, it is thither that I am going. So they followed him in the way that but now came into the road, which by degrees turned, and turned them so from the city that they desired to go to, that, in little time, their faces were turned away from it; yet they followed him. But by and by, before they were aware, he led them both within the compass of a net, in which they were both so entangled, that they knew not what to do; and with that the white robe fell off the black man's back. Then they saw where they were. Wherefore, there they lay crying some time, for they could not get themselves out.[1]

Christian and his fellow deluded.

They are taken in a net.

CHR. Then said Christian to his fellow, Now do I see myself in an error. Did not the Shepherds bid us beware of the flatterers? As is the saying of the wise man, so we have found it this day, 'A man that flattereth his neighbour, spreadeth a net for his feet.' Pr. xxix. 5.

They bewail their condition.

HOPE. They also gave us a note of directions about the way, for our more sure finding thereof; but therein we have also forgotten to read, and have not kept ourselves from the paths of the destroyer. Here David was wiser than we; for, saith he, 'Concerning the works of men, by the word of thy lips, I have kept *me from* the paths of the destroyer.' Ps. xvii. 4. Thus they lay bewailing themselves in the net. At last they espied a Shining One coming towards them, with a whip of small cord in his hand. When he was come to the place where they were, he asked them whence they came, and what they did there. They told him that they were poor pilgrims going to Zion, but were led out of their way by a black man, clothed in white, who bid us, said they, follow him, for he was going thither too. Then said he with the whip, It is Flatterer, a false apostle, that hath transformed himself into an angel of light. Pr. xxix. 5. Da. xi. 32. 2 Co. xi. 13, 14. So he rent the net, and let the men out. Then said he to them, Follow me, that I may set you in your way again. So he led them back to the way which they had left to follow the Flatterer. Then he asked them, saying, Where did you lie the last night? They said, With the Shepherds, upon the Delectable Mountains. He asked them then, if they had not of those Shepherds a note of direction for the way. They answered, Yes. But did you, said he, when you were at a stand, pluck out and read your note? They answered, No. He asked them, Why? They said, they forgot. He asked, moreover, if the Shepherds did not bid them beware of the Flatterer. They answered, Yes, but we did not imagine, said they, that this fine-spoken man had been he.[2] Ro. xvi. 18.

A shining one comes to them with a whip in his hand.

They are examined, and convicted of forgetfulness.

Deceivers fine spoken.

Then I saw in my dream, that he commanded them to lie down; which, when they did, he chastised them sore, to teach them the good way wherein they should walk, De. xxv. 2; and as he chastised them, he said, 'As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten; be zealous, therefore, and repent.' Re. iii. 19. 2 Ch. vi. 26, 27. This done, he bid them go on their way, and take good heed to the other directions of the Shepherds. So they thanked him for all his kindness, and went softly along the right way, singing—

They are whipt, and sent on their way.

> Come hither, you that walk along the way;
> See how the pilgrims fare that go astray!
> They catched are in an entangling net,
> 'Cause they good counsel lightly did forget:
> 'Tis true, they rescued were, but yet you see,
> They're scourg'd to boot. Let this your caution be.

Now, after a while, they perceived, afar off, one coming softly and alone, all along the highway to meet them. Then said Christian to his fellow, Yonder is a man with his back toward Zion, and he is coming to meet us.

HOPE. I see him, let us take heed to ourselves now, lest he should prove a flatterer also. So he drew nearer and nearer, and at last came up unto them. His name was

The Atheist meets them.

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way, which seemed as straight as the right way, and in entering on which there was no stile to be passed, must denote some very plausible and gradual deviation from the simplicity of the gospel, in doctrine or practice. If, in such a case, instead of a personal prayerful searching the Scripture, we rely upon the opinion of our friends, and listen to the flatterer, we shall certainly be misled.—(Scott.)

[1] Luther was wont to caution against the white devil as much as the black one; for Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, and his ministers as ministers of righteousness. 2 Co. xi. 14, 15. And how do they deceive souls? By flattery. Leading poor sinners into a fine notion of some righteous character they have in themselves, what great advances they have made, and what high attainments they have arrived to, even to be perfect in themselves, to be free from sin, and full of nothing but love. These are black men clothed in white. —(Mason.)

[2] By this shining one understand the loving Lord the Holy Ghost, the leader and guide of Christ's people. When they err and stray from Jesus the way, and are drawn from him as the truth, the Spirit comes with his rod of conviction and chastisement, to whip souls for their self-righteous pride and folly, back to Christ, to trust wholly in him, to rely only on him, and to walk in sweet fellowship with him. So he acted by the Galatian church, which was flattered into a notion of self-righteousness, and self-justification. So David, when he found himself nearly lost, cries out, 'He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.' Ps. xxiii. 3.—(Mason.) The devil, in his attempts after our destruction, maketh use of the most suitable means. The serpent, Adam knew, was subtle, therefore Satan useth him, thereby to catch this goodly creature, man. Hereby the devil least appeared [this fine-spoken man], and least appearing, the temptation soonest took the tinder.—(Bunyan on *Genesis*, vol. ii. p. 428.)

Atheist, and he asked them whither they were going.

CHR. We are going to the Mount Zion.

He laughs at them. Then Atheist fell into a very great laughter.

CHR. What is the meaning of your laughter?

ATHEIST. I laugh to see what ignorant persons you are, to take upon you so tedious a journey, and yet are like to have nothing but your travel for your pains.

They reason together. CHR. Why, man, do you think we shall not be received?

ATHEIST. Received! There is no such place as you dream of in all this world.[1]

CHR. But there is in the world to come.

ATHEIST. When I was at home in mine own country, I heard as you now affirm, and from that hearing went out to see, and have been seeking this city this twenty years; but find no more of it than I did the first day I set out. Je. xxii. 12. Ec. x. 15.

CHR. We have both heard and believe that there is such a place to be found.

ATHEIST. Had not I, when at home, believed, I had not come thus far to seek; but finding none (and yet I should, had there been such a place to be found, for I have gone to seek it further than you), I am going back again, and will seek to refresh myself with the things that I then cast away, for hopes of that which, I now see, is not.[2]

The Atheist takes up his content in this world.

Christian proveth his brother. CHR. Then said Christian to Hopeful his fellow, Is it true which this man hath said?

HOPE. Take heed, he is one of the flatterers; remember what it hath cost us once already for our hearkening to such kind of fellows. What! no Mount Zion? Did we not see, from the Delectable Mountains, the gate of the city?[3] Also, are we not now to walk by faith? Let us go on, said Hopeful, lest the man with the whip overtake us again.[4] 2 Co. v. 7.

Hopeful's gracious answer.

A remembrance of former chastisements, is a help against present temptations.

You should have taught me that lesson, which I will round[5] you in the ears withal: 'Cease, my son, to hear the instruction *that causeth* to err from the words of knowledge.' Pr. xix. 27. I say, my brother, cease to hear him, and let us 'believe to the saving of the soul.' He. x. 39.

CHR. My brother, I did not put the question to thee, for that I doubted of the truth of our belief myself, but to prove thee, and to fetch from thee a fruit of the honesty of thy heart. As for this man, I know that he is blinded by the god of this world. Let thee and I go on, knowing that we have belief of the truth, 'and no lie is of the truth.' 1 Jn. ii. 21.

A fruit of an honest heart.

HOPE. Now do I rejoice in hope of the glory of God. So they turned away from the man; and he, laughing at them, went his way.

I saw then in my dream, that they went till they came into a certain country, whose air naturally tended to make one drowsy, if he came a stranger into it. And here Hopeful began to be very dull and heavy of sleep; wherefore he said unto Christian, I do now begin to grow so drowsy that I can scarcely hold up mine eyes; let us lie down here, and take one nap.[6]

They are come to the Enchanted Ground.

Hopeful begins to be drowsy.

CHR. By no means, said the other; lest, sleeping, we never awake more.

Christian keeps him awake.

HOPE. Why, my brother? Sleep is sweet to the labouring man; we may be refreshed if we take a nap.[7]

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[1] The backsliding of a Christian comes through the overmuch persuading of Satan and lust; that the man was mistaken, and that there was no such horror in the things from which he fled; nor so much good in the things to which he hasted. Turn again, fool, says the devil. I wonder what frenzy it was that drove thee to thy heels, and that made thee leave so much good behind thee as other men find in the lusts of the flesh and the good of the world. As for the law, and death, and the day of judgment, they are but mere scarecrows, set up by politic heads, to keep the ignorant in subjection. Well, he goes back, fool as he is, conscience sleeps, and flesh is sweet; but, behold, he again sees his own nakedness—he sees the law whetting his axe—the world is a bubble. He also smells the brimstone which begins to burn within him. Oh! saith he, I am deluded! 'Have mercy upon me, O God!'—(*Christ a Complete Saviour*, vol. i. p. 223.)

[2] A wicked man, though he may hector it at times with his proud heart, as though he feared neither God nor hell; yet again, at times, his soul is even drowned with terrors. If one knew the wicked, when they are under warm convictions, then the bed shakes on which they lie; then the proud tongue doth falter in their mouth, and their knees knock one against another. Then their conscience stares, and roars, and tears, and arraigns them. O! none can imagine what fearful plights a wicked man is in at times!—(Bunyan's *Desires of the Righteous*, vol. i. p. 746.)

[3] On the Delectable Mountains, the pilgrims had a sight of the Celestial City. No matter if it was but a glimpse; still they saw it, they really saw it, and the remembrance of that sight never left them. There it was in glory! Their hands trembled, their eyes were dim with tears, but still that vision was not to be mistaken. There, through the rifted clouds, for a moment, the gates of pearl were shining, the jasper walls, the endless domes, the jewelled battlements! The splendour of the city seemed to pour, like a river of light, down upon the spot where they were standing.—(Cheever.)

[4] See how we are surrounded with different enemies! No sooner have they escaped the self-righteous flatterer, but they meet with the openly profane and licentious mocker—aye, and he set out, and went far too; yea, further than they. But, behold, he has turned his back upon all; and though he had been twenty years a seeker, yet now he proves, that he has neither faith nor hope, but ridicules all as delusion. Awful to think of! O what a special mercy to be kept believing and persevering, and not regarding the ridicule of apostates!—(Mason.)

[5] 'To round;' to be open, sincere, candid. 'Maister Bland answered flatly and roundly.'—(Fox's *Book of Martyrs*.)

[6] Upon the declaration for liberty of conscience, the church for a season was free from persecution. It was like enchanted ground; and some, who had been watchful in the storm, became careless and sleepy in this short deceitful calm.—(ED.)

[7] Ah, these short naps for pilgrims! The sleep of death,

CHR. Do you not remember that one of the Shepherds bid us beware of the Enchanted Ground?[1] He meant by that, that we should beware of sleeping; 'Therefore let us not sleep, as *do* others, but let us watch and be sober.'[2] 1 TH. v. 6.

He is thankful.

HOPE. I acknowledge myself in a fault; and had I been here alone, I had by sleeping run the danger of death. I see it is true that the wise man saith, 'Two *are* better than one.' Hitherto hath thy company been my mercy, and thou shalt have a good reward for thy labour. EC. iv. 9.

To prevent drowsiness, they fall to good discourse.

CHR. Now then, said Christian, to prevent drowsiness in this place, let us fall into good discourse.

Good discourse prevents drowsiness.

HOPE. With all my heart, said the other.

CHR. Where shall we begin?

HOPE. Where God began with us. But do you begin, if you please.

CHR. I will sing you first this song:—

The Dreamers' note.

When saints do sleepy grow, let them come hither,
And hear how these two pilgrims talk together:
Yea, let them learn of them, in any wise,
Thus to keep ope their drowsy slumb'ring eyes.
Saints' fellowship, if it be manag'd well,
Keeps them awake, and that in spite of hell.

They begin at the beginning of their conversion.

CHR. Then Christian began, and said, I will ask you a question. How came you to think at first of so doing as you do now?

HOPE. Do you mean, how came I at first to look after the good of my soul?

CHR. Yes, that is my meaning.

HOPE. I continued a great while in the delight of those things which were seen and sold at our fair; things which, I believe now, would have, had I continued in them still, drowned me in perdition and destruction.

CHR. What things were they?

HOPE. All the treasures and riches of the world. Also I delighted much in rioting, revelling, drinking, swearing, lying, uncleanness, Sabbath-breaking, and what not, that tended to destroy the soul. But I found at last, by hearing and considering of things that are Divine, which indeed I heard of you, as also of beloved Faithful, that was put to death for his faith and good living in Vanity Fair, that 'the end of these things is death.' RO. vi. 21–23. And that for these things' sake, 'cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.' EP. v. 6.

Hopeful's life before conversion.

CHR. And did you presently fall under the power of this conviction?

HOPE. No, I was not willing presently to know the evil of sin, nor the damnation that follows upon the commission of it; but endeavoured, when my mind at first began to be shaken with the Word, to shut mine eyes against the light thereof.

Hopeful at first shuts his eyes against the light.

CHR. But what was the cause of your carrying of it thus to the first workings of God's blessed Spirit upon you?

HOPE. The causes were, 1. I was ignorant that this was the work of God upon me. I never thought that by awakenings for sin, God at first begins the conversion of a sinner. 2. Sin was yet very sweet to my flesh, and I was loath to leave it. 3. I could not tell how to part with mine old companions, their presence and actions were so desirable unto me. 4. The hours in which convictions were upon me, were such troublesome and such heart-affrighting hours, that I could not bear, no not so much as the remembrance of them upon my heart.[3]

Reasons of his resisting of the light.

CHR. Then, as it seems, sometimes you got rid of your trouble?

HOPE. Yes, verily, but it would come into my mind again, and then I should be as bad, nay, worse than I was before.

CHR. Why, what was it that brought your sins to mind again?

HOPE. Many things; as,

1. If I did but meet a good man in the streets; or,

2. If I have heard any read in the Bible; or,

When he had lost his sense of sin, what brought it again.

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in the enchanted air of this world, usually begins with one of these short naps.—(Cheever.)

[1] The Enchanted Ground may represent worldly prosperity; agreeable dispensations succeeding long-continued difficulties. This powerfully tends to produce a lethargic frame of mind: the man attends to religious duties more from habit, than from delight in the service of God. No situation requires so much watchfulness. Other experiences resemble storms, which keep a man awake; this is a treacherous calm, which lulls him to sleep.—(Scott.)

[2] O Christian, beware of sleeping on this enchanted ground! When all things go easy, smooth, and well, we are prone to grow drowsy in soul. How many are the calls in the Word against spiritual slumber! and yet how many professors, through the enchanting air of this world, are fallen into the deep sleep of formality! Be warned by them to cry to thy Lord to keep thee awake to rightcousness, and vigorous in the ways of thy Lord.—(Mason.)

[3] Here you see, as our Lord says, 'It is the Spirit who quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.' Jn. vi. 63. Our carnal nature is so far from profiting in the work of conversion to Christ, that it is at enmity against him, and opposes the Spirit's work in showing us our want of him, and bringing us to him. Man's nature and God's grace are two direct opposites. Nature opposes, but grace subdues nature, and brings it to submission and subjection. Are we truly convinced of sin, and converted to Christ? This is a certain and sure evidence of it—we shall say from our hearts, Not unto us, nor unto any yieldings and compliances of our nature, free-will, and power, but unto thy name, O Lord, be all the glory. For it is by thy free, sovereign, efficacious grace, we are what we are. Hence, see the ignorance, folly, and pride of those who exalt free-will, and nature's power, &c. Verily they do not know themselves, even as they are known.—(Mason.)

3. If mine head did begin to ache; or,

4. If I were told that some of my neighbours were sick; or,

5. If I heard the bell toll for some that were dead; or,

6. If I thought of dying myself; or,

7. If I heard that sudden death happened to others;

8. But especially, when I thought of myself, that I must quickly come to judgment.

CHR. And could you at any time, with ease, get off the guilt of sin,[1] when, by any of these ways, it came upon you?

HOPE. No, not I, for then they got faster hold of my conscience; and then, if I did but think of going back to sin (though my mind was turned against it), it would be double torment to me.

CHR. And how did you do then?

HOPE. I thought I must endeavour to mend my life; for else, thought I, I am sure to be damned.

When he could no longer shake off his guilt by sinful courses, then he endeavours to mend.

CHR. And did you endeavour to mend?

HOPE. Yes; and fled from not only my sins, but sinful company too; and betook me to religious duties, as prayer, reading, weeping for sin, speaking truth to my neighbours, &c. These things did I, with many others, too much here to relate.

CHR. And did you think yourself well then?

HOPE. Yes, for a while; but, at the last, my trouble came tumbling upon me again, and that over the neck of all my reformations.

Then he thought himself well.

CHR. How came that about, since you were now reformed?

HOPE. There were several things brought it upon me, especially such sayings as these: 'All our righteousnesses *are* as filthy rags.' Is. lxiv. 6. 'By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.' Ga. ii. 16. 'When ye shall have done all those things, say, We are unprofitable,' Lu. xvii. 10; with many more such like. From whence I began to reason with myself thus: If ALL my righteousnesses are filthy rags; if, by the deeds of the law, NO man can be justified; and if, when we have done ALL, we are yet unprofitable, then it is but a folly to think of heaven by the law. I further thought thus: If a man runs a hundred pounds into the shopkeeper's debt, and after that shall pay for all that he shall fetch; yet, if this old debt stands still in the book uncrossed, for that the shopkeeper may sue him, and cast him into prison till he shall pay the debt.

Reformation at last could not help, and why.

His being a debtor by the law, troubled him.

CHR. Well, and how did you apply this to yourself?

HOPE. Why, I thought thus with myself: I have, by my sins, run a great way into God's book, and that my now reforming will not pay off that score; therefore I should think still, under all my present amendments, But how shall I be freed from that damnation that I have brought myself in danger of, by my former transgressions?

CHR. A very good application; but, pray, go on.

HOPE. Another thing that hath troubled me, even since my late amendments, is, that if I look narrowly into the best of what I do now, I still see sin, new sin, mixing itself with the best of that I do; so that now I am forced to conclude, that notwithstanding my former fond conceits of myself and duties, I have committed sin enough in one duty to send me to hell,[2] though my former life had been faultless.[3]

His espying bad things in his best duties troubled him.

CHR. And what did you do then?

HOPE. Do! I could not tell what to do, until I brake my mind to Faithful, for he and I were well acquainted. And he told me, that unless I could obtain the righteousness of a man that never had sinned, neither mine own, nor all the righteousness of the world, could save me.

This made him break his mind to Faithful, who told him the way to be saved.

CHR. And did you think he spake true?

HOPE. Had he told me so when I was pleased and satisfied with mine own amendment, I had called him fool for his pains; but now, since I see mine own infirmity, and the sin that cleaves to my best performance, I have been forced to be of his opinion.

CHR. But did you think, when at first he suggested it to you, that there was such a man to be found, of whom it might justly be said, that he never committed sin?

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[1] Not the evil of sin in the sight of God, but the remorse and fear of wrath, with which the convinced sinner is oppressed, and from which he, at times, seeks relief by means which exceedingly increase his actual guilt. Nothing but a free pardon, by faith in the atoning sacrifice of Christ, can take away guilt; but the uneasiness of a man's conscience may be for a time removed by various expedients.—(Scott.)

[2] In modern editions, this has been altered to 'sin enough in one day.' But in any period of time, selecting that duty in the discharge of which we have felt the most pure, there has been a mixture of sin. 'For there is not a day, nor a duty; not a day that thou livest, nor a duty that thou dost, but will need that mercy should come after to take away thy iniquity.'—(Bunyan's *Saints' Privilege*, vol. i. p. 679.) These are solemn and humbling reflections.—(ED.)

[3] Thus, you see, in conversion, the Lord does not act upon us as though we were mere machines. No, we have understanding; he enlightens it. Then we come to a sound mind; we think right, and reason justly. We have wills; what the understanding judges best, the will approves, and then the affections follow after; and thus we choose Christ for our Saviour, and glory only in his righteousness and salvation. When the heavenly light of truth makes manifest what we are, and the danger we are in, then we rationally flee from the wrath to come, to Christ the refuge set before us.—(Mason.)

HOPE. I must confess the words at first sounded strangely, but after a little more talk and company with him, I had full conviction about it.

At which he started at present.

CHR. And did you ask him what man this was, and how you must be justified by him?

HOPE. Yes, and he told me it was the Lord Jesus, that dwelleth on the right hand of the Most High. And thus, said he, you must be justified by him, even by trusting to what he hath done by himself in the days of his flesh, and suffered when he did hang on the tree. I asked him further, how that man's righteousness could be of that efficacy to justify another before God? And he told me he was the mighty God, and did what he did, and died the death also, not for himself, but for me; to whom his doings, and the worthiness of them, should be imputed, if I believed on him. He. x. Ro. iv. Col. i. 1 Pe. i.

A more particular discovery of the way to be saved.

CHR. And what did you do then?

HOPE. I made my objections against my believing, for that I thought he was not willing to save me.

He doubts of acceptation.

CHR. And what said Faithful to you then?

HOPE. He bid me go to him and see. Then I said it was presumption; but he said, No, for I was invited to come. Mat. xi. 28. Then he gave me a book of Jesus, his inditing, to encourage me the more freely to come; and he said, concerning that book, that every jot and tittle thereof stood firmer than heaven and earth. Mat. xxiv. 35. Then I asked him, What I must do when I came; and he told me, I must entreat upon my knees, with all my heart and soul, the Father to reveal him to me. Ps. xcv. 6. Dan. vi. 10. Je. xxix. 12, 13. Then I asked him further, how I must make my supplication to him? And he said, Go, and thou shalt find him upon a mercy-seat, where he sits all the year long, to give pardon and forgiveness to them that come. I told him that I knew not what to say when I came. And he bid me say to this effect, God be merciful to me a sinner, and make me to know and believe in Jesus Christ; for I see, that if his righteousness had not been, or I have not faith in that righteousness, I am utterly cast away.[1] Lord, I have heard that thou art a merciful God, and hast ordained that thy Son Jesus Christ should be the Saviour of the world; and moreover, that thou art willing to bestow him upon such a poor sinner as I am (and I am a sinner indeed), Lord, take therefore this opportunity, and magnify thy grace in the salvation of my soul, through thy Son Jesus Christ. Amen. Ex. xxv. 22. Le. xvi. 2. Nu. vii. 89. He. iv. 16.

He is better instructed.

He is bid to pray.

CHR. And did you do as you were bidden?

HOPE. Yes; over, and over, and over.

He prays.

CHR. And did the Father reveal his Son to you?

HOPE. Not at the first, nor second, nor third, nor fourth, nor fifth; no, nor at the sixth time neither.

CHR. What did you do then?

HOPE. What! why I could not tell what to do.

CHR. Had you not thoughts of leaving off praying?

HOPE. Yes, an hundred times twice told.

He thought to leave off praying.

CHR. And what was the reason you did not?

HOPE. I believed that that was true which had been told me, to wit, that without the righteousness of this Christ, all the world could not save me; and therefore, thought I with myself, if I leave off I die, and I can but die at the throne of grace. And withal, this came into my mind, 'Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.' Ha. ii. 3. So I continued praying until the Father showed me his Son.[2]

He durst not leave off praying, and why.

CHR. And how was he revealed unto you?

HOPE. I did not see him with my bodily eyes, but with the eyes of my understanding, Ep. i. 18, 19; and thus it was: One day I was very sad, I think sadder than at any one time in my life, and this sadness was through a fresh sight of the greatness and vileness of my sins. And as I was then looking for nothing but hell, and the everlasting damnation of my soul, suddenly, as I thought, I saw the Lord Jesus look down from heaven upon me, and saying, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' Ac. xvi. 31.

Christ is revealed to him, and how.

But I replied, Lord, I am a great, a very great sinner. And he answered, 'My grace is sufficient for thee.'[3] 2 Co. xii. 9. Then I said, But, Lord, what is believing? And then I saw from that

[1] Pray mind this. The grand object of a sensible sinner is righteousness. He has it not in himself; this he knows. Where is it to be found? In Christ only. This is a revealed truth; and without faith in this, every sinner must be lost. Consider, it is at the peril of your soul that you reject the righteousness of Christ; and do not believe that God imputeth it without works for the justification of the ungodly. O ye stout-hearted, self-righteous sinners, ye who are far from righteousness, know this and tremble!—(Mason.)

[2] The true nature of faith is to believe and rest upon the Word of truth, and wait for the promised comfort. That faith which is the gift of God leads the soul to wait upon and cry to God, and not to rest till it has some blessed testimony from God of interest in the love and favour of God in Christ Jesus. But O how many professors rest short of this!—(Mason.)

[3] As I thought my case most sad and fearful, these words did with great power suddenly break in upon me, 'My grace is sufficient for thee,' three times together. O! methought every word was a mighty word for me; as *my*, and *grace*, and *sufficient*, and *for thee;* they were then, and sometimes are still, far bigger than others be.—(*Grace Abounding*, No. 206.)

saying, 'He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst;' that believing and coming was all one; and that he that came, that is, ran out in his heart and affections after salvation by Christ, he indeed believed in Christ. Jn. vi. 35. Then the water stood in mine eyes, and I asked further, But, Lord, may such a great sinner as I am, be indeed accepted of thee, and be saved by thee? And I heard him say, 'And him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.' Jn. vi. 37. Then I said, But how, Lord, must I consider of thee in my coming to thee, that my faith may be placed aright upon thee? Then he said, 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.' 1 Ti. i. 15. 'He *is* the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.' Ro. x. 4. 'He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification.' Ro. iv. 25. 'He loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood.' Re. i. 5. 'He is mediator betwixt God and us.' 1 Ti. ii. 5. 'He ever liveth to make intercession for us.' He. vii. 25. From all which I gathered, that I must look for righteousness in his person, and for satisfaction for my sins by his blood; that what he did in obedience to his Father's law, and in submitting to the penalty thereof, was not for himself, but for him that will accept it for his salvation, and be thankful. And now was my heart full of joy, mine eyes full of tears, and mine affections running over with love to the name, people, and ways of Jesus Christ.[1]

CHR. This was a revelation of Christ to your soul indeed; but tell me particularly what effect this had upon your spirit.[2]

HOPE. It made me see that all the world, notwithstanding all the righteousness thereof, is in a state of condemnation. It made me see that God the Father, though he be just, can justly justify the coming sinner. It made me greatly ashamed of the vileness of my former life, and confounded me with the sense of mine own ignorance; for there never came thought into my heart before now, that showed me so the beauty of Jesus Christ. It made me love a holy life, and long to do something for the honour and glory of the name of the Lord Jesus; yea, I thought that had I now a thousand gallons of blood in my body, I could spill it all for the sake of the Lord Jesus.[3]

I saw then in my dream that Hopeful looked back and saw Ignorance, whom they had left behind, coming after. Look, said he to Christian, how far yonder youngster loitereth behind.

CHR. Aye, aye, I see him; he careth not for our company.

HOPE. But I trow it would not have hurt him, had he kept pace with us hitherto.

CHR. That is true; but I warrant you he thinketh otherwise.

HOPE. That I think he doth; but, however, let us tarry for him. So they did.

Young Ignorance comes up again; their talk.

Then Christian said to him, Come away, man, why do you stay so behind?

IGNOR. I take my pleasure in walking alone, even more a great deal than in company, unless I like it the better.[4]

Then said Christian to Hopeful (but softly), Did I not tell you he cared not for our company? But, however, said he, come up, and let us talk away the time in this solitary place. Then, directing his speech to Ignorance, he said, Come, how do you? How stands it between God and your soul now?

IGNOR. I hope well; for I am always full of good motions, that come into my mind, to comfort me as I walk. Pr. xxviii. 26.

Ignorance's hope, and the ground of it.

CHR. What good motions? pray, tell us.

IGNOR. Why, I think of God and heaven.

CHR. So do the devils and damned souls.

IGNOR. But I think of them, and desire them.[5]

CHR. So do many that are never like to come there. 'The soul of the sluggard desireth, and *hath* nothing.' Pr. xiii. 4.

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[1] The Lord's dealings with his children are various, but all lead to the same end; some are shaken with terror, while others are more gently drawn, as with cords of love. In these things believers should not make their experiences standards one for another; still there is a similarity in their being brought to the same point of rejecting both sinful and righteous self, and believing on the Lord Jesus Christ as their complete salvation. —(Andronicus.)

[2] Christ did not appear to Hopeful's senses, but to his understanding; and the words spoken are no other than texts of Scripture taken in their genuine meaning—not informing him, as by a new revelation, that his sins were pardoned, but encouraging him to apply for this mercy, and all other blessings of salvation.—(Scott.)

[3] Since the dear hour that brought me to Thy foot,
And cut up all my follies by the root,
I never trusted in an arm but Thine,
Nor hoped, but in Thy righteousness Divine.
My prayers and alms, imperfect and defiled,
Were but the feeble efforts of a child.
Howe'er perform'd, it was their brightest part
That they proceeded from a grateful heart.
Cleans'd in Thine own all-purifying blood,
Forgive their evil, and accept their good.
I cast them at Thy feet—my only plea
Is what it was, DEPENDENCE UPON THEE!
—(Cowper.)

[4] Not governed by the Word of God, but by his own will, his grounds of confidence for salvation unfitted him for Christian fellowship, unless he happened to fall in with a man who had imbibed his own notions.—(Ed.)

[5] The desire of heaven—when its nature is not understood, the proper means of obtaining it are neglected, other objects are preferred to it—is no proof that a man will be saved. The expression, 'The desire of grace is grace,' is very fallacious. But to hunger and thirst for God, and his righteousness, his favour, image, and service, as the supreme good, so that no other object can satisfy the heart, is grace indeed, and shall be completed in glory.—(Scott.)

Ignor. But I think of them, and leave all for them.

Chr. That I doubt; for leaving all is a hard matter; yea, a harder matter than many are aware of. But why, or by what, art thou persuaded that thou hast left all for God and heaven?

Ignor. My heart tells me so.

Chr. The wise man says, 'He that trusts his own heart is a fool.'[1] Pr. xxviii. 26.

Ignor. This is spoken of an evil heart, but mine is a good one.

Chr. But how dost thou prove that?

Ignor. It comforts me in hopes of heaven.

Chr. That may be through its deceitfulness; for a man's heart may minister comfort to him in the hopes of that thing for which he yet has no ground to hope.

Ignor. But my heart and life agree together, and therefore my hope is well grounded.

Chr. Who told thee that thy heart and life agree together?

Ignor. My heart tells me so.

Chr. Ask my fellow if I be a thief! Thy heart tells thee so! Except the Word of God beareth witness in this matter, other testimony is of no value.

Ignor. But is it not a good heart that hath good thoughts? and is not that a good life that is according to God's commandments?

Chr. Yes, that is a good heart that hath good thoughts, and that is a good life that is according to God's commandments; but it is one thing, indeed, to have these, and another thing only to think so.

Ignor. Pray, what count you good thoughts, and a life according to God's commandments?

Chr. There are good thoughts of divers kinds; some respecting ourselves, some God, some Christ, and some other things.

Ignor. What be good thoughts respecting ourselves?

What are good thoughts.

Chr. Such as agree with the Word of God.

Ignor. When do our thoughts of ourselves agree with the Word of God?

Chr. When we pass the same judgment upon ourselves which the Word passes. To explain myself—the Word of God saith of persons in a natural condition, 'There is none righteous, there is none that doeth good.' Ro. iii. It saith also, that 'every imagination of the heart of man is only evil, and that continually.' Ge. vi. 5. And again, 'The imagination of man's heart *is* evil from his youth.' Ro. viii. 21. Now then, when we think thus of ourselves, having sense thereof then are our thoughts good ones, because according to the Word of God.

Ignor. I will never believe that my heart is thus bad.

Chr. Therefore thou never hadst one good thought concerning thyself in thy life. But let me go on. As the Word passeth a judgment upon our heart, so it passeth a judgment upon our ways; and when OUR thoughts of our hearts and ways agree with the judgment which the Word giveth of both, then are both good, because agreeing thereto.

Ignor. Make out your meaning.

Chr. Why, the Word of God saith that man's ways are crooked ways; not good, but perverse. Ps. cxxv. 5. Pr. ii. 15. It saith they are naturally out of the good way, that they have not known it. Ro. iii. Now, when a man thus thinketh of his ways; I say, when he doth sensibly, and with heart humiliation, thus think, then hath he good thoughts of his own ways, because his thoughts now agree with the judgment of the Word of God.[2]

Ignor. What are good thoughts concerning God?

Chr. Even as I have said concerning ourselves, when our thoughts of God do agree with what the Word saith of him; and that is, when we think of his being and attributes as the Word hath taught, of which I cannot now discourse at large; but to speak of him with reference to us: Then we have right thoughts of God, when we think that he knows us better than we know ourselves, and can see sin in us when and where we can see none in ourselves; when we think he knows our inmost thoughts, and that our heart, with all its depths, is always open unto his eyes; also, when we think that all our righteousness stinks in his nostrils, and that, therefore, he cannot abide to see us stand before him in any confidence, even in all our best performances.

Ignor. Do you think that I am such a fool as to think God can see no further than I? or, that I would come to God in the best of my performances?

Chr. Why, how dost thou think in this matter?

Ignor. Why, to be short, I think I must believe in Christ for justification.

Chr. How! think thou must believe in Christ, when thou seest not thy need of him! Thou neither seest thy original nor actual infirmities; but hast such an opinion of thyself, and of what

[1] Real Christians are often put to a stand, while they find and feel the workings of all corruptions and sins in their nature; and when they hear others talk so highly of themselves, how full their hearts are of love to God, and of good motions, without any complainings of their hearts. But all this is from the ignorance of their own hearts; and pride and self-righteousness harden them against feeling its desperate wickedness.—(Mason.)

[2] I saw that it was not my good frame of heart that made my righteousness better, nor yet my bad frame that made my righteousness worse; for my righteousness was Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. He. xiii. 8.—(*Grace Abounding*, No. 229.)

thou dost, as plainly renders thee to be one that did never see a necessity of Christ's personal righteousness to justify thee before God.[1] How, then, dost thou say, I believe in Christ?

IGNOR. I believe well enough for all that.

CHR. How dost thou believe?

IGNOR. I believe that Christ died for sinners; and that I shall be justified before God from the curse, through his gracious acceptance of my obedience to his law. Or thus, Christ makes my duties, that are religious, acceptable to his Father, by virtue of his merits; and so shall I be justified.[2]

The faith of Ignorance.

CHR. Let me give an answer to this confession of thy faith.

1. Thou believest with a fantastical faith; for this faith is nowhere described in the Word.

2. Thou believest with a false faith; because it taketh justification from the personal righteousness of Christ, and applies it to thy own.[3]

3. This faith maketh not Christ a justifier of thy person, but of thy actions; and of thy person for thy actions' sake, which is false.[4]

4. Therefore, this faith is deceitful, even such as will leave thee under wrath, in the day of God Almighty; for true justifying faith puts the soul, as sensible of its lost condition by the law, upon flying for refuge unto Christ's righteousness, which righteousness of his is not an act of grace, by which he maketh, for justification, thy obedience accepted with God; but his personal obedience to the law, in doing and suffering for us what that required at our hands; this righteousness, I say, true faith accepteth; under the skirt of which, the soul being shrouded, and by it presented as spotless before God, it is accepted, and acquit from condemnation.[5]

IGNOR. What! would you have us trust to what Christ, in his own person, has done without us? This conceit would loosen the reins of our lust, and tolerate us to live as we list; for what matter how we live, if we may be justified by Christ's personal righteousness from all, when we believe it?

CHR. Ignorance is thy name, and as thy name is, so art thou; even this thy answer demonstrateth what I say. Ignorant thou art of what justifying righteousness is, and as ignorant how to secure thy soul, through the faith of it, from the heavy wrath of God. Yea, thou also art ignorant of the true effects of saving faith in this righteousness of Christ, which is, to bow and win over the heart to God in Christ, to love his name, his Word, ways, and people, and not as thou ignorantly imaginest.

HOPE. Ask him if ever he had Christ revealed to him from heaven.[6]

IGNOR. What! you are a man for revelations! I believe that what both you, and all the rest of you, say about that matter, is but the fruit of distracted brains.

Ignorance jangles with them.

HOPE. Why, man! Christ is so hid in God from the natural apprehensions of the flesh, that he cannot by any man be savingly known, unless God the Father reveals him to them.[7]

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[1] Here we see how naturally the notion of man's righteousness blinds his eyes to, and keeps his heart from believing, that Christ's personal righteousness alone justifies a sinner in the sight of God; and yet such talk bravely of believing, but their faith is only fancy. They do not believe unto righteousness; but imagine they have now, or shall get, a righteousness of their own, some how or other. Awful delusion!—(Mason.)

[2] Here is the very essence of that delusion which works by a lie, and so much prevails, and keeps up an unscriptural hope in the hearts of so many professors. Do, reader, study this point well; for here seems to be a show of scriptural truth, while the rankest poison lies concealed in it. For it is utterly subversive of, and contrary to, the faith and hope of the gospel. —(Mason.)

[3] The way of being justified by faith for which Ignorance pleads may well be called '*fantastical*,' as well as '*false*;' for it is nowhere laid down in Scripture; and it not only changes the way of acceptance, but it takes away the rule and standard of righteousness, and substitutes a vague notion, called sincerity, in its place, which never was, nor can be, defined with precision. —(Scott.)

[4] Justification before God comes, not by imitating Christ as exemplary in morals, but through faith in His precious blood. To feed on Jesus is by respecting him as made of God a curse for our sin. I have been pleased with observing, that none of the signs and wonders in Egypt could deliver the children of Israel thence, until the lamb was slain.—(Bunyan on *Justification*, vol. ii. p. 330.)

[5] Under these four heads, we have a most excellent detection of a presumptive and most dangerous error which now greatly prevails, as well as a scriptural view of the nature of true faith, and the object it fixes on wholly and solely for justification before God, and acceptance with God. Reader, for thy soul's sake, look to thy foundation. See that thou build upon nothing in self, but all upon that sure foundation which God hath laid, even his beloved Son, and his perfect righteousness.—(Mason.)

[6] This, by all natural men, is deemed the very height of enthusiasm; but a spiritual man knows its blessedness, and rejoices in its comfort. It is a close question. What may we understand by it? Doubtless, what Paul means when he says, 'It pleased God to reveal his Son in me,' Ga. i. 15, 16: that is, he had such an internal, spiritual, experimental sight, and knowledge of Christ, and of salvation by him, that his heart embraced him, his soul cleaved to him, his spirit rejoiced in him; his whole man was swallowed up with the love of him, so that he cried out in the joy of his soul, This is my beloved and my friend—my Saviour, my God, and my salvation. He is the chief of ten thousand, and altogether lovely. We know nothing of Christ savingly, comfortably, and experimentally, till he is pleased thus to reveal himself to us. Mat. xi. 27. This spiritual revelation of Christ to the heart is a blessing and comfort agreeable to, and consequent upon, believing on Christ, as revealed outwardly in the Word. Therefore, every believer should wait, and look, and long, and pray for it. Beware you do not despise it; if you do, you will betray your ignorance of spiritual things, as Ignorance did.—(Mason.)

[7] Many of these revelations appear in the *Grace Abounding*, as 'that scripture fastened on my heart,' No. 201; 'that sentence darted in upon me,' No. 204; 'these words did with great power break in upon me,' No. 206; 'suddenly this sentence fell upon my soul,' No. 229; and many others.—(ED.)

IGNOR. That is your faith, but not mine; yet mine, I doubt not, is as good as yours, though I have not in my head so many whimsies as you.

He speaks reproachfully of what he knows not.

CHR. Give me leave to put in a word. You ought not so slightly to speak of this matter; for this I will boldly affirm, even as my good companion hath done, that no man can know Jesus Christ but by the revelation of the Father, Mat. xi. 27; yea, and faith too, by which the soul layeth hold upon Christ, if it be right, must be wrought by the exceeding greatness of his mighty power; the working of which faith, I perceive, poor Ignorance, thou art ignorant of. 1 Co. xii. 3. Ep. i. 18, 19. Be awakened then, see thine own wretchedness, and fly to the Lord Jesus; and by his righteousness, which is the righteousness of God, for he himself is God, thou shalt be delivered from condemnation.[1]

IGNOR. You go so fast, I cannot keep pace with you. Do you go on before; I must stay a while behind.[2]

The talk broke up.

Then they said—

Well, Ignorance, wilt thou yet foolish be,
To slight good counsel, ten times given thee?
And if thou yet refuse it, thou shalt know,
Ere long, the evil of thy doing so.
Remember, man, in time, stoop, do not fear;
Good counsel taken well, saves: therefore hear.
But if thou yet shalt slight it, thou wilt be
The loser (Ignorance) I'll warrant thee.

Then Christian addressed thus himself to his fellow:—

CHR. Well, come, my good Hopeful, I perceive that thou and I must walk by ourselves again.

So I saw in my dream that they went on apace before, and Ignorance he came hobbling after. Then said Christian to his companion, It pities me much for this poor man, it will certainly go ill with him at last.

HOPE. Alas! there are abundance in our town in his condition, whole families, yea, whole streets, and that of pilgrims too; and if there be so many in our parts, how many, think you, must there be in the place where he was born?

CHR. Indeed the Word saith, 'He hath blinded their eyes, lest they should see,' &c. But now we are by ourselves, what do you think of such men? Have they at no time, think you, convictions of sin, and so consequently fears that their state is dangerous?

HOPE. Nay, do you answer that question yourself, for you are the elder man.

CHR. Then I say, sometimes (as I think) they may; but they being naturally ignorant, understand not that such convictions tend to their good; and therefore they do desperately seek to stifle them, and presumptuously continue to flatter themselves in the way of their own hearts.

HOPE. I do believe, as you say, that fear tends much to men's good, and to make them right, at their beginning to go on pilgrimage.

The good use of fear.

CHR. Without all doubt it doth, if it be right; for so says the Word, 'The fear of the Lord *is* the beginning of wisdom.'[3] Pr. i. 7; ix. 10. Ps. cxi. 10. Job xxviii. 28.

HOPE. How will you describe right fear?

CHR. True or right fear is discovered by three things:—

Right fear.

1. By its rise; it is caused by saving convictions for sin.

2. It driveth the soul to lay fast hold of Christ for salvation.

3. It begetteth and continueth in the soul a great reverence of God, his Word, and ways, keeping it tender, and making it afraid to turn from them, to the right hand or to the left, to anything that may dishonour God, break its peace, grieve the Spirit, or cause the enemy to speak reproachfully.[4]

HOPE. Well said; I believe you have said the truth. Are we now almost got past the Enchanted Ground?

CHR. Why, art thou weary of this discourse?

HOPE. No, verily, but that I would know where we are.

CHR. We have not now above two miles further to go thereon. But let us return to our matter. Now the ignorant know not that such convictions as tend to put them in fear are for their good, and therefore they seek to stifle them.

Why ignorant persons stifle convictions.

1. In general.

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[1] That sinner is not thoroughly awakened, who does not see his need of Christ's righteousness to be imputed to him. Nor is he quickened, who has not fled to Christ as 'the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.' Ro. x. 4. —(Mason.)

[2] Ignorant professors cannot keep pace with spiritual pilgrims, nor can they relish the doctrine of making Christ all in all, in the matter of justification and salvation, and making the sinner nothing at all, as having no hand in the work, nor getting any glory to himself by what he is able to do of himself. Free grace and free will; Christ's imputed righteousness, and the notion of man's personal righteousness, cannot accord.—(Mason.)

[3] Take heed of hardening thy heart at any time, against convictions or judgments. I bid you before to beware of a hard heart; now I bid you beware of hardening your soft heart. The fear of the Lord is the pulse of the soul. Pulses that beat best are the best signs of life; but the worst show that life is present. Intermitting pulses are dangerous. David and Peter had an intermitting pulse, in reference to this fear.—(Bunyan *on the Fear of God*, vol. i. pp. 487, 489.)

[4] Mark well Christian's definition of 'fear.' It is one of those precious passages in which our author gives us the subject matter of a whole treatise in a few short and plain sentences. Treasure it up in your heart, and often ponder it there. It will prove, through the blessing of the Spirit, a special means of enlivening, when spiritual langour, in consequence of worldly case, is creeping upon your soul.—(Andronicus.)

HOPE. How do they seek to stifle them?

CHR. 1. They think that those fears are wrought by the devil (though indeed they are wrought of God); and, thinking so, they resist them as things that directly tend to their overthrow. 2. They also think that these fears tend to the spoiling of their faith, when, alas for them, poor men that they are, they have none at all! and therefore they harden their hearts against them. 3. They presume they ought not to fear; and therefore, in despite of them, wax presumptuously confident. 4. They see that those fears tend to take away from them their pitiful old self-holiness,[1] and therefore they resist them with all their might.

2. In particular.

HOPE. I know something of this myself; for, before I knew myself, it was so with me.[2]

CHR. Well, we will leave, at this time, our neighbour Ignorance by himself, and fall upon another profitable question.

HOPE. With all my heart, but you shall still begin.

CHR. Well then, did you not know, about ten years ago, one Temporary in your parts, who was a forward man in religion then?[3]

Talk about one Temporary.

HOPE. Know him! yes, he dwelt in Graceless, a town about two miles off of Honesty, and he dwelt next door to one Turnback.

Where he dwelt.

CHR. Right, he dwelt under the same roof with him. Well, that man was much awakened once; I believe that then he had some sight of his sins, and of the wages that were due thereto.

He was towardly once.

HOPE. I am of your mind, for, my house not being above three miles from him, he would oft-times come to me, and that with many tears. Truly I pitied the man, and was not altogether without hope of him; but one may see, it is not every one that cries, Lord, Lord.

CHR. He told me once that he was resolved to go on pilgrimage, as we do now; but all of a sudden he grew acquainted with one Save-self, and then he became a stranger to me.

HOPE. Now, since we are talking about him, let us a little inquire into the reason of the sudden backsliding of him and such others.

CHR. It may be very profitable, but do you begin.

HOPE. Well then, there are in my judgment four reasons for it:—

Reasons why towardly ones go back.

1. Though the consciences of such men are awakened, yet their minds are not changed; therefore, when the power of guilt weareth away, that which provoked them to be religious ceaseth, wherefore they naturally turn to their own course again, even as we see the dog that is sick of what he has eaten, so long as his sickness prevails, he vomits and casts up all; not that he doth this of a free mind (if we may say a dog has a mind), but because it troubleth his stomach; but now, when his sickness is over, and so his stomach eased, his desire being not at all alienate from his vomit, he turns him about and licks up all, and so it is true which is written, 'The dog *is* turned to his own vomit again.' 2 Pe. ii. 22.[4] Thus I say, being hot for heaven, by virtue only of the sense and fear of the torments of hell, as their sense of hell, and the fears of damnation, chills and cools, so their desires for heaven and salvation cool also. So then it comes to pass, that when their guilt and fear is gone, their desires for heaven and happiness die, and they return to their course again.[5]

2. Another reason is, they have slavish fears that do overmaster them; I speak now of the fears that they have of men, for 'the fear of man bringeth a snare.' Pr. xxix. 25. So then, though they seem to be hot for heaven, so long as the flames of hell are about their ears, yet, when that terror is a little over, they betake themselves to second thoughts; namely, that it is good to be wise, and not to run (for they know not what) the hazard of losing all, or, at least, of bringing themselves into unavoidable and unnecessary troubles, and so they fall in with the world again.

3. The shame that attends religion lies also as a block in their way; they are proud and haughty, and religion in their eye is low and contemptible; therefore, when they have lost their sense of hell and wrath to come, they return again to their former course.

4. Guilt, and to meditate terror, are grievous to

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[1] 'Pitiful old self-holiness.' Mind this phrase. Far was it from the heart of good Mr. Bunyan to decry personal holiness. It is nothing but self-holiness, or the holiness of the old man of sin; for true holiness springs from the belief of the truth, and love to the truth. All besides this only tends to self-confidence, and self-applause.—(Mason.)

[2] It is good to call to mind one's own ignorance, when in our natural estate, to excite humility of heart, and thankfulness to God, who made us to differ, and to excite pity towards those who are walking in nature's pride, self-righteousness, and self-confidence.—(Mason.)

[3] 'Temporary;' one who is doctrinally acquainted with the gospel, but a stranger to its sanctifying power. The reasons and manner of such men's declensions and apostasy are very justly and emphatically stated.—(Scott.)

[4] In Hoffman's poetical version of the 'Pilgrim,' this sentence is, 'And nature will return, like Pope, to pork;' alluding to one of the Popes, who used daily to have a dish of pork; but, being sick, his physicians forbade it, when the Pope, in a rage, cried out, 'Give me my pork, in spite of God.'—(Ed.)

[5] A true description of the state of some professors. Here see the reason why so many saints, as they are called, fall away. From hence some take occasion to deny the scriptural, soul-comforting doctrine, of the certain perseverance of God's saints unto eternal glory. So they display the pride of their own hearts, their ignorance of God's Word, while they make God's promises of no effect, and the gospel of his grace, only much ado about nothing.—(Mason.)

them. They like not to see their misery before they come into it; though perhaps the sight of it first, if they loved that sight, might make them fly whither the righteous fly and are safe. But because they do, as I hinted before, even shun the thoughts of guilt and terror, therefore, when once they are rid of their awakenings about the terrors and wrath of God, they harden their hearts gladly, and choose such ways as will harden them more and more.

CHR. You are pretty near the business, for the bottom of all is, for want of a change in their mind and will. And therefore they are but like the felon that standeth before the judge, he quakes and trembles, and seems to repent most heartily, but the bottom of all is the fear of the halter; not that he hath any detestation of the offence, as is evident, because, let but this man have his liberty, and he will be a thief, and so a rogue still, whereas, if his mind was changed, he would be otherwise.

HOPE. Now, I have showed you the reasons of their going back, do you show me the manner thereof.[1]

CHR. So I will, willingly.

How the apostate goes back.

1. They draw off their thoughts, all that they may, from the remembrance of God, death, and judgment to come.

2. Then they cast off by degrees private duties, as closet prayer, curbing their lusts, watching, sorrow for sin, and the like.

3. Then they shun the company of lively and warm Christians.

4. After that, they grow cold to public duty, as hearing, reading, godly conference, and the like.

5. Then they begin to pick holes, as we say, in the coats of some of the godly; and that devilishly, that they may have a seeming colour to throw religion (for the sake of some infirmity they have espied in them) behind their backs.

6. Then they begin to adhere to, and associate themselves with, carnal, loose, and wanton men.

7. Then they give way to carnal and wanton discourses in secret; and glad are they if they can see such things in any that are counted honest, that they may the more boldly do it through their example.

8. After this, they begin to play with little sins openly.

9. And then, being hardened, they show themselves as they are. Thus, being launched again into the gulf of misery, unless a miracle of grace prevent it, they everlastingly perish in their own deceivings.[2]

Now I saw in my dream, that by this time the Pilgrims were got over the Enchanted Ground, and entering into the country of Beulah, whose air was very sweet and pleasant, the way lying directly through it, they solaced themselves there for a season. Is. lxii. 4. Yea, here they heard continually the singing of birds, and saw every day the flowers appear in the earth, and heard the voice of the turtle in the land. Ca. ii. 10–12. In this country the sun shineth night and day; wherefore this was beyond the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and also out of the reach of Giant Despair, neither could they from this place so much as see Doubting Castle.[3] Here they were within sight of the city they were going to, also here met them some of the inhabitants thereof; for in this land the Shining Ones commonly walked, because it was upon the borders of heaven. In this land also

Angels.

[1] Three young fellows, Mr. Tradition, Mr. Human-wisdom, and Mr. Man's-invention, proffered their services to Shaddai. The captains told them not to be rash; but, at their entreaty, they were listed into Boanerges' company, and away they went to the war. Being in the rear, they were taken prisoners. Then Diabolus asked them if they were willing to serve against Shaddai. They told him, that as they did not so much live by religion as by the fates of fortune, they would serve him. So he made two of them sergeants; but he made Mr. Man's-invention his ancient-bearer [standard-bearer].—(Bunyan's *Holy War*.)

[2] See how gradually, step by step, apostates go back. It begins in the unbelief of the heart, and ends in open sins in the life. Why is the love of this world so forbidden? Why is covetousness called idolatry? Because, whatever draws away the heart from God, and prevents enjoying close fellowship with him, naturally tends to apostasy from him. Look well to your hearts and affections. 'Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it *are* the issues of life.' Pr. iv. 23. If you neglect to watch, you will be sure to smart under the sense of sin on earth, or its curse in hell. 'See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil.' Ep. v. 15, 16.—(Mason.)

[3] O what a blessed state! what a glorious frame of soul is this! Job speaks of it as the candle of the Lord shining upon his head; chap. xxix. 3. The church, in a rapture, cries out, 'Sing, O heavens; and be joyful, O earth; break forth into singing, O mountains: for the Lord hath comforted his people.' Is. xlix. 13. Paul calls this, 'The fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.' Ro. xv. 29. O rest not short of enjoying the full blaze of gospel peace and spiritual joy.—(Mason.) During the last days of that eminent man of God, Dr. Payson, he once said, 'When I formerly read Bunyan's description of the Land of Beulah, where the sun shines and the birds sing day and night, I used to doubt whether there was such a place; but now my own experience has convinced me of it, and it infinitely transcends all my previous conceptions.' The best possible commentary on the glowing descriptions in Bunyan is to be found in that very remarkable letter dictated by Dr. Payson to his sister, a few weeks before his death:—'Were I to adopt the figurative language of Bunyan, I might date this letter from the Land Beulah, of which I have been for some weeks a happy inhabitant. The Celestial City is full in my view. Its glories have been upon me, its breezes fan me, its odours are wafted to me, its sounds strike upon my ears, and its spirit is breathed into my heart. Nothing separates me from it but the River of Death, which now appears but as an insignificant rill, that may be crossed at a single step, whenever God shall give permission. The Sun of Righteousness has been gradually drawing nearer and nearer, appearing larger and brighter as he approached, and now he fills the whole hemisphere, pouring forth a flood of glory, in which I seem to float, like an insect in the beams of the sun; exulting, yet almost trembling, while I gaze on this excessive brightness, and wondering, with unutterable wonder, why God should deign thus to shine upon a sinful worm.'—(Cheever.)

the contract between the bride and the bridegroom was renewed; yea, here, '*As* the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, *so* did their God rejoice over them.' Is. lxii. 5. Here they had no want of corn and wine; for in this place they met with abundance of what they had sought for in all their pilgrimage. ver. 8. Here they heard voices from out of the city, loud voices, saying, 'Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh! Behold, his reward *is* with him!' ver. 11. Here all the inhabitants of the country called them, 'The holy people, The redeemed of the Lord, Sought out,' &c. ver. 12.

Now, as they walked in this land, they had more rejoicing than in parts more remote from the kingdom to which they were bound; and drawing near to the city, they had yet a more perfect view thereof. It was builded of pearls and precious stones, also the street thereof was paved with gold; so that by reason of the natural glory of the city, and the reflection of the sunbeams upon it, Christian with desire fell sick, Hopeful also had a fit or two of the same disease.[1] Wherefore, here they lay by it a while, crying out, because of their pangs, 'If ye find my Beloved, tell him that I am sick of love.'[2] Ca. v. 8.

But being a little strengthened, and better able to bear their sickness, they walked on their way, and came yet nearer and nearer, where were orchards, vineyards, and gardens, and their gates opened into the highway. Now, as they came up to these places, behold, the gardener stood in the way, to whom the Pilgrims said, Whose goodly vineyards and gardens are these? He answered, They are the King's, and are planted here for his own delight, and also for the solace of pilgrims. So the gardener had them into the vineyards, and bid them refresh themselves with the dainties. De. xxiii. 24. He also showed them there the King's walks, and the arbours, where he delighted to be; and here they tarried and slept.[3]

Now I beheld in my dream, that they talked more in their sleep at this time than ever they did in all their journey; and being in a muse thereabout, the gardener said even to me, Wherefore musest thou at the matter? It is the nature of the fruit of the grapes of these vineyards to go down so sweetly, as to cause the lips of them that are asleep to speak.[4]

So I saw that when they awoke, they addressed themselves to go up to the city. But, as I said, the reflection of the sun upon the city (for 'the city *was* pure gold,' Re. xxi. 18) was so extremely glorious, that they could not, as yet, with open face behold it, but through an instrument made for that purpose. 2 Co. iii. 18. So I saw, that as they went on, there met them two men, in raiment that shone like gold; also their faces shone as the light.[5]

These men asked the Pilgrims whence they came; and they told them. They also asked them where they had lodged, what difficulties and dangers, what comforts and pleasures they had

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[1] In the immediate view of heavenly felicity, Paul 'desired to depart hence, and be with Christ, as far better' than life. David 'fainted for God's salvation.' In the lively exercise of holy affections, the believer grows weary of this sinful world, longs to have his faith changed for sight, his hope swallowed up in enjoyment, and his love perfected.—(Scott.)

[2] No other language than that of Bunyan himself, perused in the pages of his own sweet book, could be successful in portraying this beauty and glory; for now he seems to feel that all the dangers of the pilgrimage are almost over, and he gives up himself without restraint so entirely to the sea of bliss that surrounds him, and to the gales of heaven that are wafting him on, and to the sounds of melody that float in the whole air around him, that nothing in the English language can be compared with this whole closing part of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' for its entrancing splendour, yet serene and simple loveliness. The colouring is that of heaven in the soul; and Bunyan has poured his own heaven-entranced soul into it. With all its depth and power, there is nothing exaggerated, and it is made up of the simplest and most scriptural materials and images. We seem to stand in a flood of light, poured on us from the open gates of paradise. It falls on every leaf and shrub by the way-side; it is reflected from the crystal streams that, between grassy banks, wind amidst groves of fruit-trees into vineyards and flower-gardens. These fields of Beulah are just below the gate of heaven; and with the light of heaven there come floating down the melodies of heaven, so that here there is almost an open revelation of the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.—(Cheever.)

[3] This is the place, this is the state,
Of all that fear the Lord;
Which men nor angels may relate
With tongue, or pen, or word.
No night is here for to eclipse
Its spangling rays so bright;
Nor doubt, nor fear, to shut the lips
Of those within this light.

The strings of music here are tuned
For heavenly harmony,
And every spirit here perfumed
With perfect sanctity.
Here run the crystal streams of life,
Quite thorow all our veins;
And here by love we do unite
With glory's golden chains.
—(Bunyan's *One Thing Needful.*)

[4] Mr. Flavel, being on a journey, set himself to improve the time by meditation; when his mind grew intent, till at length he had such ravishing tastes of heavenly joys, and such full assurance of his interest therein, that he utterly lost the sight and sense of this world and all its concerns, so that for hours he knew not where he was. At last, perceiving himself faint, he alighted from his horse and sat down at a spring, where he refreshed himself, earnestly desiring, if it were the will of God, that he might there leave the world. His spirit reviving, he finished his journey in the same delightful frame; and all that night passed without a wink of sleep, the joy of the Lord still overflowing him, so that he seemed an inhabitant of the other world.—(*Pneumatologia*, 4to, 2d edit. p. 210.)

[5] Who are these ministering spirits, that the author calls 'men?' Are they the glorified inhabitants of the Celestial City? Moses and Elias appeared at the transfiguration; so the spirit who spake with John, Re. xx. 10, was his fellow-servant. Are these 'spirits of just men made perfect'—the angel-ministering spirits which are sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation? He. i. 14; xii. 22, 23. —(Ed.)

met in the way; and they told them. Then said the men that met them, You have but two difficulties more to meet with, and then you are in the city.[1]

Christian then, and his companion, asked the men to go along with them; so they told them they would. But, said they, you must obtain it by your own faith. So I saw in my dream that they went on together, until they came in sight of the gate.

Now, I further saw, that betwixt them and the gate was a river, but there was no bridge to go over; the river was very deep. At the sight, therefore, of this river, the Pilgrims were much stunned: but the men that went with them said, You must go through, or you cannot come at the gate.[2]

Death.

The Pilgrims then began to inquire if there was no other way to the gate; to which they answered, Yes; but there hath not any, save two, to wit, Enoch and Elijah, been permitted to tread that path, since the foundation of the world, nor shall, until the last trumpet shall sound. 1 Co. xv. 51, 52. The Pilgrims then, especially Christian, began to despond in their minds, and looked this way and that, but no way could be found by them, by which they might escape the river.[3] Then they asked the men if the waters were all of a depth. They said, No; yet they could not help them in that case; for, said they, you shall find it deeper or shallower, as you believe in the King of the place.

Death is not welcome to nature, though by it we pass out of this world into glory.

Angels help us not comfortably through death.

They then addressed themselves to the water; and entering, Christian began to sink, and crying out to his good friend Hopeful, he said, I sink in deep waters; the billows go over my head, all his waves go over me! Selah.[4]

Then said the other, Be of good cheer, my brother, I feel the bottom, and it is good. Then, said Christian, Ah! my friend, 'the sorrows of death have compassed me about;' I shall not see the land that flows with milk and honey; and with that a great darkness and horror fell upon Christian, so that he could not see before him. Also here he in great measure lost his senses, so that he could neither remember, nor orderly talk of any of those sweet refreshments that he had met with in the way of his pilgrimage. But all the words that he spake still tended to discover that he had horror of mind, and heart fears that he should die in that river, and never obtain entrance in at the gate. Here also, as they that stood by perceived, he was much in the troublesome thoughts of the sins that he had committed, both since and before he began to be a pilgrim. It was also observed that he was troubled with apparitions of hobgoblins and evil spirits; for ever and anon he would intimate so much by words.[5] Hopeful, therefore, here had much ado to keep his brother's head above water; yea, sometimes he would be quite gone down, and then, ere awhile, he would rise up again half dead. Hopeful also would endeavour to comfort him, saying, Brother, I see the gate, and men standing by to receive us; but Christian would answer, It is you, it is you they wait for; you have been Hopeful ever since I knew you.[6] And so have you, said he to Christian. Ah, brother! said he, surely if I was right he would now arise to help me; but for my sins he hath brought me into the snare, and hath left me. Then said Hopeful, My brother, you have quite forgot the text, where it is said of the wicked, '*There are* no bands in their death; but their strength *is* firm. They *are* not in trouble *as other* men, neither are they plagued like *other* men.' Ps. lxxiii. 4, 5. These troubles and distresses that you go through in these waters are no sign that God hath forsaken you; but are sent to try you, whether you will call to mind that which

Christian's conflict at the hour of death.

[1] What are these two difficulties? Are they not death without, and unbelief within? It is through the latter that the former is all-distressing to us. O for a strong, world-conquering, sin-subduing, death-overcoming faith, in life and death! Jesus, Master, speak the word, unbelief shall flee, our faith shall not fail, and our hope shall be steady.—(Mason.)

[2] Well, now the pilgrims must meet with, and encounter, their last enemy, death. When he stares them in the face, their fears arise. Through the river they must go. What have they to look at? What they are in themselves, or what they have done and been? No. Only the same Jesus who conquered death for us, and can overcome the fear of death in us.—(Mason.)

[3] But tim'rous mortals start and shrink
To cross this narrow sea;
They linger, shivering on the brink,
And fear to launch away.—(Watts.)

Evodias could not join in the petition of the Liturgy—'From sudden death, good Lord, deliver us.' He had his wish; and expired suddenly on a Lord's-day morning, while thousands were assembling to hear him preach.—(Andronicus.)

[4] Bunyan died in perfect peace, though it is probable that he expected darkness in the trying hour. Thus he says, in his treatise on *Paul's Departure*, 'Aye, this will make thee cry, though thou be as good as David. Wherefore learn by his sorrows to serve thy generation, by the will of God, before falling asleep. God can pardon thy sins, and yet make them a bitter thing and a burden at death. It is easy to HIM to pardon, and yet break all thy bones; or show himself in such dreadful majesty, that heaven and earth shall tremble at his presence. Let the thoughts of this prevail with thee to manage thy time and work in wisdom, while thou art well.' (Vol. i. p. 730.)—(Ed.)

[5] Satan is suffered to be very busy with God's people in their last moments, but he too, like death, is a conquered enemy by our Jesus; therefore, amidst all his attacks, they are safe. He cannot destroy them whom Jesus hath redeemed, for he is faithful to them, and almighty to save.—(Mason.)

[6] Hopeful, agreeably to his name, was not only preserved from terror, but enabled to encourage his trembling companion; telling him the welcome news that 'he felt the bottom, and it was good.' Blessed experience! If Christ is our foundation, we have nothing to fear, even in the swellings of Jordan, for death itself cannot separate us from the love of Christ.—(Burder.)

heretofore you have received of his goodness, and live upon him in your distresses.[1]

Christian delivered from his tears in death.

Then I saw in my dream, that Christian was as in a muse a while. To whom also Hopeful added this word, Be of good cheer, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole;[2] and with that Christian brake out with a loud voice, O! I see him again, and he tells me, 'When thou passest through the waters, I *will be* with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee.' Is. xliii. 2. Then they both took courage, and the enemy was after that as still as a stone, until they were gone over. Christian therefore presently found ground to stand upon, and so it followed that the rest of the river was but shallow. Thus they got over.[3] Now, upon the bank of the river, on the other side, they saw the two shining men again, who there waited for them; wherefore, being come out of the river, they saluted them, saying, We are ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for those that shall be heirs of salvation. Thus they went along towards the gate.[4] Now you must note that the city stood upon a mighty hill, but the Pilgrims went up that hill with ease, because they had these two men to lead them up by the arms; also, they had left their mortal garments behind them in the river, for though they went in with them, they came out without them. They, therefore, went up here with much agility and speed, though the foundation upon which the city was framed was higher than the clouds.[5] They, therefore, went up through the regions of the air, sweetly talking as they went, being comforted, because they safely got over the river, and had such glorious companions to attend them.[6]

The angels do wait for them, so soon as they are passed out of this world.

They have put off mortality.

The talk they had with the Shining Ones was about the glory of the place; who told them that the beauty and glory of it was inexpressible. There, said they, is the 'Mount Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect.' He. xii. 22–24. You are going now, said they, to the paradise of God, wherein you shall see the tree of life, and eat of the never-fading fruits thereof; and when you come there, you shall have white robes given you, and your walk and talk shall be every day with the King, even all the days of eternity. Re. ii. 7; iii. 4; xxii. 5. There you shall not see again such things as you saw when you were in the lower region upon the earth, to wit, sorrow, sickness, affliction, and death, 'for the former things are passed away.' You are now going to Abraham, to Isaac, and Jacob, and to the prophets—men that God hath taken away from the evil to come, and that are now resting upon their beds, each one walking in his righteousness.[7] Is. lvii. 1, 2. lxv. 17. The men then asked, What must we do in the holy place? To whom it was answered, You must there receive the comforts of all your toil, and have joy for all your sorrow; you must reap what you have sown, even the fruit of all your prayers, and tears, and sufferings for the King by the way. Ga. vi. 7. In that place you must wear crowns of gold, and enjoy the perpetual sight and vision of the Holy One, for 'there you shall see him as he is.' 1 Jn. iii. 2. There also you shall serve him continually with praise, with shouting, and thanksgiving, whom you desired to serve in the world, though with much difficulty, because of the infirmity of your flesh. There your eyes shall be delighted with seeing, and your ears with hearing the pleasant voice of the Mighty One. There you shall enjoy your friends again, that are gone thither before you; and there you shall with joy receive, even every one that follows into the holy place

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[1] When you visit a sick or death bed, be sure that you take God's Word with you, in your heart and in your mouth. It is from that only that you may expect a blessing upon, and to the soul of, the sick or the dying; for it is by the Word of God faith came at the first; it is by that, faith is strengthened at the last; and Jesus is the sum and substance of the Scriptures.—(Mason.)

[2] Jesus Christ, he is indeed the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning of our hope, and the end of our confidence. We begin and end the Christian pilgrimage with him; and all our temptations and trials speak loudly, and fully confirm to us that truth of our Lord, 'Without me ye can do nothing.' Jn. xv. 5.—(Mason.)

[3] The temporary distresses of dying believers often arise from bodily disease, which interrupt the free exercise of their intellectual powers. Of this Satan will be sure to take advantage, as far as he is permitted, and will suggest gloomy imaginations, not only to distress them, but to dishearten others by their example. Generally they who, for a time, have been most distressed, have at length died most triumphantly.—(Scott.)

[4] I cannot trust myself to read the account of Christian going up to the Celestial Gate, after his passage though the River of Death.—(Arnold.)

[5] Bunyan, in his *Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love*, describes the feelings of the pilgrim, while clothed with mortality, looking up to the heights of heaven. Christ could mount up—Elijah had a chariot of fire—Enoch was taken by God. But I, poor I, how shall I get thither? How often are *considering* thoughts wanting in professors! The question is happily solved in Christian and Hopeful's experience; they left all their mortal garments and burdens behind them in the river, and their free spirits for the first time felt the sweets of liberty in their perfection.—(Ed.)

[6] I know that all who go to paradise, are conducted thither by these holy ones; but yet, for all that, such as die under the cloud, for unchristian walking with God, may meet with darkness on that day, and go heavily hence. But as for those who have been faithful to their God, they shall see before them, or from earth see glory.—(Bunyan's *Paul's Departure*, vol. i. p. 741.)

[7] Ah, Christian! None can conceive or describe what it is to live in a state separate from a body of sin and death. Surely in some happy, highly-favoured moments, we have had a glimpse, a foretaste of this, and could realize it by faith. O for more and more of this, till we possess and enjoy it in all its fulness! If Jesus be so sweet to faith below, who can tell what he is in full fruition above? This we must die to know.—(Mason.)

after you. There also shall you be clothed with glory and majesty, and put into an equipage fit to ride out with the King of glory. When he shall come with sound of trumpet in the clouds, as upon the wings of the wind, you shall come with him; and when he shall sit upon the throne of judgment, you shall sit by him; yea, and when he shall pass sentence upon all the workers of iniquity, let them be angels or men, you also shall have a voice in that judgment, because they were his and your enemies. 1 Th. iv. 13–17. Jude 14. Da. vii. 9, 10. 1 Co. vi. 2, 3. Also when he shall again return to the city, you shall go too, with sound of trumpet, and be ever with him.

Now, while they were thus drawing towards the gate, behold a company of the heavenly host came out to meet them; to whom it was said, by the other two Shining Ones, These are the men that have loved our Lord when they were in the world, and that have left all for his holy name; and he hath sent us to fetch them, and we have brought them thus far on their desired journey, that they may go in and look their Redeemer in the face with joy. Then the heavenly host gave a great shout, saying, 'Blessed *are* they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb.' Re. xix. 9. There came out also at this time to meet them, several of the King's trumpeters, clothed in white and shining raiment, who, with melodious noises, and loud, made even the heavens to echo with their sound. These trumpeters saluted Christian and his fellow with ten thousand welcomes from the world; and this they did with shouting, and sound of trumpet.

This done, they compassed them round on every side; some went before, some behind, and some on the right hand, some on the left (as it were to guard them through the upper regions), continually sounding as they went, with melodious noise, in notes on high; so that the very sight was to them that could behold it, as if heaven itself was come down to meet them.[1] Thus, therefore, they walked on together; and as they walked, ever and anon these trumpeters, even with joyful sound, would, by mixing their music with looks and gestures, still signify to Christian and his brother, how welcome they were into their company, and with what gladness they came to meet them; and now were these two men, as it were, in heaven, before they came at it, being swallowed up with the sight of angels, and with hearing of their melodious notes. Here also they had the city itself in view, and they thought they heard all the bells therein to ring, to welcome them thereto. But above all, the warm and joyful thoughts that they had about their own dwelling there, with such company, and that for ever and ever. O by what tongue or pen can their glorious joy be expressed![2] And thus they came up to the gate.

Now, when they were come up to the gate, there was written over it in letters of gold, 'Blessed *are* they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.' Re. xxii. 14.

Then I saw in my dream, that the Shining Men bid them call at the gate; the which, when they did, some looked from above over the gate, to wit, Enoch, Moses, and Elijah, &c., to whom it was said, These pilgrims are come from the City of Destruction, for the love that they bear to the King of this place; and then the pilgrims gave in unto them each man his certificate,[3] which they had received in the beginning; those, therefore, were carried into the King, who, when he had read them, said, Where are the men? To whom it was answered, They are standing without the gate. The King then commanded to open the gate,

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[1] Bunyan has, with great beauty and probability, brought in the ministry of angels, and regions of the air, to be passed through in their company, rising, and still rising, higher and higher, before they come to that mighty mount on which he has placed the gates of the Celestial City. The angels receive his pilgrims as they come up from the River of Death, and form for them a bright, glittering, seraphic, loving convoy, whose conversation prepares them gradually for that exceeding and eternal weight of glory which is to be theirs as they enter in at the gate. Bunyan has thus, in this blissful passage from the river to the gate, done what no other devout writer, or dreamer, or speculator, that we are aware of, has ever done; he has filled what perhaps in most minds is a mere blank, a vacancy, or at most a bewilderment and mist of glory, with definite and beatific images, with natural thoughts, and with the sympathizing communion of gentle spirits, who form, as it were, an outer porch and perspective of glory, through which the soul passes into uncreated light. Bunyan has thrown a bridge, as it were, for the imagination, over the deep, sudden, open space of an untried spiritual existence; where it finds, ready to receive the soul that leaves the body, ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto them who are to be heirs of salvation.—(Cheever.)

[2] Glory beyond all glory ever seen
By waking sense, or by the dreaming soul!
The appearance, instantaneously disclosed,
Was of a mighty City—boldly say
A wilderness of building, sinking far,
And self-withdrawn into a wondrous depth,
Far sinking into splendour without end!
Fabric it seemed of diamond and of gold,
With alabaster domes and silver spires,
And blazing terrace upon terrace, high
Uplifted: here, serene pavilions bright,
In avenues disposed; there, towers begirt
With battlements, that on their restless fronts
Bore stars—illumination of all gems!
—(Wordsworth.)

[3] A certificate,
To show thou scest thyself most desolate;
Writ by the Master, with repentance seal'd.
To show also that here [by Christ] thou would'st be healed.
* * * * *
And that thou dost abhor thee for thy ways,
And would'st in holiness spend all thy days.
—(Bunyan's *House of God*, vol. ii. p. 580.

'That the righteous nation,' said he, 'which keepeth the truth, may enter in.'[1] Is. xxvi. 2.

Now I saw in my dream that these two men went in at the gate; and lo, as they entered, they were transfigured, and they had raiment put on that shone like gold. There were also that met them with harps and crowns, and gave them to them—the harps to praise withal, and the crowns in token of honour. Then I heard in my dream that all the bells in the city rang again for joy, and that it was said unto them, 'ENTER YE INTO THE JOY OF YOUR LORD.'[2] I also heard the men themselves, that they sang with a loud voice, saying, 'BLESSING, AND HONOUR, AND GLORY, AND POWER, BE UNTO HIM THAT SITTETH UPON THE THRONE, AND UNTO THE LAMB, FOR EVER AND EVER.' Re. v. 13.

Now just as the gates were opened to let in the men, I looked in after them, and, behold, the City shone like the sun; the streets also were paved with gold, and in them walked many men, with crowns on their heads, palms in their hands, and golden harps to sing praises withal.

There were also of them that had wings, and they answered one another without intermission, saying, 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord.' Re. iv. 8. And after that, they shut up the gates; which, when I had seen, I wished myself among them.

Now while I was gazing upon all these things, I turned my head to look back, and saw Ignorance come up to the river side; but he soon got over, and that without half that difficulty which the other two men met with.[3]

Ignorance comes up to the river.

For it happened that there was then in that place, one Vain-hope,[4] a ferryman, that with his boat helped him over; so he. as the other I saw, did ascend the hill, to come up to the gate, only he came alone; neither did any man meet him with the least encouragement. When he was come up to the gate, he looked up to the writing that was above, and then began to knock, supposing that entrance should have been quickly administered to him; but he was asked by the men that looked over the top of the gate, Whence came you? and what would you have? He answered, I have eat and drank in the presence of the King, and he has taught in our streets. Then they asked him for his certificate, that they might go in and show it to the King; so he fumbled in his bosom for one, and found none. Then said they, Have you none? But the man answered never a word. So they told the King, but he would not come down to see him, but commanded the two Shining Ones that conducted Christian and Hopeful to the City, to go out and take Ignorance, and bind him hand and foot, and have him away. Then they took him up, and carried him through the air, to the door that I saw in the side of the hill, and put him in there. Then I saw that there was a way to hell, even from the gates of heaven, as well as from the City of Destruction![5] So I awoke, and behold it was a dream.

Vain-hope does ferry him over.

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[1] Blessed indeed is that man who, while encumbered with a sinful body, can truly say, 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.' In him all the commandments are obeyed—all my sins washed away by his blood—and my soul clothed with righteousness and immortality. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: they enter the Celestial City. This is the righteous nation, which keepeth the truth. O my reader, would you be one of the glorified inhabitants of that city whose builder and maker is God? Then must you live the life of faith; so run that ye may obtain; ever be found looking unto Jesus.—(Ed.)

'Prepare me, Lord, for thy right hand,
Then come the joyful day;
Come death, and some celestial band,
And fetch my soul away.'

[2] O what acclamations of joy will there be, when all the children of God meet together, without the fear of being disturbed by Antichrist! How will the heavens echo of joy, when the Bride, the Lamb's wife, shall come to dwell with her husband! If you would be better satisfied what the beatific vision means, my request is, that you would live holily, and thus go and see. Christ is the desire of all nations, the joy of angels, the delight of the Father. What solace, then, must that soul be filled with, which hath the possession of Christ to all eternity?—(Bunyan's *Dying Sayings*, vol. i. pp. 64, 65.)

[3] When a formal visit from a minister, a few general questions, and a prayer, with or without the sacrament, calm the mind of a dying person, whose life has been unsuitable to the Christian profession; no doubt, could we penetrate the veil, we should see him wafted across the river in the boat of Vain-hope, and meeting with the awful doom that is here described. From such fatal delusions, good Lord, deliver us!—(Scott.)

[4] Vain-hope ever dwells in the bosom of fools, and is ever ready to assist Ignorance. He wanted him at the last, and he found him. He had been his companion through life, and will not forsake him in the hour of death. You see Ignorance had no pangs in his death, no fears, doubts, and sorrows, no terror from the enemy, but all was serene and happy. Vain-hope was his ferryman; and he, as the good folks say, died like a lamb. Ah, but did such lambs see what was to follow, when Vain-hope had wafted them over the river, they would roar like lions!—(Mason.)

[5] This is a most awful conclusion. Consider it deeply. Weigh it attentively, so as to get good satisfaction from the Word to these important questions:—Am I in Christ, the way, the only way, to the kingdom, or not? Do I see that all other ways, whether of sin or self-righteousness, lead to hell? Does Christ dwell in my heart by faith? Am I a new creature in him? Do I renounce my own righteousness, as well as abhor my sins? Do I look alone to Christ for righteousness, and depend only on him for holiness? Is he the only hope of my soul, and the only confidence of my heart? And do I desire to be found in him; knowing by the Word, and feeling by the teaching of his Spirit, that I am totally lost in myself? Thus, is Christ formed in me, the only hope of glory? Do I study to please him, as well as hope to enjoy him? Is fellowship with God the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ, so prized by me, as to seek it, and to esteem it above all things? If so, though I may find all things in nature, in the world, and from Satan, continually opposing this, yet I am in Christ the way, and he is in me the truth and the life.—(Mason.) How far may such an one go? This important question is very solemnly argued in Bunyan's *Law and Grace*. He may be received into church-fellowship—and, like the foolish *virgins*, be clear from outward pollution—have gone forth from the rudiments and traditions of men—and had their lamps, but still lost their precious souls. They may bear office in the church, as Judas carried the bag, and as Demas! They

THE CONCLUSION.

Now, READER, I have told my dream to thee;
See if thou canst interpret it to me,
Or to thyself, or neighbour; but take heed
Of misinterpreting; for that, instead
Of doing good, will but thyself abuse:
By misinterpreting, evil ensues.

Take heed also, that thou be not extreme,
In playing with the outside of my dream:
Nor let my figure or similitude
Put thee into a laughter or a feud.
Leave this for boys and fools; but as for thee,
Do thou the substance of my matter see.

Put by the curtains, look within my veil,
Turn up my metaphors, and do not fail;
There, if thou seekest them, such things to find,
As will be helpful to an honest mind.

What of my dross thou findest there, be bold
To throw away, but yet preserve the gold;
What if my gold be wrapped up in ore? —
None throws away the apple for the core.
But if thou shalt cast all away as vain,
I know not but 'twill make me dream again.

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may become preachers and ministers of the gospel, with rare gifts, and a fluent tongue, like an angel, to speak of the hidden mysteries; but may die under the curse. They may have the gifts of the Spirit and prophecy, and be but a Balaam. They may stand thus until Christ come and reveal them. They may, with confidence, say, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drank in thy presence, and taught in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils? and yet, poor creatures, be shut out!—(ED.)

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

FROM

THIS WORLD TO THAT WHICH IS TO COME.

THE SECOND PART.

DELIVERED UNDER

THE SIMILITUDE OF A DREAM.

WHEREIN IS SET FORTH THE MANNER OF THE SETTING OUT OF CHRISTIAN'S WIFE AND CHILDREN THEIR DANGEROUS JOURNEY, AND SAFE ARRIVAL AT THE DESIRED COUNTRY.

By JOHN BUNYAN.

'*I have used similitudes.*'—Hosea xii. 10.

London: Printed for Nathaniel Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, near the Church, 1684.

THE AUTHOR'S WAY OF SENDING FORTH HIS SECOND PART OF THE PILGRIM.

Go now, my little book, to every place,
Where my first Pilgrim has but shown his face,
Call at their door. If any say, Who's there?
Then answer thou, CHRISTIANA is here.
If they bid thee come in, then enter thou,
With all thy boys; and then, as thou know'st how,
Tell who they are, also from whence they came;
Perhaps they know them by their looks, or name.
But if they should not, ask them yet again
If formerly they did not entertain
One CHRISTIAN, a Pilgrim? If they say
They did; and were delighted in his way:
Then let them know, that those related were
Unto him; yea, his wife and children are.

Tell them, that they have left their house and home,
Are turned Pilgrims, seek a world to come;
That they have met with hardships in the way,
That they do meet with troubles night and day;
That they have trod on serpents, fought with devils,
Have also overcome a many evils.
Yea, tell them also of the next, who have
Of love to pilgrimage, been stout and brave
Defenders of that way, and how they still
Refuse this world, to do their Father's will.

Go, tell them also of those dainty things,
That pilgrimage unto the Pilgrim brings.
Let them acquainted be, too, how they are
Beloved of their King, under his care:
What goodly mansions for them he provides,
Tho' they meet with rough winds, and swelling tides,
How brave a calm they will enjoy at last,
Who to their Lord, and by his ways hold fast.

Perhaps with heart and hand they will embrace
Thee, as they did my firstling, and will grace
Thee, and thy fellows, with such cheer and fare,
As show will they of Pilgrims lovers are.

OBJECTION I.

But how, if they will not believe of me
That I am truly thine; 'cause some there be
That counterfeit the Pilgrim and his name,
Seek, by disguise, to seem the very same;
And by that means have wrought themselves into
The hands and houses of I know not who?

ANSWER.

'Tis true, some have of late, to counterfeit
My Pilgrim, to their own my title set;[1]
Yea others, half my name and title too
Have stitched to their book, to make them do;
But yet they, by their features, do declare
Themselves not mine to be, whose e'er they are.

If such thou meet'st with, then thine only way
Before them all, is, to say out thy say,
In thine own native language, which no man
Now useth, nor with ease dissemble can.
If, after all, they still of you shall doubt,
Thinking that you, like gipsies, go about

[1] In 1683, the year before Bunyan published his Second Part, a little volume was printed under the same title, by some anonymous author; for a description of it, see the Introduction, p. 57.—(ED.)

In naughty wise, the country to defile,
Or that you seek good people to beguile
With things unwarrantable; send for me,
And I will testify you PILGRIMS be.
Yea, I will testify that only you
My Pilgrims are; and that alone will do.

OBJECTION II.

But yet, perhaps, I may inquire for him,
Of those that wish him damned, life and limb.
What shall I do, when I at such a door
For Pilgrims ask, and they shall rage the more?[1]

ANSWER.

Fright not thyself, my book, for such bugbears
Are nothing else but ground for groundless fears.
My Pilgrim's book has travell'd sea and land,
Yet could I never come to understand
That it was slighted, or turn'd out of door
By any kingdom, were they rich or poor.

In France and Flanders, where men kill each other,
My Pilgrim is esteem'd a friend, a brother.

In Holland too, 'tis said, as I am told,
My Pilgrim is with some worth more than gold.

Highlanders and wild Irish can agree
My Pilgrim should familiar with them be.

'Tis in New England under such advance,
Receives there so much loving countenance,
As to be trimm'd, new cloth'd, and deck'd with gems
That it may show its features and its limbs,
Yet more; so comely doth my Pilgrim walk,
That of him thousands daily sing and talk.[2]

If you draw nearer home, it will appear,
My Pilgrim knows no ground of shame or fear;
City and country will him entertain
With, Welcome Pilgrim; yea, they can't refrain
From smiling, if my Pilgrim be but by,
Or shows his head in any company.

Brave gallants do my Pilgrim hug and love,
Esteem it much, yea, value it above
Things of a greater bulk: yea, with delight,
Say, My lark's leg is better than a kite.

Young ladies, and young gentlewomen too,
Do no small kindness to my Pilgrim show.
Their cabinets, their bosoms, and their hearts,
My Pilgrim has, 'cause he to them imparts
His pretty riddles in such wholesome strains,
As yields them profit double to their pains
Of reading; yea, I think, I may be bold
To say, some prize him far above their gold.

The very children that do walk the street,
If they do but my holy Pilgrim meet,
Salute him will, will wish him well, and say,
He is the only stripling of the day.

They that have never seen him, yet admire
What they have heard of him, and much desire
To have his company, and hear him tell
Those pilgrim stories which he knows so well.

Yea, some who did not love him at the first,
But call'd him fool and noddy, say they must,
Now they have seen and heard him, him commend
And to those whom they love, they do him send.[3]

Wherefore, my Second Part, thou need'st not be
Afraid to show thy head; none can hurt thee,
That wish but well to him that went before,
'Cause thou com'st after with a second store
Of things as good, as rich, as profitable,
For young, for old, for stagg'ring, and for stable.

OBJECTION III.

But some there be that say, He laughs too loud;
And some do say, His head is in a cloud.
Some say, His words and stories are so dark,
They know not how, by them, to find his mark.

ANSWER.

One may, I think, say, Both his laughs and cries,
May well be guess'd at by his wat'ry eyes.
Some things are of that nature, as to make
One's fancy chuckle, while his heart doth ache.
When Jacob saw his Rachel with the sheep,
He did at the same time both kiss and weep.

Whereas some say, A cloud is in his head,
That doth but show how wisdom's covered
With its own mantles, and to stir the mind
To a search after what it fain would find.
Things that seem to be hid in words obscure,
Do but the godly mind the more allure
To study what those sayings should contain,
That speak to us in such a cloudy strain.

I also know a dark similitude
Will on the fancy more itself intrude,
And will stick faster in the heart and head,
Than things from similes not borrowed.

[1] While the carnal heart is in a state of such bitter enmity against the gospel, it requires wisdom to introduce the subject of religion; still we have a duty to perform, even if the truth should prove a savour of death unto death. We must live the gospel in the sight of such, and not be daunted from inviting them to become pilgrims to the Celestial City.—(ED.)

[2] I went over the Tract House in New York, and was delighted to see there six steam-presses. During the last year, they printed SEVENTEEN THOUSAND COPIES of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress.'—(*American Scenes*, by Eben. Davies, London, 1849, p. 299.)

[3] This poem was written within six years of the first publication of the First Part. In that short period it had become so wonderfully popular as to have been extensively circulated in the languages which the author names, and to have had a large circulation in America. After another four years, namely in 1688, upwards of one hundred thousand copies had been issued in English; and to the present time it has been steadily increasing in popularity, so that, after one hundred and seventy years have elapsed, it is more popular than ever. This is a fact without parallel in the annals of literature.—(ED.)

Wherefore, my book, let no discouragement
Hinder thy travels. Behold, thou art sent
To friends, not foes; to friends that will give place
To thee, thy Pilgrims, and thy words embrace.

Besides, what my first Pilgrim left conceal'd:
Thou, my brave second Pilgrim, hast reveal'd;
What CHRISTIAN left lock'd up, and went his way,
Sweet CHRISTIANA opens with her key.[1]

OBJECTION IV.

But some love not the method of your first;
Romance they count it, throw't away as dust,
If I should meet with such, what should I say?
Must I slight them as they slight me, or nay?

ANSWER.

My CHRISTIANA, if with such thou meet,
By all means, in all loving-wise, them greet;
Render them not reviling for revile;
But if they frown, I prithee on them smile;
Perhaps 'tis nature, or some ill report,
Has made them thus despise, or thus retort.

Some love no cheese, some love no fish, and some
Love not their friends, nor their own house or home;
Some start at pig, slight chicken, love not fowl,
More than they love a cuckoo, or an owl;
Leave such, my CHRISTIANA, to their choice,
And seek those who to find thee will rejoice;
By no means strive, but in humble-wise,
Present thee to them in thy Pilgrim's guise.

Go, then, my little book, and show to all
That entertain, and bid thee welcome shall,
What thou shalt keep close, shut up from the rest,
And wish what thou shalt show them may be blest
To them for good, may make them choose to be
Pilgrims better by far than thee or me.

Go, then, I say, tell all men who thou art;
Say, I am CHRISTIANA, and my part
Is now, with my four sons, to tell you what
It is for men to take a Pilgrim's lot.

Go also, tell them who and what they be,
That now do go on pilgrimage with thee;
Say, Here's my neighbour, Mercy, she is one
That has long time with me a Pilgrim gone.
Come, see her in her virgin face, and learn
'Twixt idle ones and Pilgrims to discern.
Yea, let young damsels learn of her to prize
The world which is to come, in any wise.
When little tripping maidens follow God,
And leave old doting sinners to his rod;
'Tis like those days wherein the young ones cried,
Hosanna! to whom old ones did deride.

Next, tell them of old Honest, who you found
With his white hairs, treading the Pilgrim's ground.
Yea, tell them how plain-hearted this man was,
How after his good Lord he bare his cross;
Perhaps with some gray head this may prevail
With Christ to fall in love, and sin bewail.

Tell them also, how Master Fearing went
On pilgrimage, and how the time he spent
In solitariness, with fears and cries;
And how, at last, he won the joyful prize.
He *was* a good man, though much down in spirit,
He *is* a good man, and doth life inherit.

Tell them of Master Feeble-mind also,
Who, not before, but still behind would go.
Show them also, how he had like been slain,
And how one Great-heart did his life regain.
This man was true of heart, though weak in grace,
One might true godliness read in his face.

Then tell them of Master Ready-to-halt,
A man with crutches, but much without fault;
Tell them how Master Feeble-mind and he
Did love, and in opinions much agree.
And let all know, though weakness was their chance,
Yet sometimes one could sing, the other dance.

Forget not Master Valiant-for-the-truth,
That man of courage, though a very youth.
Tell every one his spirit was so stout,
No man could ever make him face about;
And how Great-heart and he could not forbear,
But put down Doubting Castle, slay Despair.

Overlook not Master Despondency,
Nor Much-afraid, his daughter, though they lie
Under such mantles, as may make them look
(With some) as if their God had them forsook.
They softly went, but sure, and at the end,
Found that the Lord of Pilgrims was their friend.
When thou hast told the world of all these things,
Then turn about, my book, and touch these strings,
Which, if but touch'd, will such music make,
They'll make a cripple dance, a giant quake.

These riddles that lie couch'd within thy breast,
Freely propound, expound; and for the rest
Of thy mysterious lines, let them remain
For those whose nimble fancies shall them gain.

Now may this *little book* a blessing be
To those who love this *little book* and me;
And may its buyer have no cause to say,
His money is but lost or thrown away;
Yea, may this Second Pilgrim yield that fruit,
As may with each good Pilgrim's fancy suit;
And may it persuade some that go astray,
To turn their feet and heart to the right way,

Is the hearty prayer of
The Author,
JOHN BUNYAN.

[1] After the author had heard the criticisms of friends and foes upon the First Part, he adopts this second narrative to be a key explaining many things which appeared dark in Christian's journey.—(ED.)

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS;

IN THE

SIMILITUDE OF A DREAM.

THE SECOND PART.

COURTEOUS COMPANIONS,

SOME time since, to tell you my dream that I had of Christian the Pilgrim, and of his dangerous journey towards the Celestial Country, was pleasant to me, and profitable to you. I told you then, also, what I saw concerning his wife and children, and how unwilling they were to go with him on pilgrimage, insomuch that he was forced to go on his progress without them; for he durst not run the danger of that destruction which he feared would come by staying with them in the City of Destruction. Wherefore, as I then showed you, he left them and departed.[1]

Now it hath so happened, through the multiplicity of business, that I have been much hindered and kept back from my wonted travels into those parts whence he went, and so could not, till now, obtain an opportunity to make further inquiry after whom he left behind, that I might give you an account of them.[2] But having had some concerns that way of late, I went down again thitherward. Now, having taken up my lodgings in a wood, about a mile off the place, as I slept, I dreamed again.[3]

And as I was in my dream, behold, an aged gentleman came by where I lay; and because he was to go some part of the way that I was travelling, methought I got up and went with him. So as we walked, and as travellers usually do, I was as if we fell into discourse, and our talk happened to be about Christian and his travels; for thus I began with the old man:

Sir, said I, what town is that there below, that lieth on the left hand of our way?

Then said Mr. Sagacity (for that was his name), It is the City of Destruction, a populous place, but possessed with a very ill-conditioned and idle sort of people.

I thought that was that city, quoth I; I went once myself through that town, and, therefore, know that this report you give of it is true.

SAG. Too true; I wish I could speak truth in speaking better of them that dwell therein.

Well, Sir, quoth I, then I perceive you to be a well-meaning man; and so one that takes pleasure to hear and tell of that which is good. Pray, did you never hear what happened to a man some time ago in this town, whose name was Christian, that went on pilgrimage up towards the higher regions?

SAG. Hear of him! Aye, and I also heard of the molestations, troubles, wars, captivities, cries, groans, frights, and fears that he met with and had in his journey; besides, I must tell you, all our country rings of him. There are but few houses that have heard of him and his doings but have sought after and got the records of his pilgrimage; yea, I think I may say that his hazardous journey, has got a many well-wishers to his ways;

Christians are well spoken of when gone; though called fools while they are here.

[1] This address prepares the reader for a greater variety of experience and adventures than he meets with in the First Part; all of which are different: and the behaviour of the several pilgrims, under their various calamities, are beautifully described. Their conflicts and their consolations being manifold, convince us that the exercises of every experienced soul are for the most part dissimilar, notwithstanding, if they proceed from the operation of the Spirit, they have the same happy tendency.—(Mason.) The Second Part is peculiarly adapted to direct and encourage female Christians and young persons; and it is hoped will be a blessing to such.—(Burder.) Perhaps the Second Part of this pilgrimage comes nearer to the ordinary experience of the great multitude of Christians than the First Part; and this may have been Bunyan's intention. The First Part shows, as in Christian, Faithful, and Hopeful, the great examples and strong lights of this pilgrimage; it is as if Paul and Luther were passing over the scene. The Second Part shows a variety of pilgrims, whose stature and experience are more on a level with our own. The First Part is more severe, sublime, inspiring; the Second Part is more soothing and comforting. The First Part has deep and awful shadows mingled with its light, terribly instructive, and like warnings from hell and the grave. The Second Part is more continually and uninterruptedly cheerful, full of good nature and pleasantry, and showing the pilgrimage in lights and shades that are common to weaker Christians.—(Cheever.)

[2] The First Part had been published six years, during which time Mr. Bunyan had been so fully occupied by his pastoral labours and frequent preaching in different parts of England, that he had not been able to accomplish his design of publishing A FEMALE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. He was without exception the most popular preacher of his day.—(Ivimey.)

[3] The First Part was written in Bedford jail; this is 'about a mile off the place,' at the village of Elstow, where Mr. Bunyan resided, and where his house is still standing—a very humble cottage, and an object of curiosity, as is also the very ancient church and tower. The tower answers to the description of the 'steeple-house' in which Mr. Bunyan was engaged in ringing the bells. 'The main beam that lay overthwart the steeple from side to side,' and under which he stood lest 'one of the bells should fall and kill him,' presents exactly that appearance.—(Ivimey.)

for though, when he was here, he was fool in every man's mouth, yet, now he is gone, he is highly commended of all. For, it is said, he lives bravely where he is; yea, many of them that are resolved never to run his hazards, yet have their mouths water at his gains.[1]

They may, quoth I, well think, if they think anything that is true, that he liveth well where he is; for he now lives at and in the Fountain of Life, and has what he has without labour and sorrow, for there is no grief mixed therewith. [But, pray, what talk have the people about him?][2]

SAG. Talk! the people talk strangely about him; some say that he now walks in white, Re. iii. 4; vi. 11; that he has a chain of gold about his neck; that he has a crown of gold, beset with pearls, upon his head. Others say that the Shining Ones, that sometimes showed themselves to him in his journey, are become his companions, and that he is as familiar with them in the place where he is as here one neighbour is with another. Besides, it is confidently affirmed concerning him, that the King of the place where he is has bestowed upon him already a very rich and pleasant dwelling at court, Zec. iii. 7; and that he every day eateth, Lu. xiv. 15, and drinketh, and walketh, and talketh with him; and receiveth of the smiles and favours of him that is Judge of all there. Moreover, it is expected of some, that his Prince, the Lord of that country, will shortly come into these parts, and will know the reason, if they can give any, why his neighbours set so little by him, and had him so much in derision, when they perceived that he would be a pilgrim. Jude 14, 15. For, they say, that now he is so in the affections of his Prince, and that his Sovereign is so much concerned with the indignities that were cast upon Christian, when he became a pilgrim, that he will look upon all as if done unto himself;[3] and no marvel, for it was for the love that he had to his Prince that he ventured as he did.[4] Lu. x. 16.

Christian's King will take Christian's part.

I dare say, quoth I, I am glad on it; I am glad for the poor man's sake, for that he now has rest from his labour, Re. xiv. 13; and for that he now reapeth the benefit of his tears with joy, Ps. cxxvi. 5, 6; and for that he has got beyond the gunshot of his enemies, and is out of the reach of them that hate him. I also am glad, for that a rumour of these things is noised abroad in this country; who can tell but that it may work some good effect on some that are left behind? But, pray Sir, while it is fresh in my mind, do you hear anything of his wife and children? Poor hearts! I wonder in my mind what they do.[5]

SAG. Who! Christiana and her sons? They are like to do as well as did Christian himself; for though they all played the fool at the first, and would by no means be persuaded by either the tears or entreaties of Christian, yet second thoughts have wrought wonderfully with them; so they have packed up, and are also gone after him.[6]

Good tidings of Christian's wife and children.

Better and better, quoth I. But what! wife and children, and all?

SAG. It is true; I can give you an account of the matter, for I was upon the spot at the instant, and was thoroughly acquainted with the whole affair.

Then, said I, a man, it seems, may report it for a truth?

SAG. You need not fear to affirm it; I mean that they are all gone on pilgrimage, both the good woman and her four boys. And being (we are, as I perceive) going some considerable way

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[1] This is quite natural, and very common. The men of this world will canonize those for saints, when dead, whom they stigmatized with the vilest names when living. Besides many others I could mention, this I have peculiarly remarked in respect to that man of God, the late Rev. Mr. Whitefield. Scarce any one went through more public reproach than he did; yet how often have I been amazed to hear persons who held him, his character and conduct, in the vilest contempt when living, who, now he is dead, speak in the most respectful manner of him! O let us leave our characters to him who died for our sins, and to whom we can commit our souls.—(Mason.) 'The memory of the just is blessed.' All men's minds water at a pilgrim's gains, while they are resolved never to run a pilgrim's hazards.

O let me die his death! all nature cries:
Then live his life—all nature falters there.

[2] These words were introduced after the author's decease. Not being able to discover by what authority they were added, I have put them within brackets.—(Ed.)

[3] What a thunderbolt is this! Reader, have you ever spoken harshly to, or persecuted, a child of God—a poor penitent sinner? Hear the word of the Judge of all the earth—'Inasmuch as ye have done it to the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'—(Ed.) Read this and tremble, ye who speak evil of those things which ye know not.—(J. B.)

[4] Mark this well. No matter what profession we make, if the love of Christ be not its foundation. All is nothing without this love. It is this love in the heart that, like oil in the lamp, keeps the profession of Christ burning bright. The more this love is felt, the more ardent the fire of zeal burns, and the more steadily we shall follow on to know the Lord; and never leave off nor give over, till we see and enjoy the Lord in his kingdom.—(Mason.)

[5] It is not improbable that Mr. Bunyan had an eye to his own wife and four children, and that these were the leading characters in this religious drama; and also that the history of Christians of his acquaintance furnished the other personages.—(Ivimey.) The Editor differs in this opinion, believing that all the experience narrated in the 'Pilgrim's Progress' is drawn from the Sacred Scriptures, and which fits it for every age of the church, to the final consummation of all things. Others have agreed with Mr. Ivimey. Reader, you must form your own opinion.—(Ed.)

[6] Though moral suasion, and all the affectionate arguments from a tender husband, or an affectionate parent, may prove ineffectual for the present; yet, when the Lord works by his mighty power, then only they prove effectual to saving purposes. Then let us not neglect our duty, but be earnest in it, and leave the event to sovereign grace.—(Mason.)

together, I will give you an account of the whole of the matter.

This Christiana (for that was her name from the day that she, with her children, betook themselves to a pilgrim's life), after her husband was gone over the river, and she could hear of him no more, her thoughts began to work in her mind. First, for that she had lost her husband, and for that the loving bond of that relation was utterly broken betwixt them. For you know, said he to me, nature can do no less but entertain the living with many a heavy cogitation in the remembrance of the loss of loving relations. This, therefore, of her husband did cost her many a tear. But this was not all; for Christiana did also begin to consider with herself, whether her unbecoming behaviour towards her husband was not one cause that she saw him no more; and that in such sort he was taken away from her. And upon this, came into her mind, by swarms, all her unkind, unnatural, and ungodly carriages to her dear friend; which also clogged her conscience, and did load her with guilt. She was, moreover, much broken with calling to remembrance the restless groans, brinish tears, and self-bemoanings of her husband, and how she did harden her heart against all his entreaties, and loving persuasions, of her and her sons, to go with him; yea, there was not anything that Christian either said to her or did before her all the while that his burden did hang on his back, but it returned upon her like a flash of lightning, and rent the caul of her heart in sunder. Specially that bitter outcry of his, 'What shall I do to be saved?' did ring in her ears most dolefully.[1]

First Part, p. 164.

Mark this, you that are churls to your godly relations.

First Part, p. 89.

Then said she to her children, Sons, we are all undone. I have sinned away your father, and he is gone; he would have had us with him, but I would not go myself. I also have hindered you of life.[2] With that the boys fell all into tears, and cried out to go after their father. O! said Christiana, that it had been but our lot to go with him, then had it fared well with us, beyond what it is like to do now; for though I formerly foolishly imagined, concerning the troubles of your father, that they proceeded of a foolish fancy that he had, or for that he was overrun with melancholy humours; yet now it will not out of my mind but that they sprang from another cause, to wit, for that the Light of light was given him, Ja. i. 23–25; by the help of which, as I perceive, he has escaped the snares of death.[3] Then they all wept again, and cried out, O woe worth the day![4]

The next night Christiana had a dream; and, behold, she saw as if a broad parchment was opened before her, in which were recorded the sum of her ways, Lu. xviii. 13; and the times, as she thought, looked very black upon her. Then she cried out aloud in her sleep, 'Lord, have mercy upon me a sinner![5] and the little children heard her.

Christiana's dream.

After this, she thought she saw two very ill-favoured ones standing by her bed-side, and saying, What shall we do with this woman? for she cries out for mercy waking and sleeping; if she be suffered to go on as she begins, we shall lose her as we have lost her husband. Wherefore we must, by one way or other, seek to take her off from the thoughts of what shall be hereafter, else all the world cannot help it but she will become a pilgrim.

Mark this, this is the quintessence of hell.

Now she awoke in a great sweat, also a trembling was upon her; but after a while she fell to sleeping again. And then she thought she saw Christian her husband in a place of bliss, among many immortals, with a harp in his hand, standing and playing upon it before one that sat on a throne, with a rainbow

Help against discouragement.

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[1] Those who cruelly and unkindly treat their godly relations and friends on account of their religion, must come to feel it in the bitterness of their spirit, and groan in the sorrow of their soul, if ever the Lord grants them repentance unto life. —(Mason.)

[2] Happy is that death which brings the believer to heaven, and the surviving relatives to Christ; which opens the gate of glory to one, and the door of conversion to the other.—(Burder.)

[3] Is it any marvel, that a quickened enlightened sinner should be judged by those around him, who are yet dead in their sins, to be full of whims and melancholy? No! it is very natural for them to think us fools and mad; but we know that they really are so.—(Mason.)

[4] One of God's ends in instituting marriage is, that, under a figure, Christ and his church should be set forth. There is a sweet scent wrapped up in that relation. Be such a husband to thy believing wife, that she may say, God hath given to me a husband that preacheth Christ's carriage to the church every day.—If thy wife be unbelieving, thou hast a duty to perform under a double obligation; for she is liable every moment to eternal ruin. O how little sense of the worth of souls is there in the hearts of some husbands! This is manifest by their unchristian carriage to and before their wives.—Wives also should be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands. Why? Because, otherwise, the Word of God will be blasphemed. Tit. ii. 5. Take heed of an idling, talking, wrangling tongue. It is odious in maids or wives to be like parrots, not bridling the tongue. It is unseemly to see a woman, as much as once in her lifetime, to offer to over-top her husband. I do not intend that women should be slaves by this subjection: 'Let every man love his wife as himself, and the wife see that she reverence her husband.' Ep. v. 33. Abigail would not speak a word to her churlish husband until he was in a sober temper, and his wine gone out of him.—(Bunyan's *Christian Behaviour*, vol. ii. pp. 558—561.)

[5] This is the first cry of an awakened sinner—mercy for the lost and miserable; and no sooner are the sinner's eyes opened to see his ruined, desperate state, and to cry for mercy, but the god of this world, who hitherto had blinded the eyes, and kept the heart securely by presumption, now opposes the sinner's progress to a throne of grace, to a God of mercy, and to the Saviour of the lost. Satan does not easily part with his prey. But Jesus, the strong man, armed with almighty power and everlasting love, will conquer and cast him out. That is the sinner's mercy, or none could ever be saved.—(Mason.)

about his head. She saw also as if he bowed his head, with his face to the paved work that was under the Prince's feet, saying, I heartily thank my Lord and King, for bringing of me into this place. Then shouted a company of them that stood round about, and harped with their harps; but no man living could tell what they said, but Christian and his companions.[1]

Next morning, when she was up, had prayed to God, and talked with her children a while, one knocked hard at the door, to whom she spake out, saying, If thou comest in God's name, come in. So he said, Amen, and opened the door, and saluted her with 'Peace be to this house.' The which, when he had done, he said, Christiana, knowest thou wherefore I am come? Then she blushed and trembled, also her heart began to wax warm with desires to know whence he came, and what was his errand to her. So he said unto her, My name is Secret;[2] I dwell with those that are high. It is talked of, where I dwell, as if thou hadst a desire to go thither; also, there is a report, that thou art aware of the evil thou hast formerly done to thy husband, in hardening of thy heart against his way, and in keeping of these thy babes in their ignorance. Christiana, the Merciful One has sent me to tell thee, that he is a God ready to forgive, and that he taketh delight to multiply to pardon offences. He also would have thee know, that he inviteth thee to come into his presence, to his table, and that he will feed thee with the fat of his house, and with the heritage of Jacob thy father.

Convictions seconded with fresh tidings of God's readiness to pardon.

There is Christian thy husband (that was), with legions more, his companions, ever beholding that face that doth minister life to beholders; and they will all be glad when they shall hear the sound of thy feet step over thy Father's threshold.

Christiana at this was greatly abashed in herself, and bowing her head to the ground, this Visitor proceeded, and said, Christiana, here is also a letter for thee, which I have brought from thy husband's King. So she took it and opened it, but it smelt after the manner of the best perfume, Ca. i. 3; also it was written in letters of gold. The contents of the letter was, That the King would have her do as did Christian her husband; for that was the way to come to his city, and to dwell in his presence with joy for ever. At this the good woman was quite overcome; so she cried out to her visitor, Sir, will you carry me and my children with you, that we also may go and worship this King?

Christiana quite overcome.

Then said the visitor, Christiana, the bitter is before the sweet. Thou must through troubles, as did he that went before thee, enter this Celestial City. Wherefore I advise thee to do as did Christian thy husband. Go to the wicket-gate yonder, over the plain, for that stands in the head of the way up which thou must go, and I wish thee all good speed. Also I advise that thou put this letter in thy bosom; that thou read therein to thyself, and to thy children, until you have got it by rote of heart,[3] for it is one of the songs that thou must sing while thou art in this house of thy pilgrimage, Ps. cxix. 54; also this thou must deliver in at the further gate.[4]

Further instruction to Christiana.

Now I saw in my dream, that this old gentleman, as he told me this story, did himself seem to be greatly affected therewith. He, moreover, proceeded and said, So Christiana called her sons together, and began thus to address herself unto them: My sons, I have, as you may perceive, been of late under much exercise in my soul, about the death of your father; not for that I doubt at all of his happiness, for I am satisfied now that he is well. I have been also much affected with the thoughts of mine own state and yours, which I verily believe is by nature miserable. My carriages, also, to your father in his distress, is a great load to my conscience; for I hardened both my own heart

Christiana prays well for her journey.

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[1] The mind, during sleep, is often occupied with those subjects that have most deeply engaged the waking thoughts; and it sometimes pleases God to make use of ideas thus suggested, to influence the conduct by exciting fears or hopes. But if we attempt to draw conclusions on doctrines, or to discover hidden things by them, it becomes a dangerous species of enthusiasm. —(Scott.) There is no just reason to doubt that God still employs dreams for the conversion of sinners. 'In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction.' Job xxxiii. 15, 16.—(Ivimey.) Dreams are sometimes of use to warn and encourage a Christian, and seem to be really 'from God;' but great caution is necessary, lest they mislead us, as they do weak and enthusiastic persons. They must never be depended on as the ground of hope, or th test of our state; nothing must be put in the place of the Word of God.—(Burder.)

[2] 'The fear of the Lord *is* the beginning of wisdom,' Ps. cxi. 10; and 'the secret of the Lord *is* with them that fear him.' Ps. xxv. 14. The Spirit, the Comforter, never convinces the soul of sin, but he also revives and comforts the heart with glad tidings of free and full pardon of sin, through the blood of the Lamb.—(Mason.) Probably the name of this visitor was derived from what was said by the heavenly visitor to Manoah. Ju. xiii. 18.—(Ivimey.) The silent influences of the Holy Spirit are here personified. The intimations of Secret represent the teachings of the Holy Spirit, by which the sinner understands the real meaning of the Sacred Scriptures as to the way of salvation.—(Scott, abridged.)

[3] 'Rote of heart;' 'rote' is to commit to memory, so as to be able to repeat fluently, as *a wheel runs round*, but without attaching any idea or sense to the words; 'rote of heart' is to do this with a full understanding of the meaning.—(Ed.)

[4] As the Spirit testifies of Christ, so he leads the soul to Christ, that he may be the sinner's only hope, righteousness, and strength. Thus he glorifies Christ.—(Mason.)

> But bring thou with thee a certificate,
> To show thou seest thyself most desolate;
> Writ by the Master, with repentance seal'd.
> —(*House of God*, vol. ii. p. 580.)

and yours against him, and refused to go with him on pilgrimage.[1]

The thoughts of these things would now kill me outright, but that for a dream which I had last night, and but for the encouragement that this stranger has given me this morning. Come, my children, let us pack up and begone to the gate that leads to the Celestial Country, that we may see your father, and be with him and his companions in peace, according to the laws of that land.

Then did her children burst out into tears for joy, that the heart of their mother was so inclined.[2] So their visitor bade them farewell; and they began to prepare to set out for their journey.

But while they were thus about to be gone, two of the women, that were Christiana's neighbours, came up to her house, and knocked at her door. To whom she said as before, If you come in God's name, come in. At this the women were stunned; for this kind of language they used not to hear, or to perceive to drop from the lips of Christiana.[3] Yet they came in; but, behold, they found the good woman a-preparing to be gone from her house.

Christiana's new language stuns her old neighbours.

So they began and said, Neighbour, pray what is your meaning by this?

Christiana answered and said to the eldest of them, whose name was Mrs. Timorous, I am preparing for a journey. (This Timorous was daughter to him that met Christian upon the Hill Difficulty, and would have had him go back for fear of the lions.)

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Tim. For what journey, I pray you?

Christ. Even to go after my good husband. And with that she fell a-weeping.

Tim. I hope not so, good neighbour; pray, for your poor children's sakes, do not so unwomanly cast away yourself.

Timorous comes to visit Christiana, with Mercy, one of her neighbours.

Christ. Nay, my children shall go with me, not one of them is willing to stay behind.[4]

Tim. I wonder, in my very heart, what, or who has brought you into this mind.

Christ. Oh! neighbour, knew you but as much as I do, I doubt not but that you would go with me.

Tim. Prithee, what new knowledge hast thou got, that so worketh off thy mind from thy friends, and that tempteth thee to go, nobody knows where?

Christ. Then Christiana replied, I have been sorely afflicted since my husband's departure from me; but especially since he went over the river. But that which troubleth me most, is my churlish carriages to him, when he was under his distress. Besides, I am now as he was then; nothing will serve me but going on pilgrimage. I was a-dreaming last night that I saw him. O that my soul was with him! He dwelleth in the presence of the King of the country; he sits and eats with him at his table; he is become a companion of immortals, 1 Co. v. 1–4, and has a house now given him to dwell in, to which the best palaces on earth, if compared, seem to me to be but as a dunghill. The Prince of the place has also sent for me, with promise of entertainment if I shall come to him; his messenger was here even now, and has brought me a letter, which invites me to come. And with that she plucked out her letter,[5] and read it, and said to them, What now will ye say to this?

Death.

Tim. O the madness that has possessed thee and thy husband, to run yourselves upon such difficulties! You have heard, I am sure, what your husband did meet with, even, in a manner, at the first step that he took on his way, as our neighbour Obstinate can yet

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[1] Blessed penitence! Christian's children, when he set out in his pilgrimage, had been liable to Mr. Bunyan's severe remarks in his valuable book on *Christian Behaviour*:—'I observe a vile spirit amongst some children, who overlook, or have slighting or scornful thoughts of their parents. Such an one hath got just the heart of a dog or a beast, that will bite those that begot them. But my father is poor, and I am rich, and it will be a hinderance to me to respect him. I tell thee, thou arguest like an atheist and a beast, and standest full flat against the Son of God. Mar. vii. 9—13. Must a little of the glory of the butterfly make thee not honour thy father and mother? Little dost thou know how many prayers, sighs, and tears have been wrung from their hearts on thine account.'—(Vol. ii. pp. 562, 563.)—(Ed.)

[2] The awakening of a sinner may be effected by very different means. Lydia's heart was opened through attending to Paul's ministry; the jailer's, through the alarm produced in his mind by the fear of disgrace and punishment. Christian was brought to a sense of his lost condition by reading the Scriptures; Christiana, by reflecting, after the death of her husband, upon her unkind treatment of him on account of his religion, the thought of which 'rent the caul of her heart in sunder;' and the four boys, by the conversation of their mother with them about their departed father, and about her having neglected their souls. Religion is a personal concern, and begins with repentance and sorrow for sin. Children are not saved by the faith of their parents, but must be individually brought to feel their own sinfulness, and to confess their own guilt and danger; nor will a mother's prayers save her children, unless they heartily unite with her in them.—(Ivimey.)

[3] Reader, stop and examine. Did ever any of your carnal acquaintance take knowledge of a difference of your language and conduct? [Does it stun them?] Or do they still like and approve of you as well as ever? What reason, then, have you to think yourself a pilgrim? If the heart be ever so little acquainted with the Lord, the tongue will discover it, and the carnal and profane will ridicule and despise you for it.—(Mason.)

[4] 'Is *willing* to stay behind.' Mr. Bunyan has strongly intimated, in this account, that *children*, very young persons, may be the subjects of renewing grace, and may experience the power of the gospel upon their hearts, producing that faith that is of the operation of God, and works meet for repentance. This fact is abundantly confirmed by many living instances of very young persons knowing the grace of God in truth, and adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour.—(Ivimey.)

[5] This was a love-letter, full of the love of Jesus, and the precious invitations of his loving heart to sinners to come unto him as recorded in his blessed Word. Happy sinners, whose eyes are opened to read it! But this the world calls madness. —(Mason.)

testify, for he went along with him; yea, and Pliable too, until they, like wise men, were afraid to go any further. We also heard, over and above, how he met with the lions, Apollyon, the Shadow of Death, and many other things. Nor is the danger that he met with at Vanity Fair to be forgotten by thee; for if he, though a man, was so hard put to it, what canst thou, being but a poor woman, do? Consider also, that these four sweet babes are thy children, thy flesh and thy bones. Wherefore, though thou shouldest be so rash as to cast away thyself; yet, for the sake of the fruit of thy body, keep thou at home.[1]

The reasonings of the flesh.

But Christiana said unto her, Tempt me not, my neighbour. I have now a price put into my hand to get gain, and I should be a fool of the greatest size, if I should have no heart to strike in with the opportunity.[2] And for that you tell me of all these troubles that I am like to meet with in the way, they are so far off from being to me a discouragement, that they show I am in the right. 'The bitter must come before the sweet,' and that also will make the sweet the sweeter. Wherefore, since you came not to my house in God's name, as I said, I pray you to be gone, and not to disquiet me further.[3]

A pertinent reply to fleshly reasonings.

Then Timorous also reviled her, and said to her fellow, Come, neighbour Mercy, let us leave her in her own hands, since she scorns our counsel and company. But Mercy was at a stand, and could not so readily comply with her neighbour, and that for a twofold reason. First, her bowels yearned over Christiana. So she said within herself, If my neighbour will needs be gone, I will go a little way with her and help her. Secondly, her bowels yearned over her own soul, for what Christiana had said had taken some hold upon her mind.[4] Wherefore she said within herself again, I will yet have more talk with this Christiana, and if I find truth and life in what she shall say, myself with my heart shall also go with her. Wherefore Mercy began thus to reply to her neighbour Timorous.

Mercy's bowels yearn over Christiana.

Mercy. Neighbour, I did, indeed, come with you to see Christiana this morning; and since she is, as you see, a-taking of her last farewell of her country, I think to walk, this sun-shine morning, a little way with her, to help her on the way. But she told her not of the second reason, but kept that to herself.

Timorous forsakes her, but Mercy cleaves to her.

Tim. Well, I see you have a mind to go a-fooling too, but take heed in time, and be wise. While we are out of danger, we are out; but when we are in, we are in. So Mrs. Timorous returned to her house, and Christiana betook herself to her journey.[5] But when Timorous was got home to her house, she sends for some of her neighbours, to wit, Mrs. Bat's-eyes, Mrs. Inconsiderate, Mrs. Light-mind, and Mrs. Know-nothing. So when they were come to her house, she falls to telling of the story of Christiana, and of her intended journey. And thus she began her tale.[6]

Timorous acquaints her friends what the good Christiana intends to do.

Tim. Neighbours, having had little to do this morning, I went to give Christiana a visit; and when I came at the door, I knocked, as you know it is our custom. And she answered, If you come in God's name, come in. So in I went, thinking all was well. But when I came in, I found her preparing herself to depart the town, she, and also her children. So I asked her what was her meaning by that. And she told me, in short, that she was now of a mind to go on pilgrimage, as did her husband. She told me also a dream that she had, and how the King of the country where her husband was, had sent her an inviting letter to come thither.

Then said Mrs. Know-nothing, And what! do you think she will go?

Mrs. Know-nothing.

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[1] The observations of the unconverted, when they perceive the conscience of a poor sinner alarmed for fear of the wrath to come, are admirably put in Bunyan's *Come and Welcome*, vol. i. p. 278: 'They attribute the change to melancholy—to sitting alone—to overmuch reading—to going to too many sermons—to too much studying and musing on what they hear. They conclude that it is for want of merry company—for want of physic; and they advise them to leave off reading, going to sermons, the company of sober people, and to be merry, to go a-gossiping. But, poor ignorant sinner, let me deal with thee. It seems that thou hast turned counsellor for Satan. Thou judgest foolishly. Thou art like Elymas the sorcerer, that sought to turn the deputy from the faith, to pervert the right ways of the Lord. Take heed, lest some heavy judgment overtake thee.' Pilgrim, beware of the solemn warnings of God in Dc. xiii. 6, and He. x. 38.—(Ed.)

[2] Bunyan probably alludes to Pr. xvii. 16: 'Wherefore *is there* a price in the hand of a fool to get wisdom, seeing *he hath* no heart *to it?*'—(Ivimey.)

[3] It is well to be bold in the name of the Lord, and blunt with those who seek to turn us away from following on to know the Lord; for nothing less than life and salvation, or death and damnation, will be the issue of it.—(Mason.)

[4] The very things which excite the rage and scorn of some persons, penetrate the hearts of others. Thus the Lord makes one to differ from another, by preparing the heart to receive the good seed of Divine truth. Yet every one willingly chooses the way he takes, without constraint or hinderance, except his own prevailing dispositions.—(Scott.)

[5] Here we see our Lord's word verified, 'The one shall be taken, and the other left.' Mat. xxiv. 41. Mercy is called, and Timorous left. All, to appearance, seems chance and accident; but sovereign grace overrules all things. 'All things *are* of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ.' 2 Co. v. 18.—(Mason.)

[6] This tale, by the names, arguments, and discourse introduced into it, shows what kind of persons despise and revile all those that fear God, and seek the salvation of their souls. Profligates, who never studied religion, pass sentence upon the most difficult controversies without hesitation. Such persons call for our compassion and prayers even more than our detestation.—(Scott.)

TIM. Aye, go she will, whatever come on't; and methinks I know it by this; for that which was my great argument to persuade her to stay at home (to wit, the troubles she was like to meet with in the way) is one great argument with her to put her forward on her journey. For she told me in so many words, 'The bitter goes before the sweet.' Yea, and forasmuch as it so doth, it makes the sweet the sweeter.

Mrs. Bat's-eyes.

MRS. BAT'S-EYES. O, this blind and foolish woman! said she; will she not take warning by her husband's afflictions? For my part, I see, if he was here again, he would rest him content in a whole skin, and never run so many hazards for nothing.

Mrs. Inconsiderate.

MRS. INCONSIDERATE also replied, saying, Away with such fantastical fools from the town! A good riddance, for my part, I say, of her. Should she stay where she dwells, and retain this her mind, who could live quietly by her? for she will either be dumpish or unneighbourly, or talk of such matters as no wise body can abide; wherefore, for my part, I shall never be sorry for her departure. Let her go, and let better come in her room. It was never a good world since these whimsical fools dwelt in it.[1]

Mrs. Light-mind.

Madam Wanton, she that had like to have been too hard for Faithful in time past.

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Then Mrs. Light-mind added as followeth:—Come, put this kind of talk away. I was yesterday at Madam Wanton's, where we were as merry as the maids. For who do you think should be there, but I and Mrs. Love-the-flesh, and three or four more, with Mr. Lechery, Mrs. Filth, and some others. So there we had music, and dancing, and what else was meet to fill up the pleasure. And, I dare say, my lady herself is an admirably well-bred gentlewoman, and Mr. Lechery is as pretty a fellow.

By this time, Christiana was got on her way, and Mercy went along with her. So as they went, her children being there also, Christiana began to discourse. And, Mercy, said Christiana, I take this as an unexpected favour, that thou shouldst set foot out of doors with me, to accompany me a little in my way.

Discourse betwixt Mercy and good Christiana.

MERCY. Then said young Mercy (for she was but young), If I thought it would be to purpose to go with you, I would never go near the town any more.

Mercy inclines to go.

CHRIST. Well, Mercy, said Christiana, cast in thy lot with me; I well know what will be the end of our pilgrimage. My husband is where he would not but be for all the gold in the Spanish mines. Nor shalt thou be rejected, though thou goest but upon my invitation.[2] The King who hath sent for me and my children is one that delighteth in mercy. Besides, if thou wilt, I will hire thee, and thou shalt go along with me as my servant; yet we will have all things in common betwixt thee and me; only, go along with me.[3]

Christiana would have her neighbour with her.

MERCY. But how shall I be ascertained that I also shall be entertained? Had I this hope but from one that can tell, I would make no stick at all, but would go, being helped by him that can help, though the way was never so tedious.[4]

Mercy doubts of acceptance.

CHRIST. Well, loving Mercy, I will tell thee what thou shalt do. Go with me to the wicket-gate, and there I will further inquire for thee; and if there thou shalt not meet with encouragement, I will be content that thou shalt return to thy place. I also will pay thee for thy kindness which thou showest to me and my children, in thy accompanying us in our way, as thou dost.

Christiana allures her to the gate, which is Christ, and promiseth there to inquire for her.

MERCY. Then will I go thither, and will take what shall follow; and the Lord grant that my lot may there fall, even as the King of Heaven shall have his heart upon me.[5]

Mercy prays.

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[1] O how do such carnal wretches sport with their own damnation, while they despise the precious truths of God, and ridicule his beloved, chosen, and called people! But as it was in the beginning, he who was born after the flesh persecuted him who was born after the Spirit, so it is now, and will be as long as the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent are upon the earth.—(Mason.) Such characters are portrayed by the apostle, in his solemn riddle, 1 Ti. v. 6.—(Ivimey.)

[2] The singular dispensations of Providence, and the strong impressions made by the Word of God upon some minds, seem to amount to a special invitation; while others are gradually and gently brought to embrace the gospel, and these are sometimes discouraged lest they have never been truly awakened. They should recollect that the Lord delighteth in mercy; that Christ will in no wise cast out any that come to him; and that they who trust in the mercy of God, solely through the redemption of his Son, shall assuredly be saved.—(Scott.)

[3] Such is the true spirit of real pilgrims, that do not love to eat their precious morsel alone. They wish others to know Christ, and to become followers of him with themselves.—(Mason.)

[4] Though Christiana clearly knew her calling of God, yet Mercy did not; therefore she is in doubt about it. Just so it is with many at their first setting out. Hence they are ready to say—and I have met with many who have said—that they could even wish to have had the most violent convictions of sin, and to have been, as it were, shook over the mouth of hell, that they might have a greater certainty of their being called of God. But this is speaking unadvisedly. Better to take the apostle's advice: 'Give all diligence to make your calling sure.'—(Mason.)

[5] Here is a precious discovery of a heart divinely instructed. Mind, here is no looking to anything Mercy was in herself, nor to anything she could do for herself, for hope. But all is resolved into this—even THE LOVE OF THE HEART OF THE KING OF HEAVEN. Reader, can you be content with this? Can you cast all, and rest all, upon the love of Christ? Then bless his loving name for giving you a pilgrim's heart.—(Mason.) Mercy clearly discovered a work of grace on her heart. She was anxious about her acceptance at last; she began to pray; she threw herself on the mere mercy of Christ's heart; and proved 'the bowels of a pilgrim,' by lamenting the sad condition of her carnal relations.—(Burder.)

Christiana glad of Mercy's company.

Christiana then was glad at her heart, not only that she had a companion, but also for that she had prevailed with this poor maid to fall in love with her own salvation. So they went on together, and Mercy began to weep. Then said Christiana, Wherefore weepeth my sister so?

Mercy grieves for her carnal relations.[1]

MERCY. Alas! said she, who can but lament, that shall but rightly consider, what a state and condition my poor relations are in that yet remain in our sinful town? and that which makes my grief the more heavy is, because they have no instructor, nor any to tell them what is to come.

CHRIST. Bowels becometh pilgrims; and thou dost for thy friends as my good Christian did for me when he left me; he mourned for that I would not heed nor regard him; but his Lord and ours did gather up his tears and put them into his bottle; and now both I and thou, and these my sweet babes, are reaping the fruit and benefit of them. I hope, Mercy, these tears of thine will not be lost; for the truth hath said, that 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy' in singing. And 'he that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves *with him.*' Ps. cxxvi. 5, 6.

Christian's prayers were answered for his relations, after he was dead.

Then said Mercy—

Let the Most Blessed be my guide,
If 't be his blessed will;
Unto his gate, into his fold,
Up to his holy hill.

And let him never suffer me
To swerve or turn aside
From his free grace, and holy ways,
Whate'er shall me betide.

And let him gather them of mine,
That I have left behind;
Lord, make them pray they may be thine,
With all their heart and mind.[2]

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Now my old friend proceeded, and said: But when Christiana came up to the Slough of Despond, she began to be at a stand; for, said she, this is the place in which my dear husband had like to have been smothered with mud. She perceived, also, that notwithstanding the command of the King to make this place for pilgrims good, yet it was rather worse than formerly. So I asked if that was true. Yes, said the old gentleman, too true; for that many there be that pretend to be the King's labourers, and that say they are for mending the King's highway, that bring dirt and dung instead of stones, and so mar instead of mending.[3] Here Christiana, therefore, with her boys, did make a stand; but, said Mercy, Come, let us venture, only let us be wary. Then they looked well to the steps, and made a shift to get staggeringly over.[4]

Their own carnal conclusions, instead of the Word of Life.

Mercy the boldest at the Slough of Despond.

Yet, Christiana had like to have been in, and that not once nor twice. Now they had no sooner got over, but they thought they heard words that said unto them, 'Blessed *is* she that believed; for there shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the Lord.' Lu. i. 45.

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[1] This truth is exemplified in the *Holy War:*—'Now Mr. Desires, when he saw that he must go on this errand, besought that Mr. Wet-eyes should go with him to petition the Prince. This Mr. Wet-eyes was a poor man, a man of a broken spirit, yet one that could speak well to a petition. Then Mr. Wet-eyes fell on his face to the ground, and said, O my Lord, I see dirt in my own tears, and filthiness at the bottom of my prayers; but, I pray thee, mercifully pass by the sin of Mansoul.'—(Ed.)

[2] Perhaps the most delightful portion of the Second Dream of Bunyan is its sweet representation of the female character. There never were two more attractive beings drawn than Christiana and Mercy; as different from each other as Christian and Hopeful, and yet equally pleasing in their natural traits of character, and under the influence of Divine grace, each of them reflecting the light of heaven in an original and lovely variety. His own conception of what constitutes a bright example of beauty and consistency of character in a Christian woman, Bunyan has here given us, as well as in his First Dream, the model of steadfast excellence in a Christian man. The delineation, in both Christiana and Mercy, is eminently beautiful. We have, in these characters, his own ideal of the domestic virtues, and his own conception of a well-ordered Christian family's domestic happiness. Wherever he may have formed his notions of female loveliness and excellence, he has, in the combination of them in the Second Part of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' presented two characters of such winning modesty and grace, such confiding truth and frankness, such simplicity and artlessness, such cheerfulness and pleasantness, such native good sense and Christian discretion, such sincerity, gentleness, and tenderness, that nothing could be more delightful. The matronly virtues of Christiana, and the maidenly qualities of Mercy, are alike pleasing and appropriate. There is a mixture of timidity and frankness in Mercy, which is as sweet in itself as it is artlessly and unconsciously drawn; and in Christiana we discover the very characteristics that can make the most lovely feminine counterpart, suitable to the stern and lofty qualities of her husband.—(Cheever.)

[3] Instead of being what they profess, the King's labourers, Paul calls them soul-troublers. Ga. v. 10. For instead of preaching a free, full, and finished salvation, bestowed as a free gift, by rich grace, upon poor sinners who can do nothing to entitle themselves to it; behold, these wretched daubers set forth salvation to sale upon certain terms and conditions which sinners are to perform and fulfil. Thus they distress the upright and sincere, and deceive the self-righteous and unwary, into pride and delusion. Thus they mar, instead of mending, the way; and bring dirt and dung, instead of stones, to make the way sound and safe for pilgrims.—(Mason.)

[4] 'Looked well to the steps;' that is, 'the promises,' as Bunyan explains in the margin of Part First. 'Struggling to be rid of our burden, it only sinks us deeper in the mire, if we do not rest by faith upon the promises, and so come indeed to Christ. Precious promises they are, and so free and full of forgiveness and eternal life, that certainly the moment a dying soul feels its guilt and misery, that soul may lay hold upon them, and find Christ in them; and were it not for unbelief, there need be no Slough of Despond for the soul to struggle, and plunge, in its mire of depravity.'—(Cheever.)—(Ed.)

Then they went on again; and said Mercy to Christiana, Had I as good ground to hope for a loving reception at the wicket-gate as you, I think no Slough of Despond would discourage me.

Well, said the other, you know your sore,[1] and I know mine; and, good friend, we shall all have enough evil before we come at our journey's end.

For can it be imagined, that the people that design to attain such excellent glories as we do, and that are so envied that happiness as we are; but that we shall meet with what fears and scares, with what troubles and afflictions they can possibly assault us with, that hate us?

And now Mr. Sagacity left me to dream out my dream by myself. Wherefore, methought I saw Christiana and Mercy, and the boys, go all of them up to the gate; to which, when they were come, they betook themselves to a short debate about how they must manage their calling at the gate, and what should be said to him that did open to them. So it was concluded, since Christiana was the eldest, that she should knock for entrance, and that she should speak to him that did open, for the rest. So Christiana began to knock; and, as her poor husband did, she knocked, and knocked again. But, instead of any that answered, they all thought that they heard as if a dog came barking upon them; a dog, and a great one too, and this made the women and children afraid: nor durst they, for a while, to knock any more, for fear the mastiff should fly upon them. Now, therefore, they were greatly tumbled up and down in their minds, and knew not what to do: knock they durst not, for fear of the dog; go back they durst not, for fear the Keeper of that gate should espy them as they so went, and should be offended with them; at last they thought of knocking again, and knocked more vehemently than they did at the first. Then said the Keeper of the gate, Who is there? So the dog left off to bark, and he opened unto them.[2]

Prayer should be made with consideration and fear, as well as in faith and hope.

First Part, p. 96.

The dog — the devil—an enemy to prayer.

Christiana and her companions perplexed about prayer.

Then Christiana made low obeisance, and said, Let not our Lord be offended with his handmaidens, for that we have knocked at his princely gate. Then said the Keeper, Whence come ye, and what is that you would have?

Christiana answered, We are come from whence Christian did come, and upon the same errand as he; to wit, to be, if it shall please you, graciously admitted by this gate into the way that leads to the Celestial City. And I answer, my Lord, in the next place, that I am Christiana, once the wife of Christian, that now is gotten above.[3]

With that the Keeper of the gate did marvel, saying, What! is she become now a pilgrim that, but a while ago, abhorred that life? Then she bowed her head, and said, Yes, and so are these my sweet babes also.

Then he took her by the hand, and let her in, and said also, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me;' and with that he shut up the gate. This done, he called to a trumpeter that was above, over the gate, to entertain Christiana with shouting and sound of trumpet for joy. So he obeyed, and sounded, and filled the air with his melodious notes. Lu. xv. 7.

How Christiana is entertained at the gate.

Now all this while poor Mercy did stand without, trembling and crying, for fear that she was rejected. But when Christiana had gotten admittance for herself and her boys, then she began to make intercession for Mercy.

CHRIST. And she said, My Lord, I have a companion of mine that stands yet without, that is come hither upon the same account as myself; one that is much dejected in her mind, for that she comes, as she thinks, without sending for; whereas I was sent to by my husband's King to come.

Christiana's prayer for her friend Mercy.

Now Mercy began to be very impatient, for each minute was as long to her as an hour; wherefore she prevented Christiana from a fuller interceding for her, by knocking at the gate herself. And she knocked then so loud, that she made Christiana to start. Then said the Keeper of the gate, Who is there? and said Christiana, It is my friend.

The delays make the hungering soul the ferventer.

So he opened the gate and looked out, but

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[1] All the varieties in the experience of those who are walking in the same path can never be enumerated; some of their sores are not only unreasonable but unaccountable, through the weakness of the human mind, the abiding effects of peculiar impressions, the remains of unbelief, and the artifices of Satan.—(Scott.)

[2] No sooner does a poor sinner open his lips in prayer to Jesus, but the devil will bark at him, and by all means try to terrify and discourage him. Do you find this? What is our remedy? 'Resist the devil, and he will flee from you. Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you,' Ja. iv. 7, 8.—(Mason.) When the fear of God possesses the heart, such disturbances cannot long prevent earnest cries for mercy, but will eventually render them more fervent and importunate than ever.—(Scott.)

[3] Think much of them that have gone before; how safe they are in the bosom of Jesus. Would they be here again for a thousand worlds? Sometimes when my base heart hath been inclining to this world, and to loiter in my journey towards heaven, the very consideration of the glorious saints and angels—what they enjoy, what low thoughts they have of the things of this world, how they would befool me if they did but know that my heart was drawing back—this hath made me rush forward, and disdain those beggarly things; and say to my soul, Come, soul, let us not be weary; let us see what heaven is; let us venture all for it. It will quit the cost. Reader, what sayest thou to this? Art thou resolved to follow me? Nay, resolve to get before me if thou canst. —(*Heavenly Footman.*)

Mercy was fallen down without, in a swoon, for she fainted, and was afraid that no gate would be opened to her.

Mercy faints.

Then he took her by the hand, and said, Damsel, I bid thee arise.

O Sir, said she, I am faint; there is scarce life left in me. But he answered, That one once said, 'When my soul fainted within me, I remembered the Lord; and my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple.' Jonah ii. 7. Fear not, but stand upon thy feet, and tell me wherefore thou art come.[1]

MERCY. I am come for that unto which I was never invited, as my friend Christiana was. Hers was from the King, and mine was but from her. Wherefore I fear I presume.[2]

The cause of her fainting.

KEEP. Did she desire thee to come with her to this place?

MERCY. Yes; and, as my Lord sees, I am come. And, if there is any grace or forgiveness of sins to spare, I beseech that I, thy poor handmaid, may be partaker thereof.

Then he took her again by the hand, and led her gently in, and said, I pray for all them that believe on me, by what means soever they come unto me. Then said he to those that stood by, Fetch something, and give it Mercy to smell on, thereby to stay her fainting. So they fetched her a bundle of myrrh; and a while after, she was revived.[3]

Mark this.

And now was Christiana and her boys, and Mercy, received of the Lord at the head of the way, and spoke kindly unto by him. Then said they yet further unto him, We are sorry for our sins, and beg of our Lord his pardon, and further information what we must do.

I grant pardon, said he, by word and deed: by word, in the promise of forgiveness; by deed, in the way I obtained it. Take the first from my lips with a kiss, Ca. i. 2; and the other as it shall be revealed.[4] Jn. xx. 20.

Now, I saw in my dream, that he spake many good words unto them, whereby they were greatly gladded. He also had them up to the top of the gate, and showed them by what deed they were saved; and told them withal, That that sight they would have again, as they went along in the way, to their comfort.

Christ crucified seen afar off.

So he left them a while in a summer parlour below, where they entered into talk by themselves; and thus Christiana began: O Lord! how glad am I that we are got in hither.

Talk between the Christians.

MERCY. So you well may; but I of all have cause to leap for joy.

CHRIST. I thought one time, as I stood at the gate (because I had knocked, and none did answer), that all our labour had been lost, especially when that ugly cur made such a heavy barking against us.[5]

MERCY. But my worse fear was after I saw that you was taken into his favour, and that I was left behind. Now, thought I, it is fulfilled which is written, 'Two women shall be grinding together, the one shall be taken and the other left.'[6] Mat. xxiv. 41. I had much ado to forbear crying out, Undone! undone![7]

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[1] Being made to understand what great sinners the Lord hath had mercy upon, and how large his promises were still to sinners, this made me, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to cleave to him, to hang upon him, and yet to cry, though as yet there was no answer, The Lord help all his poor, tempted, afflicted people to do the like.—(Bunyan.)

[2] Mercy's case is not singular. Many have set out just as she did, and have been discouraged by the same reason as she was. She, as many have been, was encouraged to set out in the ways of the Lord by her neighbour and friend. Hence she, as many others also have thought, there was no cause to conclude that she was effectually called by the Lord, but it was only the effect of moral persuasion, and therefore doubted and fainted, lest she should not meet with acceptance. But her very doubts, fears, and distress, proved the earnestness of her heart, and the desire of her soul, after the Saviour; and also that his attracting love and gracious power had a hand in the work. Well therefore might Bunyan call upon his readers to mark her gracious reception by Christ. Mark this, ye poor, doubting, fearing, trembling souls, who are halting every step, and fearing you have not set out aright, hear what Christ's angel said, and be not discouraged: 'Fear not ye, for I know that ye seek Jesus.' Mat. xxviii. 5.—(Mason.)

[3] The prisoners taken in the *Holy War* were affected like Mercy. 'Why did you not cry to me before, said the Prince, yet I will answer you so as will be for my glory. At this Mr. Wet-eyes gave a great sigh, and death seemed to sit on their eye-brows; they covered their faces, and threw themselves down before him. Then the Prince bid them stand upon their feet, and said, I have power to forgive, and I do forgive. Moreover, he stripped the prisoners of their mourning-weeds, and gave them beauty for ashes.'—(ED.)

[4] *Pardon by word* seems to denote the general discovery of free salvation by Jesus Christ to all that believe, which is sealed by transient comforts and lively affections. *Pardon by deed* may relate to the *manner* in which the blessing was purchased by the Saviour; and when this is clearly understood, the believer attains to stable peace and hope.—(Scott.)

[5] The devil often barks most at us, and brings his heaviest accusations against us, when mercy, peace, comfort, and salvation are nearest to us.

'Press on, nor fear to win the day,
Though earth and hell obstruct the way.'—(Mason.)

[6] Many hellish darts are tipped by Apollyon's malignant ingenuity with sentences of Scripture, made to flame just like the fiery darts of the wicked one; so that the Scriptures appear to stand against the trembling Christian.—(ED.)

[7] Here is genuine humility; no replying against God—no calling in question his sovereign right to receive or to reject. No; all that this poor humble heart thought was, now is fulfilled what is written, 'One shall be taken and the other left.' If so, what had she to say? No impeachment of the Lord's dealings, but only, I am undone. But yet, on seeing what was written over the gate, 'Knock, and it shall be opened,' from that, and not from any sight of worthiness in herself, but lost as she felt herself, she was encouraged to knock again, or to cry and pray more vehemently than ever. Here is a blessed example of deep humility, and of holy boldness, excited by the Divine Word. Go thou, ruined sinner, and do likewise. —(Mason.)

And afraid I was to knock any more; but when I looked up to what was written over the gate, I took courage.[1] I also thought that I must either knock again, or die; so I knocked, but I cannot tell how, for my spirit now struggled betwixt life and death.

First Part, p. 96.

CHRIST. Can you not tell how you knocked?

Christiana thinks her companion prays better than she.

I am sure your knocks were so earnest, that the very sound of them made me start; I thought I never heard such knocking in all my life; I thought you would have come in by violent hands, or have taken the kingdom by storm. Mat. xi. 12.

MERCY. Alas! to be in my case, who that so was could but have done so? You saw that the door was shut upon me, and that there was a most cruel dog thereabout. Who, I say, that was so faint-hearted as I, that would not have knocked with all their might? But, pray, what said my Lord to my rudeness? Was he not angry with me?

CHRIST. When he heard your lumbering noise, he gave a wonderful innocent smile; I believe what you did pleased him well enough, for he showed no sign to the contrary.

Christ pleased with loud and restless praises.

If the soul at first did know all it should meet with in its journey to heaven, it would hardly ever set out.

But I marvel in my heart, why he keeps such a dog; had I known that before,[2] I fear I should not have had heart enough to have ventured myself in this manner. But now we are in, we are in; and I am glad with all my heart.[3]

MERCY. I will ask, if you please, next time he comes down, why he keeps such a filthy cur in his yard; I hope he will not take it amiss.

Aye, do, said the children, and persuade him to hang him; for we are afraid he will bite us when we go hence.

The children are afraid of the dog.

So at last he came down to them again, and Mercy fell to the ground on her face before him, and worshipped, and said, Let my Lord accept of the sacrifice of praise which I now offer unto him with the calves of my lips.

So he said unto her, 'Peace be to thee, stand up.' But she continued upon her face, and said, 'Righteous *art* thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee: yet let me talk with thee of *thy* judgments.'

Jer. xii. 1. Wherefore dost thou keep so cruel a dog in thy yard, at the sight of which, such women and children as we, are ready to fly from thy gate for fear?

Mercy expostulates about the dog.

He answered and said, That dog has another owner, he also is kept close in another man's ground, only my pilgrims hear his barking; he belongs to the castle which you see there at a distance, but can come up to the walls of this place. He has frighted many an honest pilgrim from worse to better, by the great voice of his roaring. Indeed, he that owneth him doth not keep him of any goodwill to me or mine, but with intent to keep the pilgrims from coming to me, and that they may be afraid to knock at this gate for entrance. Sometimes also he has broken out, and has worried some that I loved; but I take all at present patiently. I also give my pilgrims timely help, so they are not delivered up to his power, to do to them what his doggish nature would prompt him to. But what! my purchased one, I trow, hadst thou known never so much beforehand, thou wouldst not have been afraid of a dog.

Devil.

First Part, p. 96.

A check to the carnal fear of the pilgrims.

The beggars that go from door to door will, rather than they will lose a supposed alms, run the hazard of the bawling, barking, and biting, too, of a dog; and shall a dog—a dog in another man's yard, a dog whose barking I turn to the profit of pilgrims—keep any from coming to me? I deliver them from the lions, their darling from the power of the dog.[4]

MERCY. Then said Mercy, I confess my ignorance; I spake what I understood not; I acknowledge that thou dost all things well.

Christians, when wise enough, acquiesce in the wisdom of their Lord.

CHRIST. Then Christiana began to talk of their journey, and to inquire after the way. So he fed them, and washed their feet, and set them in the way of his steps, according as he had dealt with her husband before. So I saw in my dream, that they walked on in their way, and had the weather very comfortable to them.

First Part, p. 97.

Then Christiana began to sing, saying—

Bless'd be the day that I began
A pilgrim for to be;
And blessed also be that man
That thereto moved me.

[1] The express words of such invitations, exhortations, and promises, WRITTEN in the Bible, are more efficacious to encourage those who are ready to give up their hopes, than all the consolatory topics that can possibly be substituted in their place.—(Scott.)

[2] When a mariner enters upon a voyage, or a soldier on a campaign, they know not what hardships they may encounter, nor whether their lives may be sacrificed without attaining their object; but whatever hardships the Christian has to encounter, he will come off more than conqueror—he will reach the desired haven in safety—through him that loved us. Fear not—

'Though death and hell obstruct the way,
The meanest saint shall win the day.'—(ED.)

[3] Strive to enter in; a whole heaven and eternal life is wrapped up in this little word IN. Strive; this calls for the mind and heart. Many professors make their striving to stand rather in an outcry of words, than in a hearty labour against the lusts and love of the world, and their own corruptions. But this kind of striving is but a beating the air, and will come to nothing at last.—(Bunyan's *Strait Gate*, vol. i. p. 369.)

[4] Thus the dog of hell may be of service, not only in keeping the sheep close together, but in making them keep close to their Shepherd.—(J. B.)

'Tis true, 'twas long ere I began
To seek to live for ever:
But now I run fast as I can;
'Tis better late than never.

Our tears to joy, our fears to faith,
Are turned, as we see,
That our beginning, as one saith,
Shows what our end will be.

Now there was, on the other side of the wall that fenced in the way up which Christiana and her companions were to go, a garden, and that garden belonged to him whose was that barking dog of whom mention was made before. And some of the fruit-trees that grew in that garden shot their branches over the wall; and being mellow, they that found them did gather them up, and oft eat of them to their hurt. So Christiana's boys, as boys are apt to do, being pleased with the trees, and with the fruit that did hang thereon, did plash[1] them, and began to eat. Their mother did also chide them for so doing, but still the boys went on.[2]

The devil's garden.

The children eat of the enemy's fruit.

Well, said she, my sons, you transgress, for that fruit is none of ours; but she did not know that they did belong to the enemy; I will warrant you, if she had, she would have been ready to die for fear. But that passed, and they went on their way. Now, by that they were gone about two bow-shots from the place that let them into the way, they espied two very ill-favoured ones coming down apace to meet them.[3] With that, Christiana and Mercy, her friend, covered themselves with their veils, and so kept on their journey; the children also went on before; so that at last they met together. Then they that came down to meet them, came just up to the women, as if they would embrace them; but Christiana said, Stand back, or go peaceably by, as you should. Yet these two, as men that are deaf, regarded not Christiana's words, but began to lay hands upon them. At that Christiana, waxing very wroth, spurned at them with her feet. Mercy also, as well as she could, did what she could to shift them. Christiana again said to them, Stand back, and begone; for we have no money to lose, being pilgrims, as you see, and such, too, as live upon the charity of our friends.

Two ill-favoured ones.

They assault Christiana.

The pilgrims struggle with them.

Ill-favoured. Then said one of the two of the men, We make no assault upon you for money, but are come out to tell you, that if you will but grant one small request, which we shall ask, we will make women of you for ever.

Christ. Now Christiana, imagining what they should mean, made answer again, We will neither hear, nor regard, nor yield to what you shall ask. We are in haste, cannot stay; our business is a business of life and death. So, again, she and her companions made a fresh essay to go past them; but they letted them in their way.

Ill-fav. And they said, We intend no hurt to your lives; it is another thing we would have.

Christ. Ah, quoth Christiana, you would have us body and soul, for I know it is for that you are come; but we will die rather upon the spot, than suffer ourselves to be brought into such snares as shall hazard our well-being hereafter. And with that they both shrieked out, and cried, Murder! murder! and so put themselves under those laws that are provided for the protection of women. De. xxii. 23–27. But the men still made their approach upon them, with design to prevail against them. They, therefore, cried out again.[4]

She cries out.

Now, they being, as I said, not far from the gate in at which they came, their voice was heard from where they were, thither; wherefore some of the house came out, and knowing that it was Christiana's tongue, they made haste to her relief. But by that they were got within sight of them, the women

It is good to cry out when we are assaulted.

[1] 'Plash' was, in later editions, altered to 'pluck.' To plash, is to cut hedges or trees. The boys did plash, or had a cut at the trees, to knock the fruit off.—(Ed.)

[2] What is this garden but the world? What is the fruit they here found? 'The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life.' 1 Jn. ii. 16. Of this the boys ate. The mother chides them for taking that which did not belong to them, but she did not know that it grew in the devil's garden. Mark the consequence of their eating this fruit hereafter.—(Mason.) The terrifying suggestions of Satan [the dog's barking] give believers much present uneasiness, yet they often do them great good, and seldom eventually hurt them; but the allurements of those worldly objects which he throws in their way are far more dangerous and pernicious. Many of these are very attractive to *young persons;* but all parents who love the souls of their children should employ all their influence and authority to restrain them from those vain pleasures which 'war against the soul,' and are most dangerous when least suspected. This fruit may be found in the pilgrim's path, but it grows in Beelzebub's garden, and should be shunned as poison. Many diversions and pursuits, both in high and low life, are of this nature, though often pleaded for as *innocent,* by some persons who ought to know better.—(Scott.)

[3] What are these ill-favoured ones? Such as you will be sure to meet with in your pilgrimage; some vile lusts, or cursed corruptions, which are suited to your carnal nature. These will attack you, and strive to prevail against you. Mind how these pilgrims acted, and follow their example. If one was to fix names to these ill-favoured ones, they might be called Unbelief and Licentiousness, which aim to rob Christ's virgins of their chastity to him.—(Mason.)

[4] Here we see that the most violent temptation to the greatest evil is not sin, if resisted and not complied with. Our Lord himself was tempted in all things like as we are, yet without sin. Therefore, ye followers of him, do not be dejected and cast down, though you should be exercised with temptations to the blackest crimes, and the most heinous sins. You cannot be assaulted with worse than your Lord was. He was tempted, but he resisted Satan, and overcame all, in our nature. Cry to him; he is the Reliever who will come in the hour of distress.—(Mason.)

were in a very great scuffle, the children also stood crying by. Then did he that came in for their relief call out to the ruffians, saying, What is that thing that you do? Would you make my Lord's people to transgress? He also attempted to take them, but they did make their escape over the wall, into the garden of the man to whom the great dog belonged; so the dog became their protector. This Reliever then came up to the women, and asked them how they did. So they answered, We thank thy Prince, pretty well; only we have been somewhat affrighted; we thank thee also, for that thou camest in to our help, for otherwise we had been overcome.

The Reliever comes.

The ill ones fly to the devil for relief.

RELIEVER. So after a few more words, this Reliever said as followeth: I marvelled much when you were entertained at the gate above, being, [as] ye knew, that ye were but weak women, that you petitioned not the Lord there for a conductor; then might you have avoided these troubles and dangers, for he would have granted you one.[1]

The Reliever talks to the women.

CHRIST. Alas! said Christiana, we were so taken with our present blessing, that dangers to come were forgotten by us; besides, who could have thought, that so near the King's palace, there should have lurked such naughty ones? Indeed, it had been well for us, had we asked our Lord for one; but, since our Lord knew it would be for our profit, I wonder he sent not one along with us![2]

Mark this.

REL. It is not always necessary to grant things not asked for, lest, by so doing, they become of little esteem; but when the want of a thing is felt, it then comes under, in the eyes of him that feels it, that estimate that properly is its due, and so, consequently, will be thereafter used. Had my Lord granted you a conductor, you would not neither so have bewailed that oversight of yours, in not asking for one, as now you have occasion to do. So all things work for good, and tend to make you more wary.

We lose for want of asking for.

CHRIST. Shall we go back again to my Lord, and confess our folly, and ask one?

REL. Your confession of your folly I will present him with. To go back again you need not; for in all places where you shall come, you will find no want at all; for in every of my Lord's lodgings, which he has prepared for the reception of his pilgrims, there is sufficient to furnish them against all attempts whatsoever. But, as I said, 'He will be inquired of by them, to do it for them.' Ezc. xxxvi. 37. And it is a poor thing that is not worth asking for. When he had thus said, he went back to his place, and the Pilgrims went on their way.

MERCY. Then said Mercy, What a sudden blank is here! I made account we had now been past all danger, and that we should never see sorrow more.[3]

The mistake of Mercy.

CHRIST. Thy innocency, my sister, said Christiana to Mercy, may excuse thee much; but as for me, my fault is so much the greater, for that I saw this danger before I came out of the doors, and yet did not provide for it where provision might have been had. I am therefore much to be blamed.[4]

Christiana's guilt.

MERCY. Then said Mercy, How knew you this before you came from home? Pray open to me this riddle.

CHRIST. Why, I will tell you. Before I set foot out of doors, one night, as I lay in my bed, I had a dream about this; for, methought I saw two men, as like these as ever the world they could look, stand at my bed's feet, plotting how they might prevent my salvation. I will tell you their very words. They said (it was when I was in my troubles), What shall we do with this woman? for she cries out, waking and sleeping, for forgiveness. If she be suffered to go on as she begins, we shall lose her, as we have lost her husband. This, you know, might have made me take heed, and have provided when provision might have been had.

Christiana's dream repeated.

MERCY. Well, said Mercy, as by this neglect we have an occasion ministered unto us, to behold our own imperfections; so our Lord has taken occasion thereby, to make manifest the riches of his grace; for he, as we see, has followed us with unasked kindness, and has delivered us from their hands that were stronger than we, of his mere good pleasure.[5]

Mercy makes good use of their neglect of duty.

Thus, now when they had talked away a little more time, they drew nigh to a house which stood in the way, which house was built for the relief of pilgrims; as you will find more fully related in the

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[1] 'Ye have not, because ye ask not.' Ja. iv. 2.

[2] It is well to be taken with present blessings, to be joyful in them, and thankful for them; but it is wrong to forget our dangers, and grow secure.—(Mason.)

[3] When the soul is happy in the love of God, it is ready to conclude that dangers are past, that doubts and fears are entirely removed; but as long as we are in this world, we shall find the expediency of our Lord's exhortation—'Watch and pray.'—(J. B.)

[4] Here is a display of a truly Christian spirit, in that open and ingenuous confession of her fault, taking all the blame upon herself, and excusing Mercy. This is not natural to us, but the grace of Christ humbles the heart, and silences the tongue to self-justifying pleas. O for more of this precious grace!—(Mason.)

[5] Mark those phrases—'the riches of his grace,' and 'his mere good pleasure.' You cannot entertain too exalted ideas of these, nor speak too highly of them. Pilgrims should be known by their language as well as their walk. Those who talk highly of their own perfection, speak little, if at all, of the riches of God's grace, and the good pleasure of his will. Beware of the infection of pride and self-righteous leaven.—(Mason.)

First Part of these Records of the Pilgrim's Progress. So they drew on towards the house (the House of the Interpreter), and when they came to the door, they heard a great talk in the house. They then gave ear, and heard, as they thought, Christiana mentioned by name. For you must know that there went along, even before her, a talk of her and her children's going on pilgrimage. And this thing was the more pleasing to them, because they had heard that she was Christian's wife, that woman who was sometime ago so unwilling to hear of going on pilgrimage. Thus, therefore, they stood still, and heard the good people within commending her, who, they little thought, stood at the door. At last Christiana knocked, as she had done at the gate before. Now, when she had knocked, there came to the door a young damsel, named Innocent, and opened the door and looked, and behold two women were there.

Talk in the Interpreter's House about Christiana's going on pilgrimage.

She knocks at the door.

The door is opened to them by Innocent.

DAMSEL. Then said the damsel to them, With whom would you speak in this place?

CHRIST. Christiana answered, We understand that this is a privileged place for those that are become pilgrims, and we now at this door are such; wherefore we pray that we may be partakers of that for which we at this time are come; for the day, as thou seest, is very far spent, and we are loath to-night to go any further.

DAMSEL. Pray, what may I call your name, that I may tell it to my Lord within?

CHRIST. My name is Christiana; I was the wife of that pilgrim that some years ago did travel this way, and these be his four children. This maiden also is my companion, and is going on pilgrimage too.

INNOCENT. Then ran Innocent in (for that was her name) and said to those within, Can you think who is at the door? There is Christiana and her children, and her companion, all waiting for entertainment here. Then they leaped for joy, and went and told their master. So he came to the door, and looking upon her, he said, Art thou that Christiana whom Christian, the good man, left behind him, when he betook himself to a pilgrim's life?

Joy in the House of the Interpreter that Christiana is turned pilgrim.

CHRIST. I am that woman that was so hard-hearted, as to slight my husband's troubles, and that left him to go on in his journey alone, and these are his four children; but now I also am come, for I am convinced that no way is right but this.

INTER. Then is fulfilled that which also is written of the man that said to his son, 'Go, work to-day in my vineyard. He answered and said, I will not: but afterward he repented and went.' Mat. xxi. 29.

CHRIST. Then said Christiana, So be it, Amen. God make it a true saying upon me, and grant that I may be found at the last of him in peace, without spot, and blameless!

INTER. But why standest thou thus at the door? Come in, thou daughter of Abraham. We were talking of thee but now, for tidings have come to us before, how thou art become a pilgrim. Come, children, come in; come, maiden, come in. So he had them all into the house.[1]

So, when they were within, they were bidden sit down and rest them; the which when they had done, those that attended upon the Pilgrims in the house, came into the room to see them. And one smiled, and another smiled, and they all smiled, for joy that Christiana was become a pilgrim. They also looked upon the boys. They stroked them over the faces with the hand, in token of their kind reception of them. They also carried it lovingly to Mercy, and bid them all welcome into their Master's house.[2]

Old saints glad to see the young ones walk in God's ways.

After a while, because supper was not ready, the Interpreter took them into his significant rooms, and showed them what Christian, Christiana's husband, had seen some time before. Here, therefore, they saw the man in the cage, the man and his dream, the man that cut his way through his enemies, and the picture of the biggest of them all, together with the rest of those things that were then so profitable to Christian.

The Significant Rooms.

First Part, p. 98—102.

This done, and after these things had been somewhat digested by Christiana and her company, the Interpreter takes them apart again, and has them first into a room where was a man that could look no way but downwards, with a muck-rake in his hand. There stood also one over his head with a celestial crown in his hand, and proffered him that crown for his muck-rake; but the man did neither look up, nor regard, but raked to himself the straws, the small sticks, and dust of the floor.[3]

The man with the muck-rake expounded.

[1] The Holy Spirit, the Interpreter, who was promised by the Lord Jesus to be sent in his name, guides believers into all truth. 'And they shall be all taught of God.' Jn. vi. 45. Humble confession, and serious consecration of heart, are sacrifices acceptable, well-pleasing to God; and such simple-hearted pilgrims are received by the church with a hearty welcome. 'The Spirit and the bride say, Come; and let him that heareth say, Come.' Re. xxii. 17.—(ED.)

[2] Here is joy indeed, which strangers to the love of Christ intermeddle not with. Surely, this is the joy of heaven; and if thou hast this joy, thou hast the love that reigns in heaven. Glory to Jesus, I think I can truly say, I have this blessed evidence in my heart, that I know somewhat of this joy arising from seeing poor lost sinners converted to Jesus, so as to love him and follow him. O for a spread and increase of this spirit among Christians of all denominations!—(Mason.)

[3] The emblematical instruction at the Interpreter's house, in the former part, was so important and comprehensive, that

Then said Christiana, I persuade myself that I know somewhat the meaning of this; for this is a figure of a man of this world, is it not, good Sir?

INTER. Thou hast said the right, said he, and his muck-rake doth show his carnal mind. And whereas thou seest him rather give heed to rake up straws and sticks, and the dust of the floor, than to what He says that calls to him from above with the celestial crown in his hand, it is to show that heaven is but as a fable to some, and that things here are counted the only things substantial. Now, whereas, it was also showed thee, that the man could look no way but downwards, it is to let thee know that earthly things, when they are with power upon men's minds, quite carry their hearts away from God.[1]

Christiana's prayer against the muck-rake.

CHRIST. Then said Christiana, O deliver me from this muck-rake![2]

INTER. That prayer, said the Interpreter, has lain by till it is almost rusty. 'Give me not riches,' is scarce the prayer of one of ten thousand. Pr. xxx. 8. Straws, and sticks, and dust, with most, are the great things now looked after.[3]

With that Mercy and Christiana wept, and said, It is, alas! too true.[4]

When the Interpreter had shown them this, he has them into the very best room in the house; a very brave room it was. So he bid them look round about, and see if they could find anything profitable there. Then they looked round and round; for there was nothing there to be seen but a very great spider on the wall: and that they overlooked.

MERCY. Then said Mercy, Sir, I see nothing; but Christiana held her peace.

INTER. But, said the Interpreter, look again: and she therefore looked again, and said, Here is not anything but an ugly spider, who hangs by her hands upon the wall Then said he, Is there but one spider in all this spacious room? Then the water stood in Christiana's eyes, for she was a woman quick of apprehension; and she said, Yea, Lord, there is here more than one. Yea, and spiders whose venom is far more destructive than that which is in her. The Interpreter then looked pleasantly upon her, and said, Thou hast said the truth. This made Mercy blush, and the boys to cover their faces, for they all began now to understand the riddle.[5]

Of the Spider.

Talk about the Spider.

Then said the Interpreter again, 'The spider taketh hold with their hands (as you see), and is in kings' palaces.' Pr. xxx. 28. And wherefore is this recorded, but to show you, that how full of the venom of sin soever you be, yet you may, by the hand of faith, lay hold of, and dwell in the best room that belongs to the King's house above![6]

The Interpretation.

CHRIST. I thought, said Christiana, of something of this; but I could not imagine it all. I thought that we were like spiders, and that we looked like ugly creatures, in what fine room soever we were; but that by this spider, this venomous and ill-favoured creature, we were to learn how to act faith, that came not into my mind. And yet she has taken hold with her hands, as I see, and dwells in the best room in the house. God has made nothing in vain.

Then they seemed all to be glad; but the water stood in their eyes; yet they looked one upon another, and also bowed before the Interpreter.

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we are astonished at the striking additions here adduced. The first emblem is very plain; and so apposite, that it is wonderful any person should read it without lifting up a prayer to the Lord, and saying, 'O deliver me from this muck-rake!'—(Scott, altered by ED.) Awful thought! Straws, and sticks, and dust, preferred to Christ and salvation!

'If angels weep, it is at such a sight!'—(Burder.)

[1] Our Lord said, 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.' To be carnally-minded is death, but to be spiritually-minded is life and peace. If our treasure is in heaven, we need not envy those griping muck-worms who are cursed in their basket and in their store.—(J. B.)

[2] ——— The vulture of insatiate minds
Still wants, and wanting seeks, and seeking finds
New fuel to increase her rav'nous fire.
The grave is sooner cloy'd than men's desire.
—(Quarles' *Emblems.*)

[3] A full purse and a lean soul, is a sign of a great curse. O it is a sad grant, when the desire is only to make the belly big, the estate big, the name big; when even by this bigness the soul pines, is made to dwindle, to grow lean, and to look like an anatomy! Like a man in a dropsy, they desire this world, as he doth drink, till they desire themselves quite down to hell.—(Bunyan's *Desire of the Righteous*, vol. i. p. 767.)

[4] Reader, didst thou never shed a tear for thy base and disingenuous conduct towards thy Lord, in preferring the sticks and straws of this world to the unsearchable riches of Christ, and the salvation of thy immortal soul? O this is natural to us all! and though made wise unto salvation, yet this folly cleaves to our old nature still. Let the thought humble us, and make us weep before the Lord.—(Mason.)

[5] They knew the venom of sin which was in their fallen nature. This made them cover their faces with shame, and sink into deep humility of heart. Every true interpreter of God's Word—yea, the blessed Interpreter of God's heart, Jesus—will look pleasantly upon such who confess the truth; while he beholds the proud, self-righteous sinner afar off.—(Mason.)

[6] Faith apprehends, and then the soul dwells in the best room indeed, even in the very heart of God in Christ. The Lord increase our faith in this precious truth, that we may the more love and glorify the God of grace and truth! O let not our venom of sin deject us, while there is the blood of Christ to cleanse us! O for a stronger love to Christ, and greater hatred of sin! Both spring from believing.—(Mason.) The emblem of the spider is illustrated in Bunyan's invaluable treatise on the *Resurrection and Eternal Judgment*—'The spider will be a witness against man, for she layeth hold with her hands, and is in kings' palaces. It is man only that will not lay hold on the kingdom of heaven, as the spider doth bid him. Pr. xxx. 28.'—(Vol. ii. p. 111.)—(ED.)

——— Call me not ugly thing;
God, wisdom hath unto the pismire given,
And spiders may teach men the way to heaven.
(Bunyan's *Emblems.*)

He had them then into another room, where was a hen and chickens, and bid them observe a while. So one of the chickens went to the trough to drink, and every time she drank, she lift up her head, and her eyes towards heaven. See, said he, what this little chick doth, and learn of her to acknowledge whence your mercies come, by receiving them with looking up. Yet again, said he, observe and look; so they gave heed, and perceived that the hen did walk in a fourfold method towards her chickens. 1. She had a common call, and that she hath all day long. 2. She had a special call, and that she had but sometimes. 3. She had a brooding note. And 4. She had an outcry. Mat. xxiii. 37.

Of the Hen and Chickens.

Now, said he, compare this hen to your King, and these chickens to his obedient ones.[1] For, answerable to her, himself has his methods, which he walketh in towards his people; by his common call, he gives nothing; by his special call, he always has something to give; he has also a brooding voice, for them that are under his wing; and he has an outcry, to give the alarm when he seeth the enemy come.[2] I chose, my darlings, to lead you into the room where such things are, because you are women, and they are easy for you.[3]

CHRIST. And Sir, said Christiana, pray let us see some more. So he had them into the slaughter-house, where was a butcher killing of a sheep; and behold the sheep was quiet, and took her death patiently. Then said the Interpreter, You must learn of this sheep to suffer, and to put up wrongs without murmurings and complaints. Behold how quietly she taketh her death, and without objecting, she suffereth her skin to be pulled over her ears. Your King doth call you his sheep.

Of the Butcher and the Sheep.

After this he led them into his garden, where was great variety of flowers; and he said, Do you see all these? So Christiana said, Yes. Then said he again, Behold the flowers are diverse in stature, in quality, and colour, and smell, and virtue; and some are better than some; also where the gardener hath set them, there they stand, and quarrel not with one another.[4]

Of the Garden.

Again, he had them into his field, which he had sowed with wheat and corn; but when they beheld, the tops of all were cut off, only the straw remained; he said again, This ground was dunged, and ploughed, and sowed; but what shall we do with the crop? Then said Christiana, Burn some, and make muck of the rest. Then said the Interpreter again, Fruit, you see, is that thing you look for,[5] and for want of that you

Of the Field.

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[1] It is very humbling to human pride to be compared to chickens, as dependants on the fostering care of the hen, or as children relying upon a parent. In Bunyan's *Last Sermon*, are some striking allusions to the Christian's dependence upon his heavenly Father:—'It is natural for a child, if he wants shoes, to tell his father; if he wants bread, they go and tell him. So should the children of God do for spiritual bread —strength of grace—to resist Satan. When the devil tempts you, run home and tell your heavenly Father—pour out your complaints to God; this is natural to children. If any wrong them, they tell their father; so do those that are born of God, when they meet with temptations, they go and tell God of them.'—(Vol. ii. p. 757.)—(ED.)

[2] Common call, the invitations; brooding voice, the promises; outcry, the warnings of the gospel.—(Ivimey.)

[3] Observations and experience justify this excellent simile. God's common call is to all his creatures who live within the sound of his gospel. His special call is when he bestows the grace, peace, and pardon of the gospel of Christ upon his people. The brooding note is when he gathers them under his wings, warms their hearts with the comforts of his love, nourishes their souls with close fellowship with himself, and refreshes their spirits with the overflowings of joy in the Holy Ghost. 'In the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice,' says David. Ps. lxiii. 7. 'I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit *was* sweet to my taste.' Ca. ii. 3. O for more of these precious brooding notes, to be gathered under the wing of Immanuel! But be our frames and experiences what they may, still we are ever in danger; for our enemies surround us on every side, and our worst are within us. Therefore our Lord has an outcry; he gives the alarm, calls us, and warns us of danger. Why? That we should flee. O pilgrims, when dangers are near, run unto him! For 'the name of the Lord *is* a strong tower, the righteous runneth into it, and is safe.' Pr. xviii. 10.—(Mason.)

[4] The church is a garden enclosed, Christ is the gardener, his people are called God's husbandry. The difference in the plants and flowers shows the different effects of grace upon the heart. — (J. B.) When Christians stand every one in his place, and do their own work, then they are like the flowers in the garden, that stand and grow where the gardener hath planted them; and then they shall both honour the garden in which they are planted, and the gardener that hath so disposed of them. From the hyssop in the wall, to the cedar in Lebanon, their fruit is their glory.—Christians are like the several flowers in a garden, that have upon each of them the dew of heaven; which, being shaken with the wind, they let fall their dew at each others' roots, whereby they are jointly nourished, and become nourishers of one another. For Christians to commune savourly of God's matters one with another, it is as if they opened to each others' nostrils boxes of perfume. Saith Paul to the church at Rome, 'I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established; that is, that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me.' Ro. i. 11, 12. —(Bunyan's *Christian Behaviour*, vol. ii. pp. 550, 570.) I have observed, that as there are herbs and flowers in our gardens, so there are their counterfeits in the field; only they are distinguished from the other by the name of wild ones. There is faith and wild faith; and wild faith is presumption. I call it wild faith, because God never placed it in his garden —his church; it is only to be found in the field—the world. —(Bunyan's *Good News*, vol. i. p. 93.) We ought not to be contented with a situation among the noxious weeds of the desert; but if we be planted among the ornamental and fragrant flowers of the Lord's garden, we are honoured indeed. We should watch against envy and ambition, contempt of our brethren and contention. We ought to be satisfied in our places, doing 'nothing through strife or vain glory, or with murmurings and disputings;' but endeavour, in the meekness of wisdom, to diffuse a heavenly fragrance around us, and to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.—(Scott.)

[5] The husbandman is not repaid by the straw or chaff. So the sufferings of Christ, the preaching, promises, and ordinances of the gospel, were not intended to bring men to profess certain doctrines, or observe certain forms; but to render men fruitful in good works, by the influences of the Spirit of Christ. All profession will terminate in everlasting misery, which is

condemn it to the fire, and to be trodden under foot of men: beware that in this you condemn not yourselves.[1]

Of the Robin and the Spider.

Then, as they were coming in from abroad, they espied a little robin with a great spider in his mouth; so the Interpreter said, Look here. So they looked, and Mercy wondered; but Christiana said, What a disparagement is it to such a little pretty bird as the robin-redbreast is, he being also a bird above many, that loveth to maintain a kind of sociableness with man; I had thought they had lived upon crumbs of bread, or upon other such harmless matter; I like him worse than I did.

The Interpreter then replied, This robin is an emblem, very apt to set forth some professors by; for to sight, they are, as this robin, pretty of note, colour, and carriage. They seem also to have a very great love for professors that are sincere; and above all other, to desire to sociate with them, and to be in their company, as if they could live upon the good man's crumbs. They pretend also, that therefore it is that they frequent the house of the godly, and the appointments of the Lord; but, when they are by themselves, as the robin, they can catch and gobble up spiders, they can change their diet, drink iniquity, and swallow down sin like water.[2]

Pray, and you will get at that which yet lies unrevealed.

So, when they were come again into the house, because supper as yet was not ready, Christiana again desired that the Interpreter would either show or tell of some other things that are profitable.

Then the Interpreter began, and said, The fatter the sow is, the more she desires the mire; the fatter the ox is, the more gamesomely he goes to the slaughter; and the more healthy the lusty man is, the more prone he is unto evil.

There is a desire in women to go neat and fine, and it is a comely thing to be adorned with that that in God's sight is of great price.

It is easier watching a night or two, than to sit up a whole year together. So it is easier for one to begin to profess well, than to hold out as he should to the end.

Every shipmaster, when in a storm, will willingly cast that overboard that is of the smallest value in the vessel; but who will throw the best out first? None but he that feareth not God.

One leak will sink a ship; and one sin will destroy a sinner.

He that forgets his friend, is ungrateful unto him; but he that forgets his Saviour, is unmerciful to himself.

He that lives in sin, and looks for happiness hereafter, is like him that soweth cockle, and thinks to fill his barn with wheat or barley.

If a man would live well, let him fetch his last day to him, and make it always his company keeper.

Whispering, and change of thoughts, prove that sin is in the world.

If the world, which God sets light by, is counted a thing of that worth with men; what is heaven, which God commendeth?

If the life that is attended with so many troubles, is so loath to be let go by us, what is the life above?

Everybody will cry up the goodness of men; but who is there that is, as he should, affected with the goodness of God?

We seldom sit down to meat, but we eat and leave; so there is in Jesus Christ more merit and righteousness than the whole world has need of.[3]

Of the tree that is rotten at heart.

When the Interpreter had done, he takes them out into his garden again, and had them to a tree, whose inside was all rotten and gone, and yet it grew and had leaves. Then said Mercy, What means this? This tree, said he, whose outside is fair, and whose inside is rotten, it is to which many may be compared, that are in the garden of God; who with their mouths speak high in behalf of God, but indeed will do nothing for him; whose leaves are fair, but their heart good for nothing but to be tinder for the devil's tinder box.[4]

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not productive of this good fruit. 'True religion and undefiled' consists not in forms, creeds, and ceremonies, but is 'to visit and comfort the widows and the fatherless.'—(Scott.)

[1] This is a necessary caution. Paul says, 'Thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest; for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself, for thou that judgest doest the same things.' James has laid down an excellent rule of conduct—O that it were more attended to!—'So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty.' How inconsistent for a pardoned malefactor to insult even those who are under condemnation! If any man seemeth to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue from commending himself and condemning others, this man's religion is vain. He that judgeth his brother speaketh evil of the law, and judgeth the law.—(J. B.)

[2] A very striking emblem this, and most pertinently applied; and if your soul is sincere, it will cause a holy fear, create a godly jealousy, put you upon self-examining, and make you sigh out in some such words as David, 'Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me, and know my thoughts: and see if *there be any* wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.' Ps. cxxxix. 23, 24. O what will it avail in a dying hour, or in the judgment day, that we have worn the mark of profession, and seemed to man, what we were not in heart and reality of life before God! From all self-deceiving, good Lord, deliver us! for we are naturally prone to it.—(Mason.)

[3] This observation is grounded on the good old distinction, that the merit of Christ's obedience unto death is *sufficient for all who by faith apply for an interest in it*. Nothing but pride, the carnal mind, and enmity to God and religion, influence men to neglect so great salvation; and when the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit accompanies the Word, sinners are made willing to accept the proffered mercy, and encouraged by the invitations which before they sinfully slighted.—(Scott.)

[4] That is my very character, says many a doubting, broken-

Now supper was ready, the table spread, and all things set on the board; so they sat down and did eat, when one had given thanks. And the Interpreter did usually entertain those that lodged with him, with music at meals; so the minstrels played. There was also one that did sing, and a very fine voice he had. His song was this:

They are at Supper.

> The Lord is only my support,
> And he that doth me feed;
> How can I then want anything
> Whereof I stand in need?

When the song and music was ended,[1] the Interpreter asked Christiana what it was that at first did move her to betake herself to a Pilgrim's life. Christiana answered, First, The loss of my husband came into my mind, at which I was heartily grieved; but all that was but natural affection. Then, after that, came the troubles and pilgrimage of my husband into my mind, and also how like a churl I had carried it to him as to that. So guilt took hold of my mind, and would have drawn me into the pond; but that opportunely I had a dream of the well-being of my husband, and a letter sent me by the King of that country where my husband dwells, to come to him. The dream and the letter together so wrought upon my mind, that they forced me to this way.

Talk at Supper.

A repetition of Christiana's experience.

INTER. But met you with no opposition before you set out of doors?

CHRIST. Yes, a neighbour of mine, one Mrs. Timorous (she was akin to him that would have persuaded my husband to go back, for fear of the lions). She all to befooled me for, as she called it, my intended desperate adventure; she also urged what she could to dishearten me to it; the hardship and troubles that my husband met with in the way, but all this I got over pretty well.[2] But a dream that I had of two ill-looked ones, that I thought did plot how to make me miscarry in my journey, that hath troubled me much; yea, it still runs in my mind, and makes me afraid of every one that I meet, lest they should meet me to do me a mischief, and to turn me out of the way. Yea, I may tell my Lord, though I would not have everybody know it, that between this and the gate by which we got into the way, we were both so sorely assaulted that we were made to cry out, Murder! and the two that made this assault upon us were like the two that I saw in my dream.

Then said the Interpreter, Thy beginning is good, thy latter end shall greatly increase. So he addressed himself to Mercy, and said unto her, And what moved thee to come hither, sweet heart?

A question put to Mercy.

Then Mercy blushed and trembled, and for a while continued silent.

INTER. Then, said he, be not afraid, only believe, and speak thy mind.

MERCY. So she began, and said, Truly, Sir, my want of experience is that which makes me covet to be in silence, and that also that fills me with fears of coming short at last. I cannot tell of visions and dreams as my friend Christiana can; nor know I what it is to mourn for my refusing of the counsel of those that were good relations.[3]

Mercy's answer.

INTER. What was it then, dear heart, that hath prevailed with thee to do as thou hast done?

MERCY. Why, when our friend here was packing up to be gone from our town, I and another went accidentally to see her; so we knocked at the door and went in. When we were within, and seeing what she was doing, we asked what was her meaning. She said, she was sent for to go to her husband; and then she up and told us how she had seen him in a dream, dwelling in a curious place, among immortals, wearing a crown, playing

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hearted sinner. Well, thank God, says many a self-confident, whole-hearted Pharisee, it is far from being mine. We can only say this, he that knows most of his own superlatively deceitful and desperately wicked heart, suspects himself most, and exercises most godly jealousy over himself; while persons, who see least of themselves, are most self-confident and daring. Even Judas could as boldly ask, 'Master, is it I' who shall betray thee? as any of the rest of his disciples.—(Mason.)

[1] Mr. Ivimey supposes this to be intended by Mr. Bunyan to show his approbation of the practice of singing in public worship. It was then a custom which had been recently introduced, and was a subject of strong controversy. Soon after Bunyan's death, Benjamin Keach vindicated the practice, by proving that singing is an ordinance of Jesus Christ, in answer to Marlowe's *Discourse against Singing*. It must not be forgotten, that our pilgrim forefathers generally met in secret, and that singing would have exposed them to imminent peril of their lives. Now we have no such fear; we can unite heart and voice in the language of Dr. Watts—

> 'Lord, how delightful 'tis to see
> A whole assembly worship thee!
> At once they sing.'

That is, when singing men or women do not prevent the godly from uniting in this delightful part of Divine worship by introducing new tunes, to sing to the praise and glory of themselves. Let such as are guilty of this solemnly ask the question, Was the late Mr. Huntingdon right in estimating their piety at less than twopence per dozen?—(ED.)

[2] Ah, Mrs. Timorous, how many professed pilgrims hast thou befooled and turned back! How often does she attack and affright many real pilgrims! I am sure she has often made my poor heart ache with her ghastly looks and terrifying speeches. O may we ever say to her, in our Lord's words, 'Get thee behind me, Satan; thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.' Mat. xvi. 23.—(Mason.)

[3] A very simple and artless confession. The Lord works very differently upon his elect; but always to the same end, namely, to make us prize Christ, his salvation and his ways, and to abhor ourselves, the paths of sin, and to cast off all self-righteous hopes. If this is effected in thy heart, reader, no matter whether thou canst tell of visions and dreams, and talk high of experiences. Where the soul is rooted and grounded in the knowledge of Christ, and love to his ways, though there may be many fears, yet this is an indubitable proof of a real and sincere pilgrim.—(Mason.)

upon a harp, eating and drinking at his Prince's table, and singing praises to him for bringing him thither, &c. Now, methought, while she was telling these things unto us, my heart burned within me; and I said in my heart, If this be true, I will leave my father and my mother, and the land of my nativity, and will, if I may, go along with Christiana.

So I asked her further of the truth of these things, and if she would let me go with her; for I saw now that there was no dwelling, but with the danger of ruin, any longer in our town. But yet I came away with a heavy heart, not for that I was unwilling to come away, but for that so many of my relations were left behind.

And I am come, with all the desire of my heart, and will go, if I may, with Christiana, unto her husband, and his King.[1]

INTER. Thy setting out is good, for thou hast given credit to the truth.[2] Thou art a Ruth, who did, for the love she bare to Naomi, and to the Lord her God, leave father and mother, and the land of her nativity, to come out, and go with a people that she knew not heretofore. 'The Lord recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust.' Ru. ii. 12.

Now supper was ended, and preparation was made for bed; the women were laid singly alone, and the boys by themselves. Now when Mercy was in bed, she could not sleep for joy, for that now her doubts of missing at last, were removed further from her than ever they were before. So she lay blessing and praising God, who had had such favour for her.

They address themselves for bed.

Mercy's good night's rest.

In the morning they rose with the sun, and prepared themselves for their departure; but the Interpreter would have them tarry awhile, for, said he, you must orderly go from hence. Then, said he to the damsel that first opened unto them, Take them and have them into the garden to the bath, and there wash them, and make them clean from the soil which they have gathered by travelling. Then Innocent the damsel took them, and had them into the garden, and brought them to the bath; so she told them that there they must wash and be clean, for so her master would have the women to do that called at his house, as they were going on pilgrimage. They then went in and washed, yea, they and the boys and all; and they came out of that bath, not only sweet and clean, but also much enlivened and strengthened in their joints.[3] So when they came in, they looked fairer a deal than when they went out to the washing.[4]

The bath Sanctification.

They wash in it.

When they were returned out of the garden from the bath, the Interpreter took them, and looked upon them, and said unto them, Fair as the moon. Then he called for the seal, wherewith they used to be sealed that were washed in his bath. So the seal was brought, and he set his mark upon them, that they might be known in the places whither they were yet to go. Now the seal was the contents and sum of the passover which the children of Israel did eat when they came out from the land of Egypt, and the mark was set between their eyes.[5] This seal greatly added to their beauty, for it was an ornament to their faces. It also added to their

They are sealed.

[1] They who are acquainted with the manner in which persons are received into Congregational churches, by relating a verbal account of their experience, will recognize in this narrative a resemblance to that practice. Christiana, a grave matron, appears to have felt no difficulty in complying with the requisition; but Mercy, young and inexperienced, blushed and trembled, and for a while continued silent. Their profession being approved, the readiness of the church to receive them is expressed by the warmest wishes for their spiritual prosperity.—(Ivimey.)

[2] 'Thou hast given credit to the truth;' what is this but faith—the faith of the operation of God? But some may ask, What! is justifying, saving faith, nothing more than a belief of the truth? If so, the very devils believe; yea, more, they tremble also. True; but mind how Mercy's faith wrought by her works. She fled for refuge to the hope set before her in the gospel. She fled from sin, from the City of Destruction, to Christ for salvation. Though she had not the joy of faith, yet she followed on to know the Lord, walking in his ways, and hoping for comfort from the Lord in his due time. O! if thou hast a grain of this precious faith in thy heart, bless Jesus for it, and go on thy way rejoicing.—(Mason.)

[3] Mr. Ivimey considers that this bath in the garden refers to the baptism of the pilgrims by immersion, after having related their experience, as a publicly putting on of Christ. 'And now why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord.' Ac. xxii. 16. Innocent says *that* 'her master would have them do;' and they went out into the garden to the bath, and were much *enlivened* by it. Bunyan left it to the convert to act for himself as to water-baptism; all that he required, as a prerequisite to church-communion, was the new birth, or the baptism of the Holy Spirit. He calls this the 'bath of sanctification;' no Christian considers water-baptism a source of sanctification; it is only the outward sign. It must be left to the reader's candid judgment to decide whether baptism, upon a profession of faith, is here intended by *that that the master would have them do*.—(ED.)

[4] There is no travelling on pilgrimage without gathering soil. There are no pilgrims but daily need to have recourse to this bath of sanctification—the blood of Jesus, which cleanses from all sin. 1 Jn. i. 7. Christ is the fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness. Zec. xiii. 1. Christ is the soul's only bath. As all baths are for the purification of the body, such is this bath to our soul. But unless a bath be used, this cannot be effected; so, unless we have recourse to Christ, we cannot enjoy the purification of the soul; but the Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier, convinces us of sin, shows us our fresh-contracted spots and defilements, and leads us to the blood of the Lamb. O how does this enliven and strengthen our souls, by filling our conscience with joy and peace in believing!—(Mason.)

[5] Baptism and the Lord's Supper I receive and own as signs of the covenant of grace; the former as a sign of our engrafting into Christ, and the latter to show forth his death, as an emblem or type of the benefits purchased thereby to his church and people.—(Philip Henry, altered by ED.)

gravity, and made their countenances more like them of angels.[1] Ex. xiii. 8–10.

Then said the Interpreter again to the damsel that waited upon these women, Go into the vestry and fetch out garments for these people; so she went and fetched out white raiment, and laid down before him; so he commanded them to put it on. 'It was fine linen, white and clean.' When the women were thus adorned, they seemed to be a terror one to the other; for that they could not see that glory each one on herself, which they could see in each other. Now, therefore, they began to esteem each other better than themselves. 'For you are fairer than I am,' said one; and 'you are more comely than I am,' said another.[2] The children also stood amazed to see into what fashion they were brought.[3]

They are clothed.

True humility.

The Interpreter then called for a man-servant of his, one Great-heart, and bid him take sword, and helmet, and shield; and take these my daughters, said he, and conduct them to the house called Beautiful, at which place they will rest next.[4] So he took his weapons and went before them; and the Interpreter said, God speed. Those also that belonged to the family, sent them away with many a good wish. So they went on their way and sang—

This place has been our second stage;
Here we have heard and seen
Those good things that, from age to age,
To others hid have been.

The dunghill-raker, spider, hen,
The chicken, too, to me
Hath taught a lesson; let me then
Conformed to it be.

The butcher, garden, and the field,
The robin and his bait,
Also the rotten tree doth yield
Me argument of weight;

To move me for to watch and pray,
To strive to be sincere;
To take my cross up day by day,
And serve the Lord with fear.

Now I saw in my dream, that they went on, and Great-heart went before them: so they went and came to the place where Christian's burden fell off his back, and tumbled into a sepulchre. Here then they made a pause; and here also they blessed God. Now, said Christiana, it comes to my mind, what was said to us at the gate, to wit, that we should have pardon by word and deed; by word, that is, by the promise; by deed, to wit, in the way it was obtained. What the promise is, of that I know something; but what it is to have pardon by deed, or in the way that it was obtained, Mr. Great-heart, I suppose you know; wherefore, if you please, let us hear you discourse thereof.

GREAT-HEART. Pardon by the deed done, is pardon obtained by some one, for another that hath need thereof: not by the person pardoned, but in the way, saith another, in which I have obtained it. So then, to speak to the question more [at] large, the pardon that you and Mercy, and these boys have attained, was obtained by another, to wit, by him that let you in at the gate; and he hath obtained it in this double way. He has performed righteousness to cover you, and spilt blood to wash you in.[5]

A comment upon what was said at the Gate, or a discourse of our being justified by Christ.

CHRIST. But if he parts with his righteousness to us, what will he have for himself?

GREAT-HEART. He has more righteousness than you have need of, or than he needeth himself.

CHRIST. Pray make that appear.

GREAT-HEART. With all my heart; but first I must premise, that he of whom we are now about to speak is one that has not his fellow. He has two natures in one person, plain to be distinguished, impossible to be divided. Unto each of these natures a righteousness belongeth, and each righ-

[1] This means the sealing of the Spirit, whereby they were sealed unto the day of redemption. Ep. iv. 30. O this is blessed sealing! None know the comfort and joy of it but those who have experienced it. It confirms our faith, establishes our hope, and inflames our affections to God the Father for his everlasting love, to God the Son for his everlasting atonement and righteousness, and to God the Spirit for his enlightening mercy, regenerating grace, quickening, sanctifying, testifying, and assuring influences, whereby we know that we are the children of God; for 'the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God.' Ro. viii. 16. All the comfort of our souls lies in keeping this seal clear in our view. Therefore grieve not the Holy Spirit.—(Mason.)

[2] They who have put on this raiment are clothed with humility; they readily perceive the excellence of other believers, but can only discern their own in the glass of God's Word. At the same time, they become very observant of their own defects, and severe in animadverting on them, but proportionally candid to their brethren; and thus they learn the hard lesson of esteeming others better than themselves.—(Scott.)

[3] This is always the case when souls are clothed in the robe of Christ's righteousness. They are little, low, and mean in their own eyes, and they esteem each other better than themselves; whereas they who at all look to, or depend upon, their own righteousness for their clothing and justification before God, always look down with an air of supercilious contempt upon others who they think are not so righteous as themselves. Lord, hide self-righteous pride from my heart, and sink me into the depth of humility, that I may ever glory in thee, in whom I am perfectly righteous!—(Mason.) See also Ro. vi. 1–5, and Gal. iii. 27.—(Ivimey.)

[4] The conductor, named Great-heart, is a gospel minister under the direction of the Holy Spirit; courageous, armed with the sword of the Spirit, enjoying the hope of salvation, and defended by the shield of faith.—(Burder.)

[5] This is the comfort, joy, and glorying of a pilgrim's heart. Hath Jesus performed righteousness to cover us, and spilled blood to wash us? Have we the faith of this? O how ought we to love him, rejoice in him, and study to glorify him in every step of our pilgrimage!—(Mason.)

teousness is essential to that nature; so that one may as easily cause the nature to be extinct, as to separate its justice or righteousness from it. Of these righteousnesses, therefore, we are not made partakers, so as that they, or any of them, should be put upon us, that we might be made just, and live thereby. Besides these, there is a righteousness which this Person has, as these two natures are joined in one: and this is not the righteousness of the Godhead, as distinguished from the manhood; nor the righteousness of the manhood, as distinguished from the Godhead; but a righteousness which standeth in the union of both natures, and may properly be called, the righteousness that is essential to his being prepared of God to the capacity of the mediatory office, which he was to be intrusted with. If he parts with his first righteousness, he parts with his Godhead; if he parts with his second righteousness, he parts with the purity of his manhood; if he parts with this third, he parts with that perfection that capacitates him to the office of mediation. He has, therefore, another righteousness, which standeth in performance, or obedience, to a revealed will; and that is it that he puts upon sinners, and that by which their sins are covered. Wherefore he saith, 'As by one man's disobedience, many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous.'[1] Ro. v. 19.

CHRIST. But are the other righteousnesses of no use to us?

GREAT-HEART. Yes; for though they are essential to his natures and office, and so cannot be communicated unto another, yet it is by virtue of them, that the righteousness that justifies, is, for that purpose, efficacious. The righteousness of his Godhead gives virtue to his obedience; the righteousness of his manhood giveth capability to his obedience to justify; and the righteousness that standeth in the union of these two natures to his office, giveth authority to that righteousness to do the work for which it is ordained.

So then, here is a righteousness that Christ, as God, has no need of, for he is God without it; here is a righteousness that Christ, as man, has no need of to make him so, for he is perfect man without it; again, here is a righteousness that Christ, as God-man, has no need of, for he is perfectly so without it. Here, then, is a righteousness that Christ, as God, as man, as God-man, has no need of, with reference to himself, and therefore he can spare it; a justifying righteousness, that he for himself wanteth not, and therefore he giveth it away; hence it is called 'the gift of righteousness.' Ro. v. 17. This righteousness, since Christ Jesus the Lord has made himself under the law, must be given away; for the law doth not only bind him that is under it 'to do justly,' but to use charity. Wherefore he must, he ought, by the law, if he hath two coats, to give one to him that hath none. Now, our Lord, indeed, hath two coats, one for himself, and one to spare; wherefore he freely bestows one upon those that have none. And thus, Christiana, and Mercy, and the rest of you that are here, doth your pardon come by deed, or by the work of another man. Your Lord Christ is he that has worked, and has given away what he wrought for, to the next poor beggar he meets.[2]

But, again, in order to pardon by deed, there must something be paid to God as a price, as well as something prepared to cover us withal. Sin has delivered us up to the just curse of a righteous law; now, from this curse we must be justified by way of redemption, a price being paid for the harms we have done, Ro. iv. 24; and this is by the blood of your Lord, who came and stood in your place and stead, and died your death for your transgressions. Ga. iii. 13. Thus has he ransomed you from your transgressions by blood, and covered your polluted and deformed souls with righteousness. For the sake of which, God passeth by you, and will not hurt you, when he comes to judge the world.

CHRIST. This is brave. Now, I see there was something to be learned by our being pardoned by word and deed. Good Mercy, let us labour to keep this in

Christiana affected with this way of redemption.

[1] Here Bunyan gives a very clear and distinct account of that righteousness of Christ, as Mediator, which he wrought out by his perfect obedience to the law of God for all his seed. And by this righteousness, and no other, are they fully justified from all condemnation in the sight of God. Reader, study this point deeply, so as to be established in it. It is the essence of the gospel, enters into the life and joy of faith, brings relief to the conscience, and influence to the love of the Lord our Righteousness; and so brings forth the fruits of righteousness which are by him to the praise and glory of God, and administers Divine consolation in the hour of death.—(Mason.)

[2] Is there righteousness in Christ? That is mine, the believer may say. Did he bleed for sins? It was for mine. Hath he overcome the law, the devil, and hell? The victory is mine. And I do count this a most glorious life.—Sometimes (I bless the Lord) my soul hath this life not only imputed to me, but the glory of it upon my spirit. Upon a time, when I was under many condemnings of heart, and fearing I should miss glory, methought I felt such a secret motion as this—Thy righteousness is in heaven. The splendour and shining of the Spirit of grace upon my soul, gave me to see clearly that my righteousness, by which I should be justified, was the Son of God himself representing me before the mercy-seat in his own person; so that I saw clearly, that day and night, wherever I was, and whatever I was doing, there was my righteousness, just before the eyes of the Divine glory, and continually at the right hand of God. At another time, whilst musing, being afraid to die, these words came upon my soul, 'Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption which is in Christ.' This stayed my heart. And thus is the sinner made alive from the dead, by being justified through the righteousness of Christ, which is unto all and upon all them that believe.—(Bunyan's *Law and Grace*.)

mind; and my children, do you remember it also. But, Sir, was not this it that made my good Christian's burden fall from off his shoulder, and that made him give three leaps for joy?[1]

GREAT-HEART. Yes, it was the belief of this, that cut those strings, that could not be cut by other means; and it was to give him a proof of the virtue of this, that he was suffered to carry his burden to the cross.

How the strings that bound Christian's burden to him were cut.

CHRIST. I thought so; for though my heart was lightful and joyous before, yet it is ten times more lightsome and joyous now. And I am persuaded by what I have felt, though I have felt but little as yet, that if the most burdened man in the world was here, and did see and believe as I now do, it would make his heart the more merry and blithe.[2]

GREAT-HEART. There is not only comfort, and the ease of a burden brought to us, by the sight and consideration of these, but an endeared affection begot in us by it; for who can, if he doth but once think that pardon comes not only by promise, but thus, but be affected with the way and means of his redemption, and so, with the man that hath wrought it for him?

How affection to Christ is begot in the soul.

CHRIST. True; methinks it makes my heart bleed to think that he should bleed for me. O thou loving One! O thou blessed One! Thou deservest to have me; thou hast bought me; thou deservest to have me all; thou hast paid for me ten thousand times more than I am worth! No marvel that this made the water stand in my husband's eyes, and that it made him trudge so nimbly on; I am persuaded he wished me with him; but, vile wretch that I was, I let him come all alone. O Mercy, that thy father and mother were here; yea, and Mrs. Timorous also; nay, I wish now with all my heart, that here was Madam Wanton too. Surely, surely their hearts would be affected; nor could the fear of the one, nor the powerful lusts of the other, prevail with them to go home again, and to refuse to become good pilgrims.[3]

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Cause of admiration.

GREAT-HEART. You speak now in the warmth of your affections. Will it, think you, be always thus with you? Besides, this is not communicated to every one that did see your Jesus bleed. There were that stood by, and that saw the blood run from his heart to the ground, and yet were so far off this, that, instead of lamenting, they laughed at him; and, instead of becoming his disciples, did harden their hearts against him. So that all that you have, my daughters, you have by a peculiar impression made by a Divine contemplating upon what I have spoken to you. Remember that it was told you, that the hen, by her common call, gives no meat to her chickens. This you have, therefore, by a special grace.[4]

To be affected with Christ, and with what he has done, is a thing special.

Now, I saw still in my dream, that they went on until they were come to the place that Simple, and Sloth, and Presumption,[5] lay and slept in, when Christian went by on pilgrimage; and, behold, they were hanged up in irons a little way off on the other side.[6]

Simple, and Sloth, and Presumption hanged, and why.

MERCY. Then said Mercy to him that was their

[1] Sometimes I have been so loaden with my sins, that I could not tell where to rest, nor what to do; yea, at such times, I thought it would have taken away my senses; yet, at that time, God through grace hath all on a sudden so effectually applied the blood that was spilt at Mount Calvary out of the side of Jesus, unto my poor, wounded, guilty conscience, that presently I have found such a sweet, solid, sober, heart-comforting peace, that I have been in a strait to think that I should love and honour him no more. Sometimes my sins have appeared as big as all the sins of all the men in the nation—(reader, these things be not fancies, for I have smarted for this experience); but yet the least stream of the heart-blood of Jesus hath vanished all away, and I have been delivered up into sweet and heavenly peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.—(Bunyan's *Law and Grace*, vol. i. p. 549.)

[2] While the soul lives upon the sweet impressions which are made by the application of the promises, it may be said to live upon frames and feelings; for as its comforts abate, so will its confidence. The heart can never be established in grace, till the understanding is enlightened to discern what it is to have pardon by the deed done.'—(J. B.)

[3] O brave Christiana! See what it is to have one's heart inflamed with a sense of the love of Christ. Christiana thinks every one would naturally be affected as she was, if they were present; but she forgets that which she sees and feels is of special, peculiar, distinguishing grace.—(Mason.) Shall I have my sins and lose my soul? Would not heaven be better to me than my sins?—the company of God, Christ, saints, and angels, than the company of Cain, Judas, Balaam, with the devils, in the furnace of fire? Canst thou now that readest, or hearest these lines, turn thy back, and go on in thy sins?—(Bunyan's *Law and Grace*, vol. i. p. 575.) Reader, thus would Christiana plead with ungodly relatives and friends; and if thou art in such a case, wilt thou not listen to such a plea?—(ED.)

[4] Mind how tenderly Great-heart deals with warm-hearted Christiana. He does not attempt to throw cold water upon the fire of her affections, but gently insinuates, 1. The peculiar frame of the mind she speaks from; 2. Suggests that she must not always expect to be in such raptures; and, 3. Reminds her that her indulgences were of a peculiar nature, not common to all, but bestowed upon the faithful in Christ only; and that, therefore, amidst all her joyful feelings, she should know to whom she was indebted for them, and give all the glory to the God of all grace.—(Mason.)

[5] Simple, contented in gross ignorance; Sloth, an indolence which smothers all conviction; Presumption, carnal security which hardens against reproof.—(Andronicus.) These are the great opposers of vital religion. The end of these things is death.—(Burder.)

[6] It was a custom, to a late period, to hang up murderers in irons, until the body dropped to pieces; that such terrible examples might deter others from the like crimes; hence, under the old wood-cut illustrating this passage, is written—

'Behold here how the slothful are a signe,
Hung up, 'cause holy ways they did decline.'

—(ED.)

guide and conductor, What are those three men? and for what are they hanged there?

GREAT-HEART. These three men were men of very bad qualities. They had no mind to be pilgrims themselves, and whosoever they could they hindered. They were for sloth and folly themselves, and whoever they could persuade with, they made so too; and, withal, taught them to presume that they should do well at last. They were asleep when Christian went by; and now you go by, they are hanged.[1]

MERCY. But could they persuade any to be of their opinion?

GREAT-HEART. Yes; they turned several out of the way. There was Slow-pace that they persuaded to do as they. They also prevailed with one Short-wind, with one No-heart, with one Linger-after-lust, and with one Sleepy-head, and with a young woman, her name was Dull, to turn out of the way, and become as they. Besides, they brought up an ill report of your Lord, persuading others that he was a taskmaster. They also brought up an evil report of the good land, saying it was not half so good as some pretend it was. They also began to vilify his servants, and to count the very best of them meddlesome, troublesome, busybodies. Further, they could call the bread of God husks; the comforts of his children, fancies; the travel and labour of pilgrims, things to no purpose.[2]

Their crimes.

Who they prevailed upon to turn out of the way.

CHRIST. Nay, said Christiana, if they were such, they shall never be bewailed by me. They have but what they deserve; and I think it is well that they hang so near the highway, that others may see and take warning. But had it not been well if their crimes had been engraven on some plate of iron or brass, and left here, even where they did their mischiefs, for a caution to other bad men?

GREAT-HEART. So it is, as you well may perceive, if you will go a little to the wall.

MERCY. No, no; let them hang, and their names rot, and their crimes live for ever against them. I think it a high favour that they were hanged before we came hither; who knows else what they might have done to such poor women as we are? Then she turned it into a song, saying—

> Now then, you three, hang there, and be a sign
> To all that shall against the truth combine.
> And let him that comes after fear this end,
> If unto pilgrims he is not a friend.
> And thou, my soul, of all such men beware,
> That unto holiness opposers are.

Thus they went on, till they came at the foot of the Hill Difficulty,[3] where, again, their good friend, Mr. Great-heart, took an occasion to tell them of what happened there when Christian himself went by. So he had them first to the spring. Lo, said he, this is the spring that Christian drank of, before he went up this hill; and then it was clear and good, but now it is dirty with the feet of some that are not desirous that pilgrims here should quench their thirst. Eze. xxxiv. 18. Thereat Mercy said, And why so envious, trow? But, said their guide, it will do, if taken up, and put into a vessel that is sweet and good; for then the dirt will sink to the bottom, and the water come out by itself more clear.[4] Thus, therefore, Christiana and her companions were compelled to do. They took it up, and put it into an earthen pot, and so let it stand till the dirt was gone to the bottom, and then they drank thereof.[5]

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It is difficult getting of good doctrine in erroneous times.

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[1] God, as it were, gibbets some professors, and causes their names and characters to be publicly exhibited, as a terror to others, and as a warning to his own people.—(Mason.) The dreadful falls and awful deaths of some professors are to put others upon their guard against superficial, slothful, and presumptuous hopes. The real occasion of turning aside lies in the concealed lusts of the heart.—(Scott.)

[2] Let us consider the characters of these three professors: 1. Here is a Simple, a foolish credulous professor, ever learning, but never coming to the knowledge of the truth, so as to believe it, love it, and be established on it; hence liable to be carried away by every wind of doctrine. 2. Sloth, a quiet, easy professor, who never disturbs any one by his diligence in the Word of God, nor his zeal for the truths and glory of God. 3. Presumption, one who expects salvation in the end, without the means prescribed by God for attaining it. O beware of these three sorts of professors, for they turn many aside!—(Mason.)

[3] What is meant by the Hill Difficulty? Christiana has set out from Destruction, been received and encouraged at the wicket-gate, and directed on her journey. The path is comparatively easy, until she is about to put on a public profession, by joining a church. This is situated upon the summit of this hill of difficult ascent. Is it intended to represent *that* prayerful, watchful, personal investigation into Divine truth, which ought to precede church-fellowship? Nothing is more difficult to flesh and blood than to be compelled, upon pain of endless ruin, to think for ourselves on matters of religion. The formalist and hypocrite follow the persuasions of man, and take an easier path, and are lost. The fear of man causes some to abandon the ascent. Dr. Cheever has, in his *Hill Difficulty*, very happily described the energy that is needful to enable the pilgrim to make the ascent. He forcibly proves the utter impossibility of making the ascent by ceremonial observances, or while encumbered with worldly cares or pride in trinkets of gold and costly array. He reminds us of the solemn advice of Peter, "be ye built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifice acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." Every weight must be set aside, and salvation must be worked out with fear and trembling.—(ED.)

[4] The river of life is pure and clear as crystal. Is the doctrine offered to thee so? Or is it muddy, and mixed with the doctrines of men? Look, man, and see, if the foot of the worshippers of Baal be not there, and the water fouled thereby. What water is fouled is not the water of life, or at least not in its clearness. Wherefore, if thou findest it not right, go up higher towards the spring-head, for nearer the spring the more pure and clear is the water.—(Bunyan's *Water of Life*.)

[5] This represents to us that some preachers, as the prophet says, foul the water with their feet, Eze. xxxiv. 18; that is, though they preach somewhat about Christ, and salvation by him, yet they so clog, mire, and pollute the stream of free grace, with pre-requisites, terms, and conditions, that the poor

By-paths, though barred up, will not keep all from going in them.

Next, he showed them the two by-ways that were at the foot of the hill, where Formality and Hypocrisy lost themselves. And, said he, these are dangerous paths. Two were here cast away when Christian came by. And although, as you see, these ways are since stopped up with chains, posts, and a ditch, yet there are that will choose to adventure here, rather than take the pains to go up this hill.[1]

CHRIST. 'The way of transgressors *is* hard.' Pr. xiii. 15. It is a wonder that they can get into those ways without danger of breaking their necks.

GREAT-HEART. They will venture. Yea, if at any time any of the King's servants do happen to see them, and do call unto them, and tell them that they are in the wrong ways, and do bid them beware the danger, then they will railingly return them answer, and say, '*As for* the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee; but we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth,' &c. Je. xliv. 16, 17. Nay, if you look a little further, you shall see that these ways are made cautionary enough, not only by these posts, and ditch, and chain; but also by being hedged up, yet they will choose to go there.[2]

The reason why some do choose to go in by-ways.

CHRIST. They are idle; they love not to take pains; uphill way is unpleasant to them. So it is fulfilled unto them as it is written, 'The way of the slothful *man is* as an hedge of thorns.' Pr. xv. 19. Yea, they will rather choose to walk upon a snare, than to go up this hill, and the rest of this way to the city.

The hill puts the Pilgrims to it.

Then they set forward, and began to go up the hill, and up the hill they went; but before they got to the top, Christiana began to pant; and said, I dare say, this is a breathing hill. No marvel if they that love their ease more than their souls, choose to themselves a smoother way.[3] Then said Mercy, I must sit down; also the least of the children began to cry. Come, come, said Great-heart, sit not down here, for a little above is the Prince's arbour. Then took he the little boy by the hand, and led him up thereto.

They sit in the arbour.

'When they were come to the arbour, they were very willing to sit down, for they were all in a pelting heat. Then said Mercy, How sweet is rest to them that labour.[4] First Part, p. 105. Mat. xi. 28. And how good is the Prince of pilgrims, to provide such resting-places for them! Of this arbour I have heard much; but I never saw it before. But here let us beware of sleeping; for, as I have heard, for that it cost poor Christian dear.

The little boy's answer to the guide, and also to Mercy.

Then said Mr. Great-heart to the little ones, Come, my pretty boys, how do you do? What think you now of going on pilgrimage? Sir, said the least, I was almost beat out of heart? but I thank you for lending me a hand at my need.[5] And I remember now what my mother hath told me, namely, that the way to heaven is as up a ladder, and the way to hell is as down a hill. But I had rather go up the ladder to life, than down the hill to death.[6]

Which is hardest, up hill or down hill.

Then said Mercy, But the proverb is, To go down the hill is easy. But James said (for that was his name), The day is coming, when, in my opinion, going down hill will be the hardest of all. 'Tis a good boy, said his Master, thou hast given her a

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thirsty soul cannot drink the water, nor allay his thirst with it; but is forced to let it stand, till these gross dregs sink to the bottom. Yea, we ought to beware of drinking such filthy dregs; for they will certainly swell us up with the tympany of pride of our free will, human merit, and self-righteousness, which oppose the glory of Jesus, and comfort of our souls.—(Mason.)

[1] Although the cautions of Holy Writ are plain as posts and chains, and the warnings as a ditch, and the solemn threatenings of the New Testament against pharisaic formalism and hypocrisy are like a hedge, to prevent pilgrims wandering into paths that end in eternal misery, yet there are many who break through all these merciful restraints, and rush upon destruction.—(Ed.)

[2] Examine, which do you like best, self-soothing or soul-searching doctrine? Formalists and hypocrites love the former, and hate the latter. But the sincere and upright are discovered by desiring to have their hearts searched to the quick, and their ways tried to the utmost; and, therefore, with David will cry, 'Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me, and know my thoughts; and see if *there be any* wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.' Ps. cxxxix. 23, 24.—(Mason.)

[3] Heart-work is hard work; it is hard work to be stripped; it is hard work to deny self, take up your cross, and follow Jesus. It is hard work to fight the fight of faith; it is hard work against hope to believe in hope. A formalist and hypocrite will go, in outward things, as far as the real Christian; but touch him on the inward work, and he will start aside.—(J. B.)

[4] He who is a stranger to the hard work of self-denial, and how difficult it is to the flesh, knows not what this Hill Difficulty means; for the nearer to the arbour of Jesus' rest, the more difficulties in the way, but the sweeter it is when attained.—(Mason.)

[5] Regard not in thy pilgrimage how difficult the passage is, but whither it tends; not how delicate the journey is, but where it ends. If it be easy, suspect it; if hard, endure it. He that cannot excuse a bad way, accuseth his own sloth; and he that sticks in a bad passage, can never attain a good journey's end.—(Quarles' *Enchiridion*, cent. 3, ch. xxx.)

[6] There were stairs in the temple, and but one pair, and these winding. He that went up must turn with the stairs. This is a type of a twofold repentance; that by which we turn from nature to grace, and that by which we turn from the imperfections of a state of grace to glory. But this turning and turning still, displeases some much. They say it makes them giddy; but I say, Nothing like this to make a man steady. A straight stair is like the ladder that leads to the gallows. They are turning stairs that lead to the heavenly mansion. Stay not at their foot; but go up them, and up them, and up them, till you come to heaven.—(Bunyan's *Solomon's Temple*.)

right answer. Then Mercy smiled; but the little boy did blush.[1]

They refresh themselves.

CHRIST. Come, said Christiana, will you eat a bit, a little to sweeten your mouths, while you sit here to rest your legs? For I have here a piece of pomegranate, which Mr. Interpreter put in my hand, just when I came out of his doors. He gave me also a piece of a honeycomb, and a little bottle of spirits. I thought he gave you something, said Mercy, because he called you aside. Yes; so he did, said the other. But, said Christiana, it shall still be, as I said it should, when at first we came from home, thou shalt be a sharer in all the good that I have, because thou so willingly didst become my companion. Then she gave to them, and they did eat, both Mercy and the boys. And, said Christiana to Mr. Great-heart, Sir, will you do as we? But he answered, You are going on pilgrimage, and presently I shall return. Much good may what you have do to you. At home I eat the same every day. Now, when they had eaten and drank, and had chatted a little longer, their guide said to them. The day wears away, if you think good, let us prepare to be going. So they got up to go, and the little boys went before. But Christiana forgot to take her bottle of spirits with her; so she sent her little boy back to fetch it. Then said Mercy, I think this is a losing place. Here Christian lost his roll; and here Christiana left her bottle behind her. Sir, what is the cause of this? So their guide made answer, and said, The cause is sleep or forgetfulness. Some sleep when they should keep awake; and some forget when they should remember; and this is the very cause why, often at the resting-places, some pilgrims, in some things, come off losers. Pilgrims should watch, and remember what they have already received under their greatest enjoyments; but for want of doing so, ofttimes their rejoicing ends in tears, and their sunshine in a cloud.[2] Witness the story of Christian at this place.[3]

Christiana forgets her bottle of spirits.

Mark this.

First Part, pp. 105, 106.

When they were come to the place where Mistrust and Timorous met Christian to persuade him to go back for fear of the lions, they perceived as it were a stage, and before it, towards the road, a broad plate, with a copy of verses written thereon, and underneath, the reason of raising up of that stage in that place, rendered. The verses were these:—

Let him who sees this stage take heed
Unto his heart and tongue;
Lest if he do not, here he speed,
As some have long agone.

The words underneath the verses were, 'This stage was built to punish such upon, who through Timorousness or Mistrust, shall be afraid to go further on pilgrimage; also, on this stage, both Mistrust and Timorous were burned through the tongue with a hot iron, for endeavouring to hinder Christian in his journey.'[4]

Then said Mercy, This is much like to the saying of the Beloved, 'What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue? Sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.' Ps. cxx. 3—4.

So they went on, till they came within sight of the lions. Now Mr. Great-heart was a strong man, so he was not afraid of a lion; but yet when they were come up to the place where the lions were, the boys that went before were glad to cringe behind, for they were afraid of the lions; so they stepped back, and went behind. At this their guide smiled, and said, How now, my boys, do you love to go before, when no danger doth approach, and love to come behind so soon as the lions appear?

First Part p. 106.

An emblem of those that go on bravely, when there is no danger, but shrink when troubles come.

Now, as they went up, Mr. Great-heart drew his sword, with intent to make a way for the Pilgrims, in spite of the lions. Then there appeared one, that it seems, had taken upon him to back the lions; and he said to the Pilgrims' guide, What is the cause of your coming hither? Now the name of that man was Grim, or Bloody-man, because of his slaying of Pilgrims, and he was of the race of the giants.[5]

Of Grim the Giant, and of his backing the lions.

[1] When we are praised, a conscious blush should pervade us, well knowing how much we have to be ashamed of. But some have got such vain confidence in their own righteousness, merits, and perfection, that they have hereby got what the Scriptures call a whore's forehead, and refuse to be ashamed. Je. iii. 3. O cry to the Lord continually against spiritual pride, and for an humble heart, knowing thyself to be a poor sinner!—(Mason.)

[2] Eve looking first into those worthy privileges which God had given her, and dilating delightfully of them before the devil, she lost the dread of the command from off her heart, which Satan perceiving, now added to his former forged doubt a plain and flat denial—'Ye shall not surely die.' When people dally with the devil, and sit too near their outward advantages, they fall into temptation.—(Bunyan on *Genesis*, vol. ii. p. 429.)

[3] Reader, mind this well, remember it often, and it will do thee good. I am a witness against myself, of how much I have lost by indulging the flesh, and how much I have suffered by forgetfulness. But O what a gracious Lord do we serve! this is no excuse for our folly, but an aggravation of our faults; and ought to sink us lower in shame, and to excite us to greater care, diligence, and watchfulness; else we shall surely smart for our folly, if not in hell, yet in our consciences.—(Mason.)

[4] This may refer to the awful end of one of Bunyan's early friends, who became a notorious apostate—one John Child, whose sufferings were published with those of Spira. Child was so afraid of persecution, as to give up his profession; and then, overwhelmed by despair, he committed suicide. Or to such an one as the professor, in the Marian days, who recanted to save burning, but who was burnt to death by his house catching fire.—(Ivimey.)

[5] It is not very easy to determine the precise idea of the

GREAT-HEART. Then said the Pilgrims' guide, These women and children are going on pilgrimage; and this is the way they must go, and go it they shall, in spite of thee and the lions.[1]

GRIM. This is not their way, neither shall they go therein. I am come forth to withstand them, and to that end will back the lions.[2]

Now, to say truth, by reason of the fierceness of the lions, and of the grim carriage of him that did back them, this way had of late lain much unoccupied, and was almost all grown over with grass.

CHRIST. Then said Christiana, Though the highways have been unoccupied heretofore, and though the travellers have been made in time past to walk through by-paths, it must not be so now I am risen. Now 'I am risen a mother in Israel.' Ju. v. 6, 7.

GRIM. Then he swore by the lions, but it should; and therefore bid them turn aside, for they should not have passage there.

GREAT-HEART. But their guide made first his approach unto Grim, and laid so heavily at him with his sword, that he forced him to a retreat.[3]

GRIM. Then said he that attempted to back the lions, Will you slay me upon mine own ground?

GREAT-HEART. It is the King's highway that we are in, and in his way it is that thou hast placed thy lions; but these women and these children, though weak, shall hold on their way in spite of thy lions. And with that he gave him again a downright blow, and brought him upon his knees. With this blow he also broke his helmet, and with the next he cut off an arm. Then did the giant roar so hideously, that his voice frighted the women, and yet they were glad to see him lie sprawling upon the ground. Now the lions were chained, and so of themselves could do nothing.[4] Wherefore, when old Grim, that intended to back them, was dead, Mr. Great-heart said to the Pilgrims, Come now, and follow me, and no hurt shall happen to you from the lions. They therefore went on, but the women trembled as they passed by them; the boys also looked as if they would die, but they all got by without further hurt.[5]

A fight betwixt Grim and Great-heart.

The Victory.

They pass by the lions.

Now then they were within sight of the Porter's Lodge, and they soon came up unto it; but they made the more haste after this to go thither, because it is dangerous travelling there in the night. So when they were come to the gate, the guide knocked, and the Porter cried, Who is there? But as soon as the guide had said, It is I, he knew his voice, and came down (for the guide had oft

They come to the Porter's Lodge.

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author in each of the giants who assault the Pilgrims, and are slain by the conductor and his assistants. Some have supposed that unbelief is here meant, but Grim or Bloody-man seem not to be apposite names for this inward foe; nor can it be conceived, that unbelief should more violently assault those who are under the care of a valiant conductor, than it had done the solitary pilgrims. I apprehend, therefore, that this giant was intended for the emblem of certain active men who busied themselves in framing and executing persecuting statutes, which was done at the time when this was written, more violently than it had been before. Thus the temptation to fear man, which at all times assaults the believer when required to make an open profession of his faith, was exceedingly increased; and as heavy fines and severe penalties, in accession to reproach and contempt, deterred men from joining themselves in communion with dissenting churches, that way was almost unoccupied, and the travellers went through by-paths, according to the author's sentiments on the subject. But the preaching of the gospel, by which the ministers of Christ wielded the sword of the Spirit, overcame this enemy; for the example and exhortations of such courageous combatants animated even weak believers to overcome their fears, and to act according to their consciences, leaving the event to God. This seems to have been the author's meaning; and perhaps he also intended to encourage his brethren boldly to persevere in resisting such persecuting statutes, confidently expecting that they should prevail for the repeal of them; by which, as by the death of the giant, the pilgrims might be freed from additional terror, in acting consistently with their avowed principles.—(Scott.)

[1] This reminds us of the words of Mr. Godly-fear to Diabolus, when Captain Credence sent a petition to Immanuel for mercy:—'We are resolved to resist thee as long as a captain, a man, a sling, or a stone shall be found in Mansoul to throw at thee. Then said the Lord Mayor to Diabolus, O thou devouring tyrant, be it known to thee, we shall hearken to none of thy words!'—(Bunyan's *Holy War*.) Happy are the Godly-fears and Great-hearts who use such decided language to the enemy of souls.—(ED.)

[2] Sincere and earnest Christians, at this time, had a proverbial expression:—'It is better that the body should die to this world by the lions without, than that body and soul should die eternally by our lusts within.'—(ED.)

[3] O pilgrims, when dangers beset you, and fears arise in you, hear what the Lord speaks to you; and in the belief of his truth, quit yourselves manfully: 'Fight the good fight of faith,' ever remembering that 'you are more than conquerors through Christ who hath loved you!' Faith will exalt the love and power of Christ above the fear of every enemy.—(Mason.)

[4] O pilgrim, it is sweet to reflect that every lion-like foe is under the control of thy God, and cannot come one link of the chain nearer to thee than thy Lord will permit! Therefore, when fears and terrors beset thee, think of thy Lord's love to thee, his power engages to preserve thee, and his promises to comfort thee. For 'the Lord *is* nigh unto all them that call upon him.' Ps. cxlv. 18.—(Mason.)

[5] From the deeply interesting narrative of the experience of Mr. Fearing, it is plain that the lions and their backer, Giant Grim or Bloody-man, relates entirely to temporal troubles; most likely to those infamous penal statutes under which Dissenters so severely suffered. The uniting in church-fellowship was not only attended with the ordinary *difficulties*, but with danger from the lions—church and state; especially when backed by ferocious judges, such as Jefferies and others. Spiritual enemies—sin, death, and hell—were the only terrors under which Mr. Fearing suffered; temporal persecutions—'difficulties, lions, or Vanity Fair—he feared not at all.' The battle probably refers to the flimsy sophistry used in defence of persecution, as opposed to the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit, by which our Puritan heroes destroyed these anti-christian arguments.—(ED.) Now that the lions are removed, may we not fear that hypocrites will thrust themselves into our churches? It is easy, cheap, and almost fashionable, to be religious: this should promote solemn investigation.—(Andronicus.)

before that, come thither, as a conductor of pilgrims). When he was come down, he opened the gate, and seeing the guide standing just before it (for he saw not the women, for they were behind him), he said unto him, How now, Mr. Great-heart, what is your business here so late to-night? I have brought, said he, some pilgrims hither, where, by my Lord's commandment, they must lodge; I had been here some time ago, had I not been opposed by the giant that did use to back the lions; but I, after a long and tedious combat with him, have cut him off, and have brought the Pilgrims hither in safety.[1]

PORTER. Will you not go in, and stay till morning?

Great-heart attempts to go back.

GREAT-HEART. No, I will return to my Lord to-night.

CHRIST. Oh, Sir, I know not how to be willing you should leave us in our pilgrimage, you have been so faithful and so loving to us, you have fought so stoutly for us, you have been so hearty in counselling of us, that I shall never forget your favour towards us.

The Pilgrims implore his company still.

MERCY. Then said Mercy, O that we might have thy company to our journey's end! How can such poor women as we hold out in a way so full of troubles as this way is, without a friend and defender?

JAMES. Then said James, the youngest of the boys, Pray, Sir, be persuaded to go with us, and help us, because we are so weak, and the way so dangerous as it is.[2]

GREAT-HEART. I am at my Lord's commandment; if he shall allot me to be your guide quite through, I will willingly wait upon you. But here you failed at first; for, when he bid me come thus far with you, then you should have begged me of him to have gone quite through with you, and he would have granted your request. However, at present, I must withdraw; and so, good Christiana, Mercy, and my brave children, Adieu.

Help lost for want of asking for.

Then the Porter, Mr. Watchful, asked Christiana of her country, and of her kindred; and she said, I came from the City of Destruction; I am a widow woman, and my husband is dead; his name was Christian, the Pilgrim. How! said the Porter, was he your husband? Yes, said she, and these are his children; and this, pointing to Mercy, is one of my townswomen. Then the Porter rang his bell, as at such times he is wont, and there came to the door one of the damsels, whose name was Humblemind; and to her the Porter said, Go tell it within, that Christiana, the wife of Christian, and her children, are come hither on pilgrimage. She went in, therefore, and told it. But O what noise for gladness was there within, when the damsel did but drop that word out of her mouth!

First Part, p. 106.

Christiana makes herself known to the Porter; he tells it to a damsel.

Joy at the noise of the Pilgrims coming.

So they came with haste to the Porter, for Christiana stood still at the door. Then some of the most grave said unto her, Come in, Christiana, come in, thou wife of that good man; come in, thou blessed woman; come in, with all that are with thee. So she went in, and they followed her that were her children and her companions. Now when they were gone in, they were had into a very large room, where they were bidden to sit down; so they sat down, and the chief of the house was called to see and welcome the guests. Then they came in, and understanding who they were, did salute each other with a kiss, and said, Welcome, ye vessels of the grace of God; welcome to us your friends.[3]

Christians' love is kindled at the sight of one another.

Now, because it was somewhat late, and because the Pilgrims were weary with their journey, and also made faint with the sight of the fight, and of the terrible lions, therefore they desired, as soon as might be, to prepare to go to rest. Nay, said those of the family, refresh yourselves first with a morsel of meat; for they had prepared for them a lamb, with the accustomed sauce belonging thereto,[4] Ex. xii. 21, 28. Jn. i. 29; for the Porter had heard before of their coming, and had told it to them within. So when they had supped, and ended their prayer with a psalm, they desired they might go to rest. But let us, said Christiana, if we may be so bold as to choose, be in that chamber that was my husband's

First Part, p. 109.

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[1] How mindful is our Lord of us! How gracious is he to us! What blessed provision doth he make for us! If pilgrims are attacked by Giant Grim, and terrified with the sight of lions, they may be sure that it is only a prelude to some sweet enjoyment of their Lord's love, and that they are near to some asylum, some sanctuary of rest, peace, and comfort. Some bitter generally precedes the sweet, and makes the sweet the sweeter.—(Mason.)

[2] O it is hard work to part with Great-heart! How many blessings do we lose for want of asking! Great-heart is at the command of our Lord. O for more power to cry incessantly to the Lord for the presence of Great-heart, that we may go on more cheerfully and more joyfully in the ways of the Lord!—(Mason.)

[3] Here is a blessed mark of being vessels of the grace of God, when we delight in the sight of, salute, and welcome others in the way to Zion, and mutually have our hearts and affections drawn out to each other in love. O how sweet is the fellowship of pilgrims below! What must it be above? Infinitely above conception.—(Mason.)

[4] Reader, can you feed upon Christ by faith? Is the Lamb the nourishment of thy soul, and the portion of thy heart? Canst thou say, from blessed experience, 'His flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed?' Is it thy delight to think of him, hear of him, speak of him, abide in him, and live upon him? O bless him and praise him for his distinguishing mercy, this spiritual appetite! It is peculiar to his beloved ones only.—(Mason.)

when he was here; so they had them up thither, and they lay all in a room. When they were at rest, Christiana and Mercy entered into discourse about things that were convenient.

Christ's bosom is for all pilgrims.[1]

CHRIST. Little did I think once, that when my husband went on pilgrimage, I should ever have followed.

MERCY. And you as little thought of lying in his bed, and in his chamber to rest, as you do now.

CHRIST. And much less did I ever think of seeing his face with comfort, and of worshipping the Lord the King with him; and yet now I believe I shall.

MERCY. Hark! Don't you hear a noise?

CHRIST. Yes; it is, as I believe, a noise of music, for joy that we are here.[2]

MERCY. Wonderful! music in the house, music in the heart, and music also in heaven, for joy that we are here![3]

Music.

Thus they talked a while, and then betook themselves to sleep. So, in the morning, when they were awake, Christiana said to Mercy:

CHRIST. What was the matter that you did laugh in your sleep to-night? I suppose you was in a dream.

Mercy did laugh in her sleep.

MERCY. So I was, and a sweet dream it was; but are you sure I laughed?

CHRIST. Yes; you laughed heartily; but, prithee, Mercy, tell me thy dream.

MERCY. I was a-dreamed that I sat all alone in a solitary place, and was bemoaning of the hardness of my heart. Now, I had not sat there long, but methought many were gathered about me, to see me, and to hear what it was that I said. So they hearkened, and I went on bemoaning the hardness of my heart. At this, some of them laughed at me, some called me fool, and some began to thrust me about. With that, methought I looked up, and saw one coming with wings towards me. So he came directly to me, and said, Mercy, what aileth thee? Now, when he had heard me make my complaint, he said 'Peace be to thee.' He also wiped mine eyes with his handkerchief, and clad me in silver and gold. He put a chain about my neck, and ear-rings in mine ears, and a beautiful crown upon my head. Eze. xvi. 8-11. Then he took me by the hand, and said, Mercy, come after me. So he went up, and I followed, till we came at a golden gate. Then he knocked; and when they within had opened, the man went in, and I followed him up to a throne, upon which one sat, and he said to me, Welcome, daughter. The place looked bright and twinkling, like the stars, or rather like the sun; and I thought that I saw your husband there. So I awoke from my dream.[4] But did I laugh?

Mercy's dream.

What her dream was.

CHRIST. Laugh! aye, and well you might, to see yourself so well. For you must give me leave to tell you, that I believe it was a good dream; and that, as you have begun to find the first part true, so you shall find the second at last. 'God speaketh once, yea twice, *yet man* perceiveth it not. In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed.'[5] Job xxxiii. 14, 15. We need not, when a-bed, lie awake to talk with God. He can visit us while we sleep, and cause us then to hear his voice. Our heart ofttimes wakes when we sleep; and God can speak to that, either by words, by proverbs, by signs and similitudes, as well as if one was awake.[6]

MERCY. Well, I am glad of my dream; for I hope, ere long, to see it fulfilled, to the making me laugh again.[7]

Mercy glad of her dream.

CHRIST. I think it is now high time to rise, and to know what we must do.

MERCY. Pray, if they invite us to stay awhile, let us willingly accept of the proffer. I am the

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[1] Pray mind the above note, 'Christ's bosom is for all pilgrims.' [This is the room in which they all lay, and its name is *Peace*.—ED.] It is there the weary find rest, and the burdened soul ease. O for more reclinings of soul upon the precious bosom of our Lord! We can be truly happy nowhere else.—(Mason.)

[2] Immanuel also made a feast for them. He feasted them with food that grew not in the fields of Mansoul, nor in the whole kingdom of the Universe. It came from the Father's court. There was music also all the while at the table, and man did eat angels' food. I must not forget to tell you, that the musicians were the masters of the songs sung at the court of Shaddai.—(Bunyan's *Holy War*.)

[3] O what precious harmony is this! How joyful to be the subjects of it, and to join in it! The free, sovereign grace of God is the delightful theme, and glory to God in the highest the universal chorus. It is the wonder and joy of sinners on earth, and of angels in heaven.—(Mason.)

[4] Our author intimates that God sometimes communicates spiritual knowledge and heavenly joy by 'dreams and visions of the night.' The Holy One 'worketh all things after the counsel of his own will,' and employs what means he pleases to bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. The effect produced by dreams must be brought to this test. It is a good maxim, that what leads to God, must have come from God.—(Ivimey.)

[5] If Mercy was sweetly surprised with this dream, we are sure that nothing but the surprise of mercy can overcome the hardened sinner's heart, who, expecting the stroke of justice, instead of the executioner with a death-warrant, finds a messenger of peace, with a pardon free and full, revealing the grace, mercy, and love of God, through the redemption which there is in the love of God.—(J. B.)

[6] O how blessed are they who are watching and waiting continually to hear the small, still voice of the Spirit, speaking rest and peace to their souls by the blood of the Lamb! O how condescending is our Lord, thus to visit us, and converse with us in the way to his kingdom!—(Mason.) And how blessed is church fellowship when the members are governed by these heavenly principles, watchfulness, humility of mind, prudence, piety, and charity.—(ED.)

[7] The assurance that the dream should be accomplished, is grounded on the effects produced upon Mercy's heart; there is no danger of delusion, when so scriptural an encouragement is inferred even from a dream.—(Scott.)

willinger to stay awhile here, to grow better acquainted with these maids. Methinks Prudence, Piety, and Charity have very comely and sober countenances.[1]

CHRIST. We shall see what they will do. So when they were up and ready, they came down, and they asked one another of their rest, and if it was comfortable, or not.

MERCY. Very good, said Mercy; it was one of the best night's lodging that ever I had in my life.

They stay here some time.

Then said Prudence and Piety, If you will be persuaded to stay here awhile, you shall have what the house will afford.

CHAR. Aye, and that with a very good will, said Charity. So they consented and staid there about a month, or above, and became very profitable one to another. And because Prudence would see how Christiana had brought up her children, she asked leave of her to catechise them. So she gave her free consent.[2] Then she began at the youngest, whose name was James.

Prudence desires to catechise Christiana's children.

James catechised.

PRUDENCE. And she said, Come, James, canst thou tell me who made thee?

JAMES. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

PRUD. Good boy. And canst thou tell me who saves thee?

JAMES. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

PRUD. Good boy still. But how doth God the Father save thee?

JAMES. By his grace.

PRUD. How doth God the Son save thee?

JAMES. By his righteousness, death, and blood, and life.

PRUD. And how doth God the Holy Ghost save thee?

JAMES. By his illumination, by his renovation, and by his preservation.[3]

Then said Prudence to Christiana, You are to be commended for thus bringing up your children. I suppose I need not ask the rest these questions, since the youngest of them can answer them so well. I will therefore now apply myself to the next youngest.

Joseph catechised.

PRUD. Then she said, Come, Joseph (for his name was Joseph), will you let me catechise you?

JOSEPH. With all my heart.

PRUD. What is man?

JOSEPH. A reasonable creature, so made by God, as my brother said.

PRUD. What is supposed by this word 'saved?'

JOSEPH. That man, by sin, has brought himself into a state of captivity and misery.

PRUD. What is supposed by his being saved by the Trinity?

JOSEPH. That sin is so great and mighty a tyrant, that none can pull us out of its clutches, but God; and that God is so good and loving to man, as to pull him indeed out of this miserable state.

PRUD. What is God's design in saving of poor men?

JOSEPH. The glorifying of his name, of his grace, and justice, &c., and the everlasting happiness of his creature.

PRUD. Who are they that must be saved?

JOSEPH. Those that accept of his salvation.[4]

PRUD. Good boy, Joseph; thy mother has taught thee well, and thou hast hearkened to what she hath said unto thee.

Samuel catechised.

Then said Prudence to Samuel, who was the eldest but one,

PRUD. Come, Samuel, are you willing that I should catechise you also?

SAMUEL. Yes, forsooth, if you please.

PRUD. What is heaven?

SAM. A place and state most blessed, because God dwelleth there.

PRUD. What is hell?

SAM. A place and state most woeful, because it is the dwelling-place of sin, the devil, and death.

PRUD. Why wouldest thou go to heaven?

SAM. That I may see God, and serve him without weariness; that I may see Christ, and love him everlastingly; that I may have that fulness of the Holy Spirit in me that I can by no means here enjoy.

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[1] Can we wonder that the pilgrims longed to spend some time with such lovely companions? Reader, how is your inclination? Add to these 'Simplicity, Innocence, and Godly-sincerity; without which three graces thou wilt be a hypocrite, let thy notions, thy knowledge, thy profession, and commendations from others, be what they will.'—*(Holy Life*, vol. ii. p. 539.) Christian, in choosing thy companions, specially cleave to these six virgins, for they not only have very comely and sober countenances, but Christ dwells with them.—(ED.)

[2] When Christiana was admitted into the church, care was taken to inquire into the religious knowledge of her children. This is an important branch of ministerial and parental duty. The answers given by the children do their mother honour, and prove that she had not laboured in vain. Let every pious parent imitate her example, and hope for her success.—(Burder.)

[3] This is a very sensible mode of catechising the boys according to their ages and acquirements, with questions, exciting their attention to subjects of the gravest importance. Compare this with the custom of asking a child its name, and requiring it to narrate circumstances which took place in the time of unconscious babyhood; instead of impressing upon it the existence of God and the solemn realities of eternity. The Assembly's, Dr. Watts', and especially Bunyan's catechisms, are admirably adapted to assist a parent in these important and responsible exercises.—(ED.)

[4] The young pupil is not here taught to answer, all the elect, but practically 'those that accept of his salvation.' This is perfectly consistent with the other, while it instructs and encourages the learner without perplexing him. It is absurd to teach the hardest lessons to the youngest scholars in the school of Christ.—(Scott)

PRUD. A very good boy also, and one that has learned well.

Then she addressed herself to the eldest, whose name was Matthew; and she said to him, Come, Matthew, shall I also catechise you?

Matthew catechised.

MATTHEW. With a very good will.

PRUD. I ask, then, if there was ever anything that had a being antecedent to, or before God?

MATT. No; for God is eternal; nor is there anything excepting himself, that had a being until the beginning of the first day. 'For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is.'

PRUD. What do you think of the Bible?

MATT. It is the holy Word of God.

PRUD. Is there nothing written therein but what you understand?

MATT. Yes. A great deal.

PRUD. What do you do when you meet with such places therein that you do not understand?

MATT. I think God is wiser than I. I pray also that he will please to let me know all therein that he knows will be for my good.[1]

PRUD. How believe you, as touching the resurrection of the dead?

MATT. I believe they shall rise, the same that was buried; the same in nature, though not in corruption. And I believe this upon a double account: First, because God has promised it; secondly, because he is able to perform it.[2]

Then said Prudence to the boys, You must still hearken to your mother, for she can learn you more. You must also diligently give ear to what good talk you shall hear from others; for, for your sakes do they speak good things. Observe, also, and that with carefulness, what the heavens and the earth do teach you; but especially be much in the meditation of that Book that was the cause of your father's becoming a pilgrim. I, for my part, my children, will teach you what I can while you are here, and shall be glad if you will ask me questions that tend to godly edifying.

Prudence's conclusion upon the catechising of the boys.

Now, by that these Pilgrims had been at this place a week, Mercy had a visitor that pretended some goodwill unto her, and his name was Mr. Brisk, a man of some breeding, and that pretended to religion; but a man that stuck very close to the world. So he came once or twice, or more, to Mercy, and offered love unto her. Now Mercy was of a fair countenance, and therefore the more alluring.

Mercy has a sweetheart.

Her mind also was, to be always busying of herself in doing; for when she had nothing to do for herself, she would be making of hose and garments for others, and would bestow them upon them that had need.[3] And Mr. Brisk, not knowing where or how she disposed of what she made, seemed to be greatly taken, for that he found her never idle. I will warrant her a good housewife, quoth he to himself.[4]

Mercy's temper.

Mercy then revealed the business to the maidens that were of the house, and inquired of them concerning him, for they did know him better than she.[5] So they told her, that he was a very busy young man, and one that pretended to religion; but was, as they feared, a stranger to the power of that which was good.

Mercy inquires of the maids concerning Mr. Brisk.

Nay then, said Mercy, I will look no more on him; for I purpose never to have a clog to my soul.[6]

Prudence then replied that there needed no great matter of discouragement to be given to him, her continuing so as she had begun to do for the poor, would quickly cool his courage.

So the next time he comes, he finds her at her old work, a-making of things for the poor. Then said he, What! always at it? Yes, said she, either for myself or for others. And what canst thou earn a day? quoth he. I do these things, said she, 'that I may be rich in good works, laying up in

Talk betwixt Mercy and Mr. Brisk.

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[1] Though this is answered with the simplicity of a child; yet it is, and ever will be, the language of every father in Christ. Happy those whose spirits are cast into this humble, evangelical mould! O that this Spirit may accompany us in all our researches, in all our ways, and through all our days!—(Mason.) Our inability to discover the meaning of these passages should teach us humility, and submission to the decisions of our infallible instructor.—(Scott.)

[2] Here is the foundation of faith, and the triumph of hope, God's faithfulness to his promise, and his power to perform. Having these to look to, what should stagger our faith, or deject our hope? We may, we ought to smile at all carnal objections, and trample upon all corrupt reasonings.—(Mason.)

[3] This is an important lesson to young females, how they may profitably employ their time, adorn the gospel, and be useful. It is much better to imitate Dorcas, in making garments for the poor, than to waste time and money in frivolous amusements, or needless decorations; or in more elegant and fashionable accomplishments.—(Scott.)

[4] The character of Mr. Brisk is portrayed to the life in Bunyan's *Emblems*—

'Candles that do blink within the socket,
And saints whose eyes are always in their pocket,
Are much alike: such candles make us fumble;
And at such saints, good men and bad do stumble.'

[5] The character of Mercy is lovely throughout the pilgrimage; but in the important choice of a partner for life, she manifests great prudence and shrewdness; she asks the advice of those who knew Mr. Brisk, and whose names proved how capable they were to give it. And she acted upon their knowledge of his character. And when she discovered the utter selfishness of his disposition, she thankfully bid him, Good bye, sweet heart; and parts for life.—(ED.)

[6] Most blessed resolution! Ah, pilgrims, if ye were more wary, lest, by your choice and conduct, ye brought clogs to your souls, how many troubles would ye escape, and how much more happy would you be in your pilgrimage! It is for want of this wisdom and conduct, that many bring evil upon themselves.—Mason.

store a good foundation against the time to come, that I may lay hold on eternal life.' 1 Ti. vi. 17–19. Why, prithee, what dost thou with them? said he. Clothe the naked, said she. With that his countenance fell. So he forbore to come at her again; and when he was asked the reason why, he said, that Mercy was a pretty lass, but troubled with ill conditions.[1]

He forsakes her, and why.

When he had left her, Prudence said, Did I not tell thee, that Mr. Brisk would soon forsake thee? yea, he will raise up an ill report of thee; for, notwithstanding his pretence to religion, and his seeming love to Mercy, yet Mercy and he are of tempers so different, that I believe they will never come together.

Mercy in the practice of mercy rejected; while Mercy in the name of Mercy is liked.

Mercy. I might have had husbands afore now, though I spake not of it to any; but they were such as did not like my conditions, though never did any of them find fault with my person. So they and I could not agree.

Prud. Mercy in our days is little set by, any further than as to its name; the practice, which is set forth by thy conditions, there are but few that can abide.

Mercy. Well, said Mercy, if nobody will have me, I will die a maid, or my conditions shall be to me as a husband. For I cannot change my nature; and to have one that lies cross to me in this, that I purpose never to admit of as long as I live. I had a sister named Bountiful, that was married to one of these churls; but he and she could never agree; but because my sister was resolved to do as she had begun, that is, to show kindness to the poor, therefore her husband first cried her down at the cross, and then turned her out of his doors.[2]

Mercy's resolution.

How Mercy's sister was served by her husband.

Prud. And yet he was a professor, I warrant you.

Mercy. Yes, such a one as he was, and of such as he, the world is now full; but I am for none of them all.

Now Matthew, the eldest son of Christiana, fell sick, and his sickness was sore upon him, for he was much pained in his bowels, so that he was with it, at times, pulled as it were both ends together.[3] There dwelt also not far from thence, one Mr. Skill, an ancient and well approved physician. So Christiana desired it, and they sent for him, and he came. When he was entered the room, and had a little observed the boy, he concluded that he was sick of the gripes. Then he said to his mother, What diet has Matthew of late fed upon? Diet, said Christiana, nothing but that which is wholesome. The physician answered, This boy has been tampering with something that lies in his maw undigested, and that will not away without means. And I tell you, he must be purged, or else he will die.

Matthew falls sick.

Gripes of conscience.

The physician's judgment.

Sam. Then said Samuel, Mother, mother, what was that which my brother did gather up and eat, so soon as we were come from the gate that is at the head of this way? You know that there was an orchard on the left hand, on the other side of the wall, and some of the trees hung over the wall, and my brother did plash and did eat.

Samuel puts his mother in mind of the fruit his brother did eat.

Christ. True, my child, said Christiana, he did take thereof, and did eat; naughty boy as he was, I did chide him, and yet he would eat thereof.[4]

Skill. I knew he had eaten something that was not wholesome food; and that food, to wit, that fruit, is even the most hurtful of all. It is the fruit of Beelzebub's orchard. I do marvel that none did warn you of it; many have died thereof.

Christ. Then Christiana began to cry; and she said, O naughty boy! and O careless mother! What shall I do for my son![5]

Skill. Come, do not be too much dejected; the boy may do well again, but he must purge and vomit.

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[1] How easily are the best of characters traduced, and false constructions put upon the best of actions! Reader, is this your lot also? Mind your duty. Look to your Lord. Persevere in his works and ways; and leave your character with him, to whom you can trust your soul. 'For if God be for us, who shall be against us? what shall harm us, if we be followers of that which is good?'—(Mason.)

[2] Crying at the cross, and turning a wife out of doors, refers to a vulgar error, which had its influence to a late period in Bedfordshire. It was a speedy mode of divorce, similar to that practised in London, by leading a wife by a halter to Smithfield, and selling her. The crying at the market cross that a man would not be answerable for the debts that might be incurred by his wife, was the mode of advertising, which was supposed to absolve a husband from maintaining his wife; a notion now fully exploded.—(Ed.)

[3] See the effects of sin. It will pinch and gripe the conscience, and make the heart of a gracious soul sick.—(Mason.) Matthew, in being admitted a member of the church, represented by the house Beautiful and its happy family, had to relate his experience, and this brought to his recollection plashing the trees, and eating the enemy's fruit, of which his brother also reminds them.—(Ed.)

[4] How often do we suffer by neglecting the cautions of a pious parent or friend. 'In time of temptation it is our duty to keep close to the word, then we have Satan at the end of the staff. When Eve was tempted, she went to the outside of her liberty, and sat herself on the brink of danger, when she said, we may eat of all but one.'—(Bunyan on *Genesis*, vol. ii. p. 429.) Christiana had chided the boys: 'You transgress, for that fruit is none of ours.' Still the boys went on, and now Matthew feels the bitterness of repentance.—(Ed.)

[5] Although the mother did warn and chide her son, yet she did not use her authority to prevent his taking the fruit which belonged to another. She takes the fault home, falls under the sense of it, and is grieved for it. A tender conscience is a blessed sign of a gracious heart. Ye parents, who know the love of Christ, watch over your children; see to it, lest you smart for your sins, in not warning and preventing them, that 'the fear of the Lord is to depart from all evil;' yea, to abstain from the very appearance of it.—(Mason, altered by Ed.)

CHRIST. Pray, Sir, try the utmost of your skill with him, whatever it costs.

SKILL. Nay, I hope I shall be reasonable. So he made him a purge, but it was too weak; it was said, it was made of the blood of a goat, the ashes of a heifer, and with some of the juice of hyssop, &c. He. x. 1–4. When Mr. Skill had seen that that purge was too weak, he made him one to the purpose; it was made *ex carne et sanguine Christi*.[1] Jn. vi. 54–57. He. ix. 14. (You know physicians give strange medicines to their patients.) And it was made up into pills, with a promise or two, and a proportionable quantity of salt. Mar. ix. 49. Now he was to take them three at a time fasting, in half a quarter of a pint of the tears of repentance. When this potion was prepared, and brought to the boy, he was loath to take it, though torn with the gripes, as if he should be pulled in pieces. Come, come, said the physician, you must take it. It goes against my stomach, said the boy. Zec. xii. 10. I must have you take it, said his mother. I shall vomit it up again, said the boy. Pray, Sir, said Christiana to Mr. Skill, how does it taste? It has no ill taste, said the doctor; and with that she touched one of the pills with the tip of her tongue. Oh, Matthew, said she, this potion is sweeter than honey. If thou lovest thy mother, if thou lovest thy brothers, if thou lovest Mercy, if thou lovest thy life, take it. So with much ado, after a short prayer for the blessing of God upon it, he took it, and it wrought kindly with him. It caused him to purge, it caused him to sleep, and rest quietly; it put him into a fine heat and breathing sweat, and did quite rid him of his gripes.[2] So in little time he got up, and walked about with a staff, and would go from room to room, and talk with Prudence, Piety, and Charity, of his distemper, and how he was healed.[3]

Potion prepared.

The Latin I borrow.

The boy loath to take the physic.

The mother tastes it, and persuades him.

A word of God in the hand of his faith.

So when the boy was healed, Christiana asked Mr. Skill, saying, Sir, what will content you for your pains and care to, and of my child? And he said, You must pay the Master of the College of Physicians, according to rules made in that case and provided. He. xiii. 11–16.

CHRIST. But, Sir, said she, what is this pill good for else?

SKILL. It is an universal pill; it is good against all the diseases that Pilgrims are incident to; and when it is well prepared, it will keep good, time out of mind.

This pill an universal remedy.

CHRIST. Pray, Sir, make me up twelve boxes of them; for if I can get these, I will never take other physic.[4]

SKILL. These pills are good to prevent diseases, as well as to cure when one is sick. Yea, I dare say it, and stand to it, that if a man will but use this physic as he should, it will make him live for ever. Jn. vi. 50. But, good Christiana, thou must give these pills no other way but as I have prescribed; for, if you do, they will do no good.[5] So he gave unto Christiana physic for herself, and her boys, and for Mercy; and bid Matthew take heed how he eat any more green plums, and kissed them, and went his way.

In a glass of the tears of repentance.

It was told you before, that Prudence bid the boys, that if at any time they would, they should ask her some questions that might be profitable, and she would say something to them.

MATT. Then Matthew, who had been sick, asked her, Why, for the most part, physic should be bitter to our palates?

Of physic.

PRUD. To show how unwelcome the Word of God, and the effects thereof, are to a carnal heart.

MATT. Why does physic, if it does good, purge, and cause that we vomit?

Of the effects of physic.

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[1] Mr. Bunyan's great modesty and humility are truly admirable; he quotes Latin, but is careful to tell us, 'The Latin I borrow.' The English is, 'Of the flesh and of the blood of Christ.' This is the only portion for sin-sick souls. Feeding upon Christ's flesh and blood by faith, keeps us from sinning, and when sick of sin, these, and nothing but these, can heal and restore us. Yet there is in our nature an unaccountable reluctance to receive these, through the unbelief which works in us! So Matthew found it.—(Mason.)

[2] See the blessed effects of receiving Christ, when under the sense of sin, and distressed for sin. O what a precious Saviour is Jesus! What efficacy is there in his flesh and blood, to purge the conscience from guilt! Lord, what a mercy is it, that though we sin, yet thou art abundant to pardon, yea, multipliest thy pardons; yea, and also giveth poor, pained, broken-hearted sinners to know and feel thy pardoning love!—(Mason.)

[3] How correctly are the effects of an indulgence in sinful lusts described. Sin and sorrow are inseparable. The burdened conscience of a backslider can be relieved in no other way, than that in which it was first 'purged from dead works,' by exercising faith in the atoning blood of the Lord Jesus as the only sacrifice for sin, 'If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness.' Ga. vi. 1. 'Flee youthful lusts,' and be upon your guard against the fruit of Beelzebub's orchard.—(Ivimey.)

[4] The relation of Matthew's sickness, and the method of his cure, may be justly esteemed among the finest passages of this work. He ate the fruit of Beelzebub's orchard, sin, the disease of the soul, threatening eternal death. It is an unspeakable mercy to be exceedingly pained with it. Such need the physician, and the remedy is at hand.

> Nothing but thy blood, O Jesus!
> Can relieve us from our smart;
> Nothing else from guilt release us
> Nothing else can melt the heart.—(Hart.)

It is the universal medicine; blessed are those that will never take any other physic.—(Burder.)

[5] This advice should be carefully noted. Numbers abuse the doctrine of free salvation by the merits and redemption of Christ, and presume on forgiveness, when they are destitute of genuine repentance, and give no evidence of sanctification. But this most efficacious medicine in that case will do no good; or rather, the perverse abuse of it will increase their guilt, and tend to harden their hearts in sin.—(Scott.)

PRUD. To show that the Word, when it works effectually, cleanseth the heart and mind. For look, what the one doth to the body, the other doth to the soul.[1]

Of fire, and of the sun.

MATT. What should we learn by seeing the flame of our fire go upwards? and by seeing the beams and sweet influences of the sun strike downwards?

PRUD. By the going up of the fire we are taught to ascend to heaven, by fervent and hot desires. And by the sun's sending his heat, beams, and sweet influences downwards, we are taught that the Saviour of the world, though high, reacheth down with his grace and love to us below.

Of the clouds.

MATT. Where have the clouds their water?

PRUD. Out of the sea.

MATT. What may we learn from that?

PRUD. That ministers should fetch their doctrine from God.

MATT. Why do they empty themselves upon the earth?

PRUD. To show that ministers should give out what they know of God to the world.

Of the rainbow.

MATT. Why is the rainbow caused by the sun?

PRUD. To show that the covenant of God's grace is confirmed to us in Christ.

MATT. Why do the springs come from the sea to us, through the earth?

PRUD. To show that the grace of God comes to us through the body of Christ.

Of the springs.

MATT. Why do some of the springs rise out of the tops of high hills?

PRUD. To show that the spirit of grace shall spring up in some that are great and mighty, as well as in many that are poor and low.

Of the candle.

MATT. Why doth the fire fasten upon the candlewick?

PRUD. To show, that unless grace doth kindle upon the heart there will be no true light of life in us.

MATT. Why is the wick and tallow, and all, spent to maintain the light of the candle?

PRUD. To show that body and soul, and all, should be at the service of, and spend themselves to maintain, in good condition, that grace of God that is in us.

Of the pelican.

MATT. Why doth the pelican pierce her own breast with her bill?

PRUD. To nourish her young ones with her blood, and thereby to show that Christ the blessed so loveth his young, his people, as to save them from death by his blood.

Of the cock.

MATT. What may one learn by hearing the cock crow?

PRUD. Learn to remember Peter's sin, and Peter's repentance. The cock's crowing shows also that day is coming on; let then the crowing of the cock put thee in mind of that last and terrible day of judgment.[2]

Now, about this time their month was out; wherefore they signified to those of the house that it was convenient for them to up and be going. Then said Joseph to his mother, It is convenient that you forget not to send to the house of Mr. Interpreter, to pray him to grant that Mr. Great-heart should be sent unto us, that he may be our conductor the rest of our way. Good boy, said she, I had almost forgot. So she drew up a petition,[3] and prayed Mr. Watchful, the Porter, to send it by some fit man, to her good friend Mr. Interpreter; who, when it was come, and he had seen the contents of the petition, said to the messenger, Go tell them that I will send him.

The weak may sometimes call the strong to prayers.

When the family, where Christiana was, saw that they had a purpose to go forward, they called the whole house together, to give thanks to their King for sending of them such profitable guests as these. Which done, they said to Christiana, And shall we not show thee something, according as our custom is to do to pilgrims, on which thou mayest meditate when thou art upon the way? So they took Christiana, her children, and Mercy, into the closet, and showed them one of the apples that Eve did eat of, and that she also did give to her husband, and that for the eating of which they both were turned out of Paradise; and asked her what she thought that was? Then Christiana said, It is food or poison, I know not which.[4] So they opened the

They provide to begone on their way.

Eve's apple.

A sight of sin is amazing.

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[1] Bunyan's bill of his Master's water of life:—'As men, in their bills, do give an account of the persons cured, and the diseases removed, so could I give you account of numberless numbers that have not only been made to live, but to live for ever, by drinking this pure water of life. No disease comes amiss to it. It cures blindness, deafness, dumbness, deadness. This right holy water (all other is counterfeit) will drive away evil spirits. It will make you have a white soul, and that is better than a white skin.'—(Bunyan's *Water of Life*.) Whoever offers to purify the heart, and heal a wounded conscience, by any other means, is a deceiver and a soul-destroyer.—(ED.)

[2] This conversation is adapted for the meditation of a restored backslider. Evangelical truth prescribes the most powerful antidotes to presumption and despair:—'My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.' 1 Jn. ii. 1.—(Ivimey.)

[3] Having experienced the great advantage of a pious minister or elder, they were naturally desirous of having such comfort through their pilgrimage. The petition may refer to the custom, among dissenting churches, of letters of dismission given to members when they move to a distant locality. —(ED.)

[4] How much is contained in that answer of Christiana as to the origin of evil—'It is food or poison, I know not which!' To believers, it will be their elevation to a degree of bliss that

matter to her, and she held up her hands and wondered.[1] Ge. iii. 6. Ro. vii. 24.

Then they had her to a place, and showed her Jacob's ladder. Now at that time there was some angels ascending upon it. So Christiana looked, and looked, to see the angels go up; and so did the rest of the company. Then they were going into another place, to show them something else; but James said to his mother, Pray, bid them stay here a little longer, for this is a curious sight.[2] So they turned again, and stood feeding their eyes with this so pleasant a prospect. Ge. xxviii. 12. Jn. i. 51. After this, they had them into a place where did hang up a golden anchor, so they bid Christiana take it down; for, said they, you shall have it with you, for it is of absolute necessity that you should, that you may lay hold of that within the veil, and stand steadfast, in case you should meet with turbulent weather; so they were glad thereof.[3] He. vi. 19. Then they took them, and had them to the mount upon which Abraham our father had offered up Isaac his son, and showed them the altar, the wood, the fire, and the knife, for they remain to be seen to this very day. Ge. xxii. 9. When they had seen it, they held up their hands and blessed themselves, and said, O what a man for love to his Master, and for denial to himself, was Abraham! After they had showed them all these things, Prudence took them into the dining-room, where stood a pair of excellent virginals;[4] so she played upon them, and turned what she had showed them into this excellent song, saying—

Jacob's ladder.

A sight of Christ is taking.

Golden anchor.

Of Abraham offering up Isaac.

Prudence's virginals.

> Eve's apple we have showed you,
> Of that be you aware;
> You have seen Jacob's ladder, too,
> Upon which angels are.
> An anchor you received have;
> But let not these suffice,
> Until, with Abr'am, you have gave
> Your best a sacrifice.

Now, about this time, one knocked at the door; so the Porter opened, and behold Mr. Great-heart was there; but when he was come in, what joy was there! For it came now fresh again into their minds, how but a while ago he had slain old Grim Bloody-man the giant, and had delivered them from the lions.

Mr. Great-heart come again.

Then said Mr. Great-heart to Christiana, and to Mercy, My Lord hath sent each of you a bottle of wine, and also some parched corn, together with a couple of pomegranates; he has also sent the boys some figs and raisins, to refresh you in your way.[5]

He brings a token from his Lord with him.

Then they addressed themselves to their journey; and Prudence and Piety went along with them. When they came at the gate, Christiana asked the Porter if any of late went by? He said, No; only one some time since, who also told me, that of late there had been a great robbery committed on the King's highway, as you go; but, he said, the thieves are taken, and will shortly be tried for their lives.[6] Then Christiana and Mercy were afraid; but Matthew said, Mother, fear nothing, as long as Mr. Great-heart is to go with us, and to be our conductor.

Robbery.

Then said Christiana to the Porter, Sir, I am much obliged to you for all the kindnesses that you have showed me since I came hither; and also for that you have been so loving and kind to my children; I

Christiana takes her leave of the Porter.

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they would never have otherwise enjoyed; to the faithless, it will be poison of the deadliest kind. Here is no attempt to explain the origin of evil in our world; a subject far beyond all our powers of investigation.—(Ed.)

[1] It is not enough that the Holy Spirit convince us of sin at our first setting out on pilgrimage, and make us sensible of our want of Christ; but he also keeps up a sight and sense of the evil of sin in its original nature, as well as actual transgressions. This often makes us wonder at sin, at ourselves, and at the love of Christ in becoming a sacrifice for our sins. And this also humbles us, makes us hate sin the more; and makes Christ, his atonement, and righteousness, more and more precious in our eyes, and inestimable in our hearts.—(Mason.)

[2] The ministration of angels is an animating theme to believers, and is well adapted to promote their confidence in the care and protection of God. 'Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?' He. i. 14.—(Ivimey.)

[3] This is the anchor of hope. This keeps the soul safe, and steady to Jesus, who is the alone object of our hopes. Hope springs from faith. It is an expectation of the fulfilment of those things that are promised in the Word of truth, by the God of all grace. Faith receives them, trusts in them, relies upon them; and hope waits for the full accomplishment and enjoyment of them.—(Mason.)

[4] Bunyan loved harmony—he had a soul for music. But whether he intended by this to sanction the introduction of instrumental music into public worship, is not clear. The late Abraham Booth and Andrew Fuller were extremely averse to it; others are as desirous of it. Music has a great effect on the nervous system, and of all instruments the organ is the most impressive. The Christian's inquiry is, whether sensations so produced assist the soul in holding communion with the Father of spirits, or whether, under our spiritual dispensation, the Holy Ghost makes use of such means to promote intercourse between our spirits and the unseen hierarchies of heaven.—(Ed.)

[5] O how reviving and refreshing are those love-tokens from our Lord! Great-heart never comes empty-handed. He always inspires with courage and confidence. Let us look more into, and heartily believe the Word of truth and grace; and cry more to our precious Immanuel, and we shall have more of Great-heart's company. It is but sad travelling without him.—(Mason.)

[6] What this great robbery was, whether spiritual or temporal, is left to the reader to imagine. The sufferings of the Dissenters were awfully severe at this time. Had it been a year later, we might have guessed it to have referred to the sufferings of that pious, excellent woman, Elizabeth Gaunt, who was burnt, October 23, 1685. She was a Baptist, and cruelly martyred. Penn, the Quaker, saw her die. 'She laid the straw about her for burning her speedily, and behaved herself in such a manner that all the spectators melted in tears.'—(Ed.)

know not how to gratify your kindness. Wherefore, pray, as a token of my respects to you, accept of this small mite; so she put a gold angel in his hand, and he made her a low obeisance, and said, Let thy garments be always white, and let thy head want no ointment.[1] Let Mercy live, and not die, and let not her works be few. And to the boys he said, Do you fly youthful lusts, and follow after godliness with them that are grave and wise; so shall you put gladness into your mother's heart, and obtain praise of all that are sober-minded. So they thanked the Porter, and departed.

The Porter's blessing.

Now I saw in my dream, that they went forward until they were come to the brow of the hill, where Piety, bethinking herself, cried out, Alas! I have forgot what I intended to bestow upon Christiana and her companions; I will go back and fetch it. So she ran and fetched it. While she was gone, Christiana thought she heard in a grove, a little way off, on the right hand, a most curious melodious note, with words much like these—

> Through all my life thy favour is
> So frankly show'd to me,
> That in thy house for evermore
> My dwelling-place shall be.

And, listening still, she thought she heard another answer it, saying—

> For why? The Lord our God is good,
> His mercy is for ever sure;
> His truth at all times firmly stood,
> And shall from age to age endure.

So Christiana asked Prudence what it was that made those curious notes? They are, said she, our country birds; they sing these notes but seldom, except it be at the spring, when the flowers appear, and the sun shines warm, and then you may hear them all day long.[2] Ca. ii. 11, 12. I often, said she, go out to hear them; we also ofttimes keep them tame in our house. They are very fine company for us when we are melancholy; also they make the woods, and groves, and solitary places, places desirous to be in.[3]

By this time Piety was come again; so she said to Christiana, Look here, I have brought thee a scheme of all those things that thou hast seen at our house, upon which thou mayest look when thou findest thyself forgetful, and call those things again to remembrance for thy edification and comfort.[4] Piety bestoweth something on them at parting.

Now they began to go down the hill into the Valley of Humiliation. It was a steep hill, and the way was slippery; but they were very careful, so they got down pretty well. When they were down in the Valley,[5] Piety said to Christiana, This is the place where Christian your husband met with the foul fiend Apollyon, and where they had that dreadful fight that they had; I know you cannot but have heard thereof. But be of good courage, as long as you have here Mr. Great-heart to be your guide and conductor, we hope you will fare the better. So when these two had committed the Pilgrims unto the conduct of their guide, he went forward, and they went after. First Part, p. 111.

Great-heart. Then said Mr. Great-heart, We

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[1] Mr. Ivimey is of opinion that by this Bunyan sanctioned a hireling ministry, but it appears more to refer to the common custom of rewarding servants to whom you have given trouble. He adduces Lu. x. 7; 1 Ti. v. 18; and 1 Co. ix. 11–14. It is a subject of considerable difficulty; but how is it that no minister ever thinks of referring to the plainest passage upon this subject in the New Testament? It is Ac. xx. 17–38, especially ver. 33–35. The angel was a gold coin, in value half a sovereign.—(Ed.)

[2] Such mountains round about this house do stand
As one from thence may see the Holy Land.[1]
Her fields are fertile, do abound with corn;
The lilies fair her valleys do adorn.[2]
The birds that do come hither every spring,
For birds, they are the very best that sing.[3]
Her friends, her neighbours too, do call her blest;[4]
Angels do here go by, turn in, and rest.[5]
The road to paradise lies by her gate,[6]
Here pilgrims do themselves accommodate
With bed and board; and do such stories tell,
As do for truth and profit all excel.
Nor doth the porter here say any nay,
That hither would turn in, that here would stay.
This house is rent free; here the man may dwell
That loves his landlord, rules his passions well.
—(Bunyan's *House of God*, vol. ii. p. 579.)

[1] Ps. cxxv. 2. [2] Ca. ii. 1. [3] Ca. ii. 11, 12.
[4] Ps. xlviii. 2. [5] He. xiii. 2. [6] Ge. xxviii. 17.

[3] It is sweet melody when we can sing with grace in the heart. The joy arising from God's free grace and pardoning love, is greater than the joy of harvest, or of one who rejoices when he divides the spoil.—(J. B.) Those joyful notes spring from a sense of nearness to the Lord, and a firm confidence in his Divine truth and everlasting mercy. O when the Sun of Righteousness shines warmly on the soul, it makes the pilgrims sing most sweetly! These songs approach very nearly to the heavenly music in the realm of glory.—(Mason.)

[4] Forgetfulness makes things nothings. It makes us as if things had never been; and so takes away from the soul one great means of stay, support, and encouragement. When David was dejected, the remembrance of the hill Hermon was his stay. When he was to go out against Goliah, the remembrance of the lion and the bear was his support. The recovery of a backslider usually begins at the remembrance of former things.—(Bunyan's *Holy Life*, vol. ii. p. 507.)

[5] After being thus highly favoured with sensible comforts, in the views of faith, the comforts of hope, and the joy of love, the next step these pilgrims are to take is down the Hill Difficulty, into the Valley of Humiliation. What doth this place signify? A deep and abiding sight and sense of our ruined state, lost condition, and desperate circumstances, as fallen sinners. This is absolutely necessary, lest we should think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think. For the Lord oft favours us with manifestations of his love, and the comforts of his Spirit; but, through the corruption of our nature, we are prone to be exalted in ourselves, and, as it were, intoxicated by them. Hence we are exhorted 'to think soberly.' Ro. xii. 3. This the Valley of Humiliation causes us to do.—(Mason.)

need not to be so afraid of this Valley, for here is nothing to hurt us, unless we procure it to ourselves. It is true, Christian did here meet with Apollyon, with whom he also had a sore combat; but that fray was the fruit of those slips that he got in his going down the hill; for they that get slips there, must look for combats here. And hence it is, that this Valley has got so hard a name. For the common people, when they hear that some frightful thing has befallen such a one in such a place, are of an opinion, that that place is haunted with some foul fiend, or evil spirit; when, alas! it is for the fruit of their doing, that such things do befall them there.

Mr. Great-heart at the Valley of Humiliation.

First Part, page 111.

This Valley of Humiliation is of itself as fruitful a place, as any the crow flies over; and I am persuaded, if we could hit upon it, we might find somewhere hereabouts, something that might give us an account why Christian was so hardly beset in this place.

The reason why Christian was so beset here.

Then James said to his mother, Lo, yonder stands a pillar, and it looks as if something was written thereon; let us go and see what it is. So they went, and found there written, 'Let Christian's slips, before he came hither, and the battles that he met with in this place, be a warning to those that come after.' Lo, said their guide, did not I tell you, that there was something hereabouts, that would give intimation of the reason why Christian was so hard beset in this place? Then, turning himself to Christiana, he said, No disparagement to Christian, more than to many others, whose hap and lot his was; for it is easier going up, than down this hill, and that can be said but of few hills in all these parts of the world. But we will leave the good man, he is at rest, he also had a brave victory over his enemy; let him grant that dwelleth above, that we fare no worse, when we come to be tried, than he.

A pillar with an inscription on it.

But we will come again to this Valley of Humiliation. It is the best and most useful piece of ground in all those parts. It is fat ground, and, as you see, consisteth much in meadows; and if a man was to come here in the summer-time, as we do now, if he knew not anything before, thereof, and if he also delighted himself in the sight of his eyes, he might see that that would be delightful to him. Behold how green this Valley is, also how beautified with lilies.[1] Ca. ii. 1. I have also known many labouring men that have got good estates in this Valley of Humiliation ('for God resisteth the proud, but gives more, more grace unto the humble,' Ja. iv. 6; 1 Pe. v. 5), for indeed it is a very fruitful soil, and doth bring forth by handfuls.[2] Some also have wished, that the next way to their Father's house were here, that they might be troubled no more with either hills or mountains to go over; but the way is the way, and there is an end.[3]

This Valley a brave place.

Men thrive in the Valley of Humiliation.

Now, as they were going along, and talking, they espied a boy feeding his father's sheep. The boy was in very mean clothes, but of a very fresh and well-favoured countenance; and as he sat by himself, he sang. Hark, said Mr. Great-heart, to what the shepherd's boy saith. So they hearkened, and he said—

He that is down needs fear no fall;
  He that is low, no pride;
He that is humble, ever shall
  Have God to be his guide. Phi. iv. 12, 13.
I am content with what I have,
  Little be it, or much;
And, Lord, contentment still I crave,
  Because thou savest such.
Fulness to such a burden is,
  That go on pilgrimage;
Here little, and hereafter bliss,
  Is best from age to age.[4] He. xiii. 5.

Then said the guide, Do you hear him? I will dare to say, that this boy lives a merrier life, and wears more of that herb called heart's-ease in his bosom, than he that is clad in silk and velvet;[5] but we will proceed in our discourse.

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[1] Thus beautifully does our author describe the grace of humility. O that every reader may know its excellence by happy experience!—(Burder.)

[2] These are the rare times; above all, when I can go to God as the Publican, sensible of his glorious majesty, sensible of my misery, and bear up and affectionately cry, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' For my part, I find it one of the hardest things I can put my soul upon, when warmly sensible that I am a sinner, to come to God for a share in *mercy* and *grace;* I cannot but with a thousand tears say, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'—(Bunyan's *Pharisee and Publican*, vol. ii. p. 261.)

[3] Though this Valley of Humiliation, or a clear sight and abiding sense of the sinfulness of our nature, and the wickedness of our hearts, may be very terrifying to pilgrims, after they have been favoured with peace and joy, and comforted by the views of faith and hope, yet it is a very safe place; and though, at first entering into it, and seeing more of themselves than was ever before showed them, they may fear and tremble, yet, after some continuing here, they are more reconciled and contented; for here they find the visits of their Lord, and in the depths of their humility, they behold the heights of his love and the depths of his mercy, and cry out in joy, Where sin aboundeth, grace superabounds. Though sin abounds in me, the grace of Jesus superabounds towards me. Though I am emptied of all, yet I have an inexhaustible fulness in Jesus, to supply me with all I want and all I hope.—(Mason.)

[4] The humble man is contented; if his estate be low, his heart is lower still. He that is little in his own eyes, will not be much troubled at being little in the eyes of others.—(Watson.) Those circumstances that will not disturb a humble man's sleep, will break a proud man's heart.—(Matt. Henry.) They that get slips in going down the hill, or would hide his descent by deception, or repine at it, must look for combats when in the valley.—(Ivimey.)

[5] Perhaps the shepherd's boy may refer to the obscure but quiet station of some pastors over small congregations, who

In this Valley our Lord formerly had his country house; he loved much to be here; he loved also to walk these meadows, for he found the air was pleasant.[1] Besides, here a man shall be free from the noise, and from the hurryings of this life. All states are full of noise and confusion, only the Valley of Humiliation is that empty and solitary place. Here a man shall not be so let and hindered in his contemplation, as in other places he is apt to be. This is a Valley that nobody walks in, but those that love a pilgrim's life. And though Christian had the hard hap to meet here with Apollyon, and to enter with him a brisk encounter, yet I must tell you, that in former times men have met with angels here, have found pearls here, and have in this place found the words of life.[2] Ho. xii. 4, 5.

Christ, when in the flesh, had his Country-house in the Valley of Humiliation.

Did I say, our Lord had here in former days his country-house, and that he loved here to walk? I will add, in this place, and to the people that live, and trace these grounds, he has left a yearly revenue, to be faithfully paid them at certain seasons, for their maintenance by the way, and for their further encouragement to go on in their pilgrimage. Mat. xi. 29.

SAMUEL.[3] Now, as they went on, Samuel said to Mr. Great-heart; Sir, I perceive that in this Valley my father and Apollyon had their battle; but whereabout was the fight? for I perceive this Valley is large.

GREAT-HEART. Your father had that battle with Apollyon, at a place yonder, before us, in a narrow passage, just beyond Forgetful Green.[4] And indeed, that place is the most dangerous place in all these parts. For if at any time the pilgrims meet with any brunt, it is when they forget what favours they have received, and how unworthy they are of them.[5] This is the place also, where others have been hard put to it; but more of the place when we are come to it; for I persuade myself, that to this day there remains either some sign of the battle, or some monument to testify that such a battle there was fought.

Forgetful Green.

MERCY. Then said Mercy, I think I am as well in this Valley, as I have been anywhere else in all our journey; the place, methinks, suits with my spirit. I love to be in such places where there is no rattling with coaches, nor rumbling with wheels; methinks, here one may, without much molestation, be thinking what he is, whence he came, what he has done, and to what the King has called him; here one may think, and break at heart, and melt in one's spirit, until one's eyes become like 'the fish-pools of Heshbon.' Ca. vii. 4. They that go rightly through this Valley of Baca, make it a well, the rain that God sends down from heaven upon them that are here, also filleth the pools. Ps. lxxiv. 6, 7. This Valley is that from whence also the King will give to his their vineyards, Ho. ii. 15; and they that go through it, shall sing, as Christian did, for all he met with Apollyon.

Humility a sweet grace.

GREAT-HEART. It is true, said their guide, I have gone through this Valley many a time, and never was better than when here.

An experiment of it.

I have also been a conductor to several pilgrims, and they have confessed the same. 'To this *man* will I look (saith the King), *even* to *him that is*

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live almost unknown to their brethren, but are, in a measure, useful and very comfortable.—(Scott.)

[1] Our Lord chose retirement, poverty, and an obscure station; remote from bustle, and favourable to devotion; so that his appearance in a public character, and in crowded scenes, for the good of mankind and the glory of the Father, was a part of his self-denial, in which 'he pleased not himself.' Some are banished into this valley, but the poor in spirit love to walk in it; and though some believers here struggle with distressing temptations, others, in passing through it, enjoy much communion with God.—(Scott.)

[2] Ever remember the words of our Lord, 'It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master.' If your Lord made it his chief delight to be in this Valley of Humiliation, learn from his example to prize this valley. Though you may meet with an Apollyon or a destroyer here, yet you are safe in the arms and under the power of your all-conquering Lord: 'For though the Lord is high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly.' Therefore you may add with David, 'Though I walk in the midst of trouble, thou wilt revive me: thou shalt stretch forth thine hand against the wrath of mine enemies, and thy right hand shall save me.' Ps. cxxxviii. 7. Such are the confidence, the reasoning, and the pleading of humble souls in the power of faith, which leads them quite out of themselves to their Lord.—(Mason.)

[3] In the first edition this name is printed 'Simon;' it was corrected to Samuel in Bunyan's later editions.—(Ed.)

[4] It is marvellous to see how some men are led captive by forgetfulness. Those that some time thought no pains too much, no way too far, no hazards too great to run for eternal life, become as if they had never thought of such things. Should one say to some—Art not thou that man I saw crying out under a sermon, 'What shall I do to be saved?' that I heard speak well of the holy Word of God? how *askew* they will look upon one. Or if they acknowledge that such things were with them once, they do it more like dejected ghosts than as men.—(Bunyan's *Holy Life*, vol. ii. p. 507.)

[5] O pilgrims, attend to this! Pride and ingratitude go hand in hand. Study, ever study the favours of your Lord; how freely they are bestowed upon you, and how utterly unworthy you are of the least of them. Beware of Forgetful Green. Many, after going some way on pilgrimage, get into this Green, and continue here; and talk of their own faithfulness to grace received, the merit of their works, and a second justification by their works, &c. Hence it is plain that they are fallen asleep on this Forgetful Green, and talk incoherently, as men do in their sleep; for they forget that they are still sinners—poor, needy, wretched sinners; and that they want the blood of Christ to cleanse them, the righteousness of Christ to justify them, and the Spirit of Christ to keep them humble, and to enable them to live by faith upon the fulness of Christ to sanctify them, as much as they did when they first set out as pilgrims. O it is a most blessed thing to be kept mindful of what we are, and of the Lord's free grace and unmerited goodness to us!—(Mason.)

poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.'[1] Is. lxvi. 2.

Now they were come to the place where the afore-mentioned battle was fought. Then said the guide to Christiana, her children, and Mercy, This is the place, on this ground Christian stood, and up there came Apollyon against him. And look, did not I tell you? here is some of your husband's blood upon these stones to this day; behold, also, how here and there are yet to be seen upon the place, some of the shivers of Apollyon's broken darts; see also, how they did beat the ground with their feet as they fought, to make good their places against each other; how also, with their by-blows, they did split the very stones in pieces. Verily, Christian did here play the man, and showed himself as stout, as could, had he been there, even Hercules himself.[2] When Apollyon was beat, he made his retreat to the next Valley, that is called, the Valley of the Shadow of Death, unto which we shall come anon.[3]

The place where Christian and the Fiend did fight. Some signs of the battle remain.

Lo, yonder also stands a monument, on which is engraven this battle, and Christian's victory, to his fame throughout all ages. So, because it stood just on the wayside before them, they stepped to it, and read the writing, which word for word was this—

A monument of the battle.

Hard by, here was a battle fought,
Most strange, and yet most true;[4]
Christian and Apollyon sought
Each other to subdue.
The man so bravely play'd the man,
He made the fiend to fly;
Of which a monument I stand,
The same to testify.

A monument of Christian's victory.

When they had passed by this place, they came upon the borders of the Shadow of Death; and this Valley was longer than the other; a place, also, most strangely haunted with evil things, as many are able to testify;[5] but these women and children went the better through it, because they had daylight, and because Mr. Great-heart was their conductor.

First Part, p. 114.

When they were entered upon this Valley, they thought that they heard a groaning, as of dead men, a very great groaning. They thought, also, they did hear words of lamentation spoken, as of some in extreme torment. These things made the boys to quake, the women also looked pale and wan; but their guide bid them be of good comfort.

Groanings heard.

So they went on a little further, and they thought that they felt the ground begin to shake under them, as if some hollow place was there; they heard also a kind of a hissing, as of serpents, but nothing as yet appeared. Then said the boys, Are we not yet at the end of this doleful place? But the guide also bid them be of good courage, and look well to their feet, lest haply, said he, you be taken in some snare.[6]

The ground shakes.

Now James began to be sick, but I think the cause thereof was fear; so his mother gave him some of that glass of spirits that she had given her at the Interpreter's house, and three of the pills that Mr. Skill had prepared, and the boy began to revive. Thus they went on, till they came to about the middle of the Valley, and then Christiana said, Methinks I see something yonder upon the road before us, a thing of such a shape such as I have not seen. Then said Joseph, Mother, what is it? An ugly thing, child; an ugly thing, said she. But, mother, what is it like? said he. It is like I cannot tell what, said she. And now it was but a little way off; then said she, It is nigh.

James sick with fear.

The Fiend appears.

The Pilgrims are afraid.

Well, well, said Mr. Great-heart, Let them that are most afraid, keep close to me. So the fiend came on, and the conductor met it; but when it was just come to him, it vanished to all their sights. Then remembered they what had been said some time ago, 'Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.' Ja. iv. 7.

Great-heart encourages them.

They went therefore on, as being a little refreshed; but they had not gone far, before Mercy, looking behind her, saw, as she thought, something most like a lion,

A lion.

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[1] 'Trembles at God's Word,' so as not to dare pick and choose which doctrines he will receive, and which reject. Would you act thus by God's holy commandments? Would you choose one and reject another? Are they not all of equal authority? And are not all his holy doctrines also stamped with the same Divine sanction? Where there is true faith in them, it will make a man tremble to act thus by God's Word! —(Mason.)

[2] We ought to study the records of the temptations, conflicts, faith, patience, and victories of believers; mark their wounds, by what misconduct they were occasioned, that we may watch and pray lest we fall in like manner. Learn how they repelled the assaults of the tempter, that we may learn to resist him steadfast in the faith. Their triumphs should animate us to keep on the whole armour of God, that we may be able to withstand in the evil day.—(Scott.)

[3] If Satan be driven back from one attack, prepare for another. Bless God for your armour. Never put it off.—(Mason.)

[4] If this monument refers to the experience of Bunyan, as exhibited in his *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, it is well called, 'Most strange, and yet most true.'—(Ed.)

[5] This valley represents the inward distress, conflict, and alarm, arising from darkness and insensibility of mind. It varies according to the constitution, animal spirits, health, education, and strength of mind of different persons.—(Scott.)

[6] None know the distress, anguish, and fear that haunt pilgrims in this valley, but those who have been in it. The hissings, revilings, and injections of that old serpent, with all his infernal malice, seem to be let loose upon pilgrims in this valley. Asaph seems to be walking in this valley when he says, 'As for me, my feet were almost gone, my steps had well nigh slipped.' Ps. lxxiii. 2.—(Mason.)

and it came a great padding pace after; and it had a hollow voice of roaring; and at every roar that it gave, it made all the Valley echo, and their hearts to ache, save the heart of him that was their guide. So it came up; and Mr. Great-heart went behind, and put the Pilgrims all before him. The lion also came on apace, and Mr. Great-heart addressed himself to give him battle. But when he saw that it was determined that resistance should be made, he also drew back, and came no further.[1]

1 Pe. v. 8, 9.

Then they went on again, and their conductor did go before them, till they came at a place where was cast up a pit the whole breadth of the way; and, before they could be prepared to go over that, a great mist and darkness fell upon them, so that they could not see. Then said the Pilgrims, Alas! now what shall we do? But their guide made answer, Fear not, stand still, and see what an end will be put to this also. So they staid there, because their path was marred. They then also thought that they did hear more apparently the noise and rushing of the enemies; the fire, also, and the smoke of the pit, was much easier to be discerned.[2] Then said Christiana to Mercy, Now I see what my poor husband went through; I have heard much of this place, but I never was here before now. Poor man, he went here all alone in the night; he had night almost quite through the way; also, these fiends were busy about him, as if they would have torn him in pieces. Many have spoke of it, but none can tell what the Valley of the Shadow of Death should mean, until they come in it themselves. 'The heart knows its own bitterness; and a stranger intermeddleth not with its joy.' To be here is a fearful thing.

A pit and darkness.

Christiana now knows what her husband felt.

GREAT-HEART. This is like doing business in great waters, or like going down into the deep; this is like being in the heart of the sea, and like going down to the bottoms of the mountains; now it seems as if the earth, with its bars, were about us for ever. But let them that walk in darkness, and have no light, trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon their God.[3] Is. l. 10. For my part, as I have told you already, I have gone often through this Valley, and have been much harder put to it than now I am, and yet you see I am alive. I would not boast, for that I am not mine own saviour; but I trust we shall have a good deliverance. Come, let us pray for light to him that can lighten our darkness, and that can rebuke not only these, but all the Satans in hell.

Great-heart's reply.

So they cried and prayed, and God sent light and deliverance, for there was now no let in their way; no not there, where but now they were stopped with a pit. Yet they were not got through the Valley; so they went on still, and behold great stinks and loathsome smells, to the great annoyance of them.[4] Then said Mercy to Christiana, There is not such pleasant being here, as at the gate, or at the Interpreter's, or at the house where we lay last.

They pray.

O but, said one of the boys, it is not so bad to go through here, as it is to abide here always; and for aught I know, one reason why we must go this way to the house prepared for us, is, that our home might be made the sweeter to us.[5]

One of the boys' reply.

Well said, Samuel, quoth the guide, thou hast now spoke like a man. Why, if ever I get out here again, said the boy, I think I shall prize light and good way better than ever I did in all my life. Then said the guide, We shall be out by and by.[6]

So on they went, and Joseph said, Cannot we see to the end of this Valley as yet? Then said the guide, Look to your feet, for you shall presently be among the snares. So they looked to their feet, and went on; but they were troubled

[1] Satan is often most dreadful at a distance, and, courageously resisted, will not advance nearer. This advice is ever needful, 'Be sober; be vigilant.' These pilgrims kept up their watch. Satan did come upon them unawares; still they heard his approach; they were prepared for his attack; lo, Satan drew back.—(Mason.)

[2] Miserable, uncomfortable walking, with a pit before us, and darkness around, yea, within us, and hell seeming to move from beneath to meet us who have been left to the darkness of our nature, the terrors of a fiery law, the sense of guilt, and the fear of hell! O what an unspeakable mercy, in such a distressing season, to have an Almighty Saviour to look to, and call upon for safety and salvation! 'For he will hear our cry and save us.' Ps. cxlv. 19.—(Mason.)

[3] This text has been a sheet anchor to my soul under darkness and distress. I doubt not but it has been so to many others. O there is an amazing depth of grace, and a wonderful height of mercy in it. Bless God for it. Study it deeply. —(Mason.)

[4] What must the pure and holy Jesus have suffered when he tasted death in *all* its bitterness? His soul was in an agony. Hell was let loose upon him. This is your hour, said he, and the power of darkness, when he cried out, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' It seemed as if the pains of hell had got hold of him. O what justice and judgment! what love and mercy! what power and might were here displayed! And all this for us, and for our salvation. What shall we render to the Lord for all his benefits?—(J. B.)

[5] Precious thought; under the worst and most distressing circumstances think of this. Their continuance is short. The appointment, love. Their end shall be crowned with glory. Our dark and distressing nights make us prize our light and joyful days the more.—(Mason.)

[6] The tremendous horrors of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, figuratively represents the gloomy frame of mind in which fears rise high, and temptations greatly abound, more especially when they are augmented by bodily disease. Few Christians are wholly exempted from such distressing seasons, but all are not distressed alike.—(Burder.) Bunyan's experience, recorded in his *Grace Abounding*, shows that he was, when under conviction, very familiar with these horrors.—(Ed.)

much with the snares. Now, when they were come among the snares, they espied a man cast into the ditch on the left hand, with his flesh all rent and torn. Then said the guide, That is one Heedless, that was agoing this way; he has lain there a great while.[1] There was one Take-heed with him, when he was taken and slain; but he escaped their hands. You cannot imagine how many are killed hereabout, and yet men are so foolishly venturous, as to set out lightly on pilgrimage, and to come without a guide.[2] Poor Christian! it was a wonder that he here escaped; but he was beloved of his God: also, he had a good heart of his own,[3] or else he could never have done it. Now they drew towards the end of the way; and just there where Christian had seen the cave when he went by, out thence came forth Maul, a giant. This Maul did use to spoil young pilgrims with sophistry; and he called Great-heart by his name, and said unto him, How many times have you been forbidden to do these things? Then said Mr. Great-heart, What things? What things? quoth the giant; you know what things; but I will put an end to your trade. But pray, said Mr. Great-heart, before we fall to it, let us understand wherefore we must fight. Now the women and children stood trembling, and knew not what to do. Quoth the giant, You rob the country, and rob it with the worst of thefts.[4] These are but generals, said Mr. Great-heart; come to particulars, man.

Heedless is slain, and Take-heed preserved.

First Part, p. 114.

Maul, a giant.

He quarrels with Great-heart.

Then said the giant, Thou practisest the craft of a kidnapper; thou gatherest up women and children, and carriest them into a strange country, to the weakening of my master's kingdom. But now Great-heart replied, I am a servant of the God of heaven; my business is to persuade sinners to repentance; I am commanded to do my endeavour to turn men, women, and children, 'from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God:' and if this be indeed the ground of thy quarrel, let us fall to it as soon as thou wilt.

God's ministers counted as kidnappers.

The giant and Mr. Great-heart must fight.

Then the giant came up, and Mr. Great-heart went to meet him; and as he went, he drew his sword, but the giant had a club. So without more ado, they fell to it, and at the first blow the giant struck Mr. Great-heart down upon one of his knees; with that the women and children cried out; so Mr. Great-heart recovering himself, laid about him in full lusty manner, and gave the giant a wound in his arm; thus he fought for the space of an hour, to that height of heat, that the breath came out of the giant's nostrils, as the heat doth out of a boiling caldron.

Weak folks' prayers do sometimes help strong folks' cries.

Then they sat down to rest them, but Mr. Great-heart betook him to prayer; also the women and children did nothing but sigh and cry all the time that the battle did last.[5]

When they had rested them, and taken breath, they both fell to it again,[6] and Mr. Great-heart with a full blow, fetched the giant down to the ground. Nay, hold, and let me recover, quoth he; so Mr. Great-heart fairly let him get up. So to it they went again, and the giant missed but little of all-to-breaking Mr. Great-heart's skull with his club.

The giant struck down.

Mr. Great-heart seeing that, runs to him in the full heat of his spirit, and pierceth him under the fifth rib; with that the giant began to faint, and could hold up his club no longer. Then Mr. Great-heart seconded his blow, and smote the head of the giant from his shoulders. Then the women and children rejoiced, and Mr. Great-heart also praised God, for the deliverance he had wrought.[7]

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[1] Heedless professors, be warned. The doctrines of grace were never intended to lull any asleep in carnal security. If they do so by you, it is a sure sign that what should have been for your health proves an occasion of your falling.—(Mason.) O the miserable end of them that obey not the gospel—punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and the glory of his power.—(J. B.)

[2] Prayer prevailed, and they were delivered.

> By glimm'ring hopes, and gloomy fears,
> We trace the sacred road;
> Through dismal deeps, and dang'rous snares,
> We make our way to God.—(Burder.)

[3] By a good heart is here meant, that Christian was endued with boldness and courage from above; as the Psalmist says, 'Wait on the Lord, be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart.'—(J. B.)

[4] Satan's master argument is, Thou art a horrible sinner, a hypocrite, one that has a profane heart, and one that is an utter stranger to a work of grace. I say this is his *Maul*, his *club*, his master-piece. He doth with this as some do by their most enchanting songs, sings them everywhere. I believe there are but few saints in the world that have not had this temptation sounding in their ears. But were they but aware, Satan by all this does but drive them to the gap, out at which they should go, and so escape his roaring. Saith he, Thou art a great sinner, a horrible sinner, a profane-hearted wretch, one that cannot be matched for a vile one in the country. The tempted may say, Aye, Satan, so I am, a sinner of the biggest size, and, therefore, have most need of Jesus Christ; yea, because I am such a wretch Jesus calls me first. I am he, wherefore stand back, Satan, make a lane; my right is first to come to Jesus Christ. This, now, would be like for like; this would foil the devil: this would make him say, I must not deal with this man thus; for then I put a sword into his hand to cut off my head.—(*Good News for the Vilest of Men*, vol. i. p. 96.)

[5] The greatest heart cannot understand without prayer, nor conquer without the almighty power of God. The belief of this will excite prayer.—(Mason.)

[6] The severity of Job's sufferings probably suggested to the author, the idea of taking rest during the conflict. 'How long wilt thou not depart from me, nor let me alone till I swallow down my spittle?' Job vii. 19. Here is no timidly mincing the matter with sophistry or infidelity; but a manful, prayerful, fighting it out.—(Ed.)

[7] Mr. Ivimey considers, that in Giant Maul is characterised that erroneous but common notion, that the church of Christ

When this was done, they among them erected a pillar, and fastened the giant's head thereon, and wrote underneath in letters, that passengers might read—

He is slain, and his head disposed of.

He that did wear this head, was one
That pilgrims did misuse;
He stopp'd their way, he spared none,
But did them all abuse;
Until that I, Great-heart, arose,
The pilgrim's guide to be;
Until that I did him oppose,
That was their enemy.

Now I saw, that they went to the ascent that was a little way off, cast up to be a prospect for pilgrims (that was the place from whence Christian had the first sight of Faithful his brother); wherefore here they sat down, and rested; they also here did eat and drink, and make merry, for that they had gotten deliverance from this so dangerous an enemy.[1] As they sat thus, and did eat, Christiana asked the guide if he had caught no hurt in the battle. Then said Mr. Great-heart, No, save a little on my flesh; yet that also shall be so far from being to my detriment, that it is at present a proof of my love to my Master and you, and shall be a means, by grace, to increase my reward at last.[2]

First Part, p. 116.

2 Co. iv.

Christ. But was you not afraid, good Sir, when you saw him come out with his club?[3]

Discourse of the fight.

Great-heart. It is my duty, said he, to distrust my own ability, that I may have reliance on him that is stronger than all.

Christ. But what did you think when he fetched you down to the ground at the first blow?

Great-heart. Why, I thought, quoth he, that so my Master himself was served, and yet he it was that conquered at the last.

Matt. When you all have thought what you please, I think God has been wonderful good unto us, both in bringing us out of this Valley, and in delivering us out of the hand of this enemy; for my part, I see no reason, why we should distrust our God any more, since he has now, and in such a place as this, given us such testimony of his love as this.

Matthew here admires Goodness.

Then they got up and went forward. Now a little before them stood an oak; and under it, when they came to it, they found an old pilgrim fast asleep; they knew that he was a pilgrim by his clothes, and his staff, and his girdle.

Old Honest asleep under an oak.

So the guide, Mr. Great-heart, awaked him, and the old gentleman, as he lift up his eyes, cried out, What's the matter? Who are you? and what is your business here?[4]

Great-heart. Come, man, be not so hot, here is none but friends; yet the old man gets up, and stands upon his guard, and will know of them what they were. Then said the guide, My name is Great-heart; I am the guide of these Pilgrims, which are going to the Celestial Country.

Honest. Then said Mr. Honest, I cry you mercy; I feared that you had been of the company of those that some time ago did rob Little-faith of his money; but now I look better about me, I perceive you are honester people.

One saint sometimes takes another for his enemy.

Great-heart. Why, what would, or could you have done, to have helped yourself, if we indeed had been of that company.

Talk between Great-heart and he.

Hon. Done! why I would have fought as long as breath had been in me; and had I so done, I am sure you could never have given me the worst on it; for a Christian can never be overcome, unless he should yield of himself.[5]

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consists exclusively of some one state religion, to dissent from which is to cause schism, and to rend the seamless coat of Christ. Maul dwelt in the place where Pagan and Pope had resided; the club being the temporal power to compel uniformity. If so, the declaration for liberty of conscience slew the giant, and the Act of toleration prevented his resurrection. Alas, how little do such Antichristians know of that spiritual kingdom which extends over all the temporal kingdoms of the earth, and which constitutes Christ the King of kings.—(Ed.) Carnal reasoning upon the equity of the Divine proceedings have mauled many a Christian—robbed him of his comfort, and spoiled his simplicity. As soon as we turn aside to vain janglings and doubtful disputations, we get upon the devil's ground. As Great-heart was knocked down with this giant's club, so many a faithful minister has been confounded with the subtle arguments of a cunning disputer. The way to overcome this giant is to keep close to Scripture, and pray for the teaching of the Holy Spirit.—(J. B.) Though Maul was baffled, disabled, and apparently slain; it will appear that he has left a posterity on earth to revile, injure, and oppose the spiritual worshippers of God in every generation. —(Scott.)

[1] Well may Giant Maul, with his sophistry, be called a dangerous enemy. Many of this tribe are mentioned in the *Holy War*, as Lord Cavil, the Lord Brisk, the Lord Pragmatic, the Lord Murmur, and one Clip-promise, a notorious villain. These lords felt the edge of Lord Will-be-will's sword, for which his Prince Immanuel honoured him. Clip-promise was set in the pillory, whipped, and hanged. One clipper-of-promise does great abuse to Mansoul in a little time. Bunyan's judgment was, that 'all those of *his* name and life should be served even as he!'—(Ed.)

[2] Light afflictions, but for a moment, and which work out for us an eternal weight of glory—'a little hurt on my flesh.' If this refers to Bunyan's twelve years' imprisonment under the maul of sophistry, how must his natural temper have been subdued by humility!—(Ed.)

[3] This club we may suppose to mean human power, under which many godly ministers, in the seventeenth century, suffered greatly. Blessed be God, we have nothing of this to fear in our day; therefore, the more shame for such professors who desert Christ when they have nothing to fear but the breath of reproach, a nickname, or a by-word of contempt.—(Mason.)

[4] The experienced Christian will be afraid of new acquaintance; in his most unwatchful seasons he is fully convinced that no enemy can hurt him, unless he is induced to yield to temptation, and commit sin.—(Scott.)

[5] The character of Honesty is beautifully drawn by a masterly hand. The aged pilgrim, worn out with fatigue, can say

GREAT-HEART. Well said, father Honest, quoth the guide; for by this I know thou art a cock of the right kind, for thou hast said the truth.

HON. And by this, also, I know that thou knowest what true pilgrimage is; for all others do think that we are the soonest overcome of any.

GREAT-HEART. Well, now we are so happily met, pray let me crave your name, and the name of the place you came from.

Whence Mr. Honest came.

HON. My name I cannot; but I came from the town of Stupidity; it lieth about four degrees beyond the City of Destruction.

GREAT-HEART. Oh! are you that countryman, then? I deem I have half a guess of you; your name is Old Honesty, is it not? So the old gentleman blushed, and said, Not Honesty, in the abstract,[1] but Honest is my name; and I wish that my nature shall agree to what I am called.

HON. But, Sir, said the old gentleman, how could you guess that I am such a man, since I came from such a place?

GREAT-HEART. I had heard of you before, by my Master; for he knows all things that are done on the earth; but I have often wondered that any should come from your place, for your town is worse than is the City of Destruction itself.

Stupified ones are worse than those merely carnal.

HON. Yes, we lie more off from the sun, and so are more cold and senseless; but was a man in a mountain of ice, yet if the Sun of Righteousness will arise upon him, his frozen heart shall feel a thaw; and thus it hath been with me.[2]

GREAT-HEART. I believe it, father Honest, I believe it; for I know the thing is true.

Then the old gentleman saluted all the Pilgrims with a holy kiss of charity; and asked them of their names, and how they had fared since they set out on their pilgrimage.[3]

CHRIST. Then said Christiana, My name, I suppose you have heard of; good Christian was my husband, and these four were his children. But can you think how the old gentleman was taken, when she told him who she was! He skipped, he smiled, and blessed them with a thousand good wishes, saying:

Old Honest and Christiana talk.

HON. I have heard much of your husband, and of his travels and wars, which he underwent in his days. Be it spoken to your comfort, the name of your husband rings over all these parts of the world: his faith, his courage, his enduring, and his sincerity under all, has made his name famous. Then he turned him to the boys, and asked them of their names, which they told him. And then said he unto them: Matthew, be thou like Matthew the publican, not in vice, but in virtue. Mat. x. 3. Samuel, said he, be thou like Samuel the prophet, a man of faith and prayer. Ps. xcix. 6. Joseph, said he, be thou like Joseph in Potiphar's house, chaste, and one that flies from temptation. Ge. xxxix. And James, be thou like James the Just, and like James the brother of our Lord. Ac. i. 13, 14. Then they told him of Mercy, and how she had left her town and her kindred to come along with Christiana and with her sons. At that the old honest man said, Mercy is thy name; by Mercy shalt thou be sustained, and carried through all those difficulties that shall assault thee in thy way, till thou shalt come thither, where thou shalt look the Fountain of Mercy in the face with comfort.

He also talks with the boys. Old Mr. Honest's blessing on them.

He blesseth Mercy.

All this while the guide, Mr. Great-heart, was very much pleased, and smiled upon his companion.

Now, as they walked along together, the guide asked the old gentleman, if he did not know one Mr. Fearing, that came on pilgrimage out of his parts?

Talk of one Mr. Fearing.

HON. Yes, very well, said he. He was a man that had the root of the matter in him; but he was one of the most troublesome pilgrims that ever I met with in all my days.[4]

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without fear, 'I laid me down and slept; I awaked; for the Lord sustained me.' He blushed when his name was mentioned, and proved to be a most valuable acquisition to the Pilgrim party.—(ED.)

[1] By honesty, in the abstract, he means to distinguish between his earnest desire to be honest, and a perfect character. Every Christian is the subject of honesty or justice, uprightness and sincerity; yet when we come to describe these virtues in the abstract, or what they really are in their strict purity and utmost perfection, where is the Christian but must wear the conscientious blush, as Honesty did, under a sense of his imperfections?—(Mason.)

[2] This is the confession of an honest heart. It is never afraid of ascribing too much to the sovereignty of grace; nor of giving all the glory to the Sun of Righteousness, for shining upon, and melting down its hard frozen soul.—(Mason.)

[3] If the kiss of charity be given, great care should be taken that it is a 'holy' kiss. 'Some have urged the holy kiss, but then I have asked why they made baulks; why they did salute the most handsome, and let the ill-favoured go. This has been unseemly in my sight.'—(*Grace Abounding*, No. 315.) However such a custom may have been innocent in the oriental scenes of apostolic labours, it has been very properly discontinued in later ages, unless it be as in the case of old Honest, or the unexpected meeting of very old friends and relatives.—(ED.)

[4] The character and narrative of Fearing is drawn and arranged with great judgment, and in a very affecting manner. Little-faith, mentioned in the First Part, was faint-hearted and distrustful; and thus he contracted guilt, and lost his comfort; but Fearing dreaded sin, and coming short of heaven, more than all that flesh could do unto him. He was alarmed more at the fear of being overcome by temptation, than from a reluctance to undergo derision or persecution. The peculiarity of this description of Christians must be traced back to constitution, habit, first impressions, disproportionate and partial views of truth, and improper instructions; these, concurring with weakness of faith, and the common infirmities of human nature, give a cast to their experience and character, which renders them uncomfortable to themselves, and troublesome to others. Yet no competent judges doubt that they have the root of the matter in them; and none are more entitled to the patient, sympathizing, and tender attention of ministers and Christians.—(Scott.)

GREAT-HEART. I perceive you knew him; for you have given a very right character of him.

HON. Knew him! I was a great companion of his; I was with him most an end; when he first began to think of what would come upon us hereafter, I was with him.

GREAT-HEART. I was his guide from my Master's house to the gates of the Celestial City.

HON. Then you knew him to be a troublesome one.

GREAT-HEART. I did so, but I could very well bear it; for men of my calling are oftentimes intrusted with the conduct of such as he was.

HON. Well then, pray let us hear a little of him, and how he managed himself under your conduct.

GREAT-HEART. Why, he was always afraid that he should come short of whither he had a desire to go. Everything frightened him that he heard anybody speak of, that had but the least appearance of opposition in it. I hear that he lay roaring at the Slough of Despond for about a month together; nor durst he, for all he saw several go over before him, venture, though they, many of them, offered to lend him their hand. He would not go back again neither.[1] The Celestial City, he said, he should die if he came not to it; and yet was dejected at every difficulty, and stumbled at every straw that anybody cast in his way. Well, after he had lain at the Slough of Despond a great while, as I have told you, one sunshine morning, I do not know how, he ventured, and so got over; but when he was over, he would scarce believe it. He had, I think, a Slough of Despond in his mind; a slough that he carried everywhere with him, or else he could never have been as he was. So he came up to the gate, you know what I mean, that stands at the head of this way; and there also he stood a good while, before he would adventure to knock. When the gate was opened, he would give back, and give place to others, and say that he was not worthy. For, for all he got before some to the gate, yet many of them went in before him. There the poor man would stand, shaking and shrinking. I dare say, it would have pitied one's heart to have seen him; nor would he go back again. At last, he took the hammer that hanged on the gate in his hand, and gave a small rap or two; then one opened to him, but he shrank back as before. He that opened stepped out after him, and said, Thou trembling one, what wantest thou? With that he fell down to the ground. He that spoke to him wondered to see him so faint. So he said to him, Peace be to thee; up, for I have set open the door to thee. Come in, for thou art blessed. With that he got up, and went in trembling; and when he was in, he was ashamed to show his face. Well, after he had been entertained there a while, as you know how the manner is, he was bid go on his way, and also told the way he should take. So he came till he came to our house. But as he behaved himself at the gate, so he did at my master the Interpreter's door. He lay thereabout in the cold a good while, before he would adventure to call; yet he would not go back, and the nights were long and cold then. Nay, he had a note of necessity in his bosom to my master, to receive him and grant him the comfort of his house, and also to allow him a stout and valiant conductor, because he was himself so chicken-hearted a man; and yet, for all that, he was afraid to call at the door. So he lay up and down thereabouts, till, poor man! he was almost starved. Yea, so great was his dejection, that though he saw several others, for knocking, get in, yet he was afraid to venture. At last, I think, I looked out of the window, and perceiving a man to be up and down about the door, I went out to him, and asked what he was; but, poor man! the water stood in his eyes; so I perceived what he wanted. I went, therefore, in and told it in the house, and we showed the thing to our Lord. So he sent me out again, to entreat him to come in; but, I dare say, I had hard work to do it. At last he came in; and I will say that for my Lord, he carried it wonderfully lovingly to him. There were but a few good bits at the table, but some of it was laid upon his trencher. Then he presented the note, and my Lord looked thereon, and said his desire should be granted. So, when he had been there a good while, he seemed to get some heart, and to be a little more comfortable; for my master, you must know, is one of very tender bowels, especially to them that are afraid; wherefore he carried it so towards him, as might tend most to his encouragement. Well, when he had had a sight of the things of the place, and was ready to take his journey to go to the city, my Lord, as he did to Christian before, gave him a bottle of spirits, and some comfortable things to eat. Thus we set forward, and I went before him; but the man was but of few words, only he would sigh aloud.

Mr. Fearing's troublesome pilgrimage.

His behaviour at the Slough of Despond.

His behaviour at the gate.

His behaviour at the Interpreter's door.

How he was entertained there.

He is a little encouraged at the Interpreter's House.

When we were come to where the three fellows were hanged, he said that he doubted that that would be his end also. Only he seemed glad when he saw the Cross and the Sepulchre. There, I confess,

He was greatly afraid when he saw the gibbet; cheery when he saw the Cross.

[1] We cannot but admire the variety of experiences introduced into the Pilgrim's Progress. Many have died remarkably happy in the Lord, who, till very near their last moments, have been in bondage through the fear of death. We may be sure of this, that wherever the Lord has begun a work, he will carry it on to the great decisive day. The proof of this is 'he would not go back!' 'If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed.'—(J. B.)

he desired to stay a little to look, and he seemed, for a while after, to be a little cheery. When we came at the Hill Difficulty, he made no stick at that, nor did he much fear the lions; for you must know that his trouble was not about such things as those; his fear was about his acceptance at last.[1]

Dumpish at the House Beautiful.

I got him in at the House Beautiful, I think, before he was willing. Also, when he was in, I brought him acquainted with the damsels that were of the place; but he was ashamed to make himself much for company. He desired much to be alone, yet he always loved good talk, and often would get behind the screen to hear it. He also loved much to see ancient things, and to be pondering them in his mind. He told me afterwards that he loved to be in those two houses from which he came last, to wit, at the gate, and that of the Interpreter, but that he durst not be so bold to ask.

He went down into, and was very pleasant in, the Valley of Humiliation.

When we went also from the House Beautiful, down the hill, into the Valley of Humiliation, he went down as well as ever I saw man in my life; for he cared not how mean he was, so he might be happy at last. Yea, I think, there was a kind of a sympathy betwixt that valley and him; for I never saw him better in all his pilgrimage than when he was in that valley.[2]

Here he would lie down, embrace the ground, and kiss the very flowers that grew in this valley. La. iii 27–29. He would now be up every morning by break of day, tracing and walking to and fro in this valley.

Muchperplexed in the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

But when he was come to the entrance of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, I thought I should have lost my man; not for that he had any inclination to go back; that he always abhorred; but he was ready to die for fear. Oh! the hobgoblins will have me! the hobgoblins will have me! cried he; and I could not beat him out on it. He made such a noise, and such an outcry here, that, had they but heard him, it was enough to encourage them to come and fall upon us.[3]

But this I took very great notice of, that this valley was as quiet while he went through it, as ever I knew it before or since. I suppose these enemies here had now a special check from our Lord, and a command not to meddle until Mr. Fearing was passed over it.

It would be too tedious to tell you of all. We will, therefore, only mention a passage or two more. When he was come at Vanity Fair, I thought he would have fought with all the men at the fair. I feared there we should both have been knocked on the head, so hot was he against their fooleries.[4] Upon the Enchanted Ground, he was also very wakeful. But when he was come at the river, where was no bridge, there again he was in a heavy case. Now, now, he said, he should be drowned for ever, and so never see that face with comfort that he had come so many miles to behold.

His behaviour at Vanity Fair.

And here, also, I took notice of what was very remarkable; the water of that river was lower at this time than ever I saw it in all my life. So he went over at last, not much above wet-shod.[5] When he was going up to the gate, Mr. Great-heart began to take his leave of him, and to wish him a good reception above. So he said, I shall, I shall. Then parted we asunder, and I saw him no more.

His boldness at last.

Hon. Then, it seems, he was well at last.

Great-heart. Yes, yes; I never had doubt about him; he was a man of a choice spirit, only he was always kept very low, and that made his life so burdensome to himself, and so troublesome to others. Ps. lxxviii. He was, above many, tender of sin. He was so afraid of doing injuries to others, that he often would deny himself of that which was lawful, because he would not offend. Ro. xiv. 21. 1 Co. viii. 13.

Hon. But what should be the reason that such a good man should be all his days so much in the dark?[6]

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[1] See all through this character, what a conflict there was between fear, and the influence of grace. Though it may not be the most comfortable, yet the end of Mr. Fearing was very joyful. O what a godly jealousy displayed itself all through his life! Better this, than strong, vain-glorious confidence. The Valley of Humiliation suits well with fearing hearts.—(Mason.)

[2] When persons are naturally fearful and low-spirited, it will be found, notwithstanding the courage and comfort they sometimes are favoured with, that the constitutional bias of their tempers and dispositions will discover itself, more or less, all through their pilgrimage. Thus there is a kind of sympathy between Fearing and the Valley of Humiliation, which seems congenial to him.—(J. B.)

[3] O what a time of need is the day of death, when I am to pack up all, to be gone from hence; now a man grows near the borders of eternity; he sees into the skirts of the next world. Now death is death, and the grave the grave indeed. Has he laid up grace for this day, while cold death strokes his hand over his face, and over his heart, and is turning his blood into jelly; while strong death is loosing his silver cord, and breaking his golden bowl?—Bunyan's *Saints' Privilege*, vol. i. p. 678. Can a great-hearted saint wonder that Mr. Fearing was at his wit's end?—(Ed.)

[4] Here is a glorious display of a fearing heart. Full of courage against evil, and fired with zeal for God's glory.—(Mason.)

[5] O how gracious is our Lord! as thy day is, O Pilgrim, so shall thy strength be. Even the river of death, though there can be no bridge to go over, yet faith makes one; and the Lord of faith makes the waters low, to suit the state of his beloved ones.—(Mason.)

[6] We know the least appearance of a sin better by its native hue, than we know a grace of the Spirit. Sin is sooner felt in its bitterness upon a sanctified soul than is the grace of God. Sin is dreadful and murderous in the sight of a sanctified soul. Grace lies deep in the hidden part, but sin floats above in the flesh, and is easier seen. Grace as to quantity,

GREAT-HEART. There are two sorts of reasons for it: One is, the wise God will have it so; some must pipe, and some must weep. Mat. xi. 16–18. Now Mr. Fearing was one that played upon this bass; he and his fellows sound the sackbut, whose notes are more doleful than the notes of other music are; though, indeed, some say the bass is the ground of music. And, for my part, I care not at all for that profession that begins not in heaviness of mind. The first string that the musician usually touches is the bass, when he intends to put all in tune. God also plays upon this string first, when he sets the soul in tune for himself. Only here was the imperfection of Mr. Fearing, he could play upon no other music but this, till towards his latter end.[1]

Reasons why good men are so in the dark.

I make bold to talk thus metaphorically, for the ripening of the wits of young readers; and because, in the book of the Revelations, the saved are compared to a company of musicians that play upon their trumpets and harps, and sing their songs before the throne. Re. viii. 2; xiv. 2, 3.

HON. He was a very zealous man, as one may see by what relation you have given of him; difficulties, lions, or Vanity Fair, he feared not at all. It was only sin, death, and hell that was to him a terror, because he had some doubts about his interest in that celestial country.[2]

GREAT-HEART. You say right. Those were the things that were his troublers, and they, as you have well observed, arose from the weakness of his mind thereabout, not from weakness of spirit as to the practical part of a pilgrim's life. I dare believe that, as the proverb is, 'he could have bit a firebrand, had it stood in his way;' but the things with which he was oppressed, no man ever yet could shake off with ease.

A close about him.

CHRIST. Then said Christiana, This relation of Mr. Fearing has done me good. I thought nobody had been like me; but I see there was some semblance betwixt this good man and I; only we differed in two things: His troubles were so great, they break out; but mine I kept within. His, also, lay so hard upon him, they made him that he could not knock at the houses provided for entertainment; but my trouble was always such as made me knock the louder.

Christiana's sentence.

MERCY. If I might also speak my heart, I must say, that something of him has also dwelt in me; for I have ever been more afraid of the lake, and the loss of a place in Paradise, than I have been of the loss of other things. O, thought I, may I have the happiness to have a habitation there, it is enough, though I part with all the world to win it!

Mercy's sentence.

MATT. Then said Matthew, Fear was one thing that made me think that I was far from having that within me that accompanies salvation; but if it was so with such a good man as he, why may it not also go well with me?

Matthew's sentence.

JAMES. No fears, no grace, said James. Though there is not always grace where there is the fear of hell, yet, to be sure, there is no grace where there is no fear of God.[3]

James's sentence.

GREAT-HEART. Well said, James, thou hast hit the mark; for the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom; and, to be sure, they that want the beginning, have neither middle nor end. But we will here conclude our discourse of Mr. Fearing, after we have sent after him this farewell.

Well, Master Fearing, thou didst fear
Thy God, and wast afraid
Of doing anything, while here,
That would have thee betray'd.
And didst thou fear the lake and pit?
Would others did so too!
For, as for them that want thy wit,
They do themselves undo.[4]

Their Farewell about him.

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seems less than sin. What is leaven, or a grain of mustard seed, to the bulky lump of a body of death? It is a rare thing for some Christians to see their graces, but a thing very common for such to see their sins, to the shaking of their souls.—(Bunyan's *Desire of the Righteous*, vol. i. p. 755.)

[1] This is an every-day character in the church, delicately and accurately drawn, a man, as Mr. Ivimey says, that 'carried the Slough of Despond in his mind everywhere with him,' not from the difficulties of the way, nor the frowns of the world, but from doubts lest sin, death, and hell, should prevail over them. They walk safely, however sorrowfully; and seldom give the enemy an occasion to rejoice.—(ED.)

[2] Here is a very striking lesson for professors. Talk not of your great knowledge, rich experience, comfortable frames, and joyful feelings; all are vain and delusive, if the gospel has not a holy influence upon your practice. On the other hand, be not dejected if you are not favoured with these; for if a holy fear of God, and a godly jealousy over yourselves, possess your heart, verily you are a partaker of the grace of Christ.—(Mason.)

[3] Hatred to sin can only arise from the love of God. In vain do men think of deterring others from sin, or driving them to duty by low terrors, or low requirements. The strong man armed will keep his palace, till a stronger than he cometh and taketh from him the armour wherein he trusted. But herein they err, not knowing the Scriptures, which set forth love as the constraining motive to true obedience.—(J. B.)

[4] Christians who resemble Fearing, are greatly retarded in their progress by discouraging apprehensions; they are apt to spend too much time in unavailing complaints; yet they cannot think of giving up their feeble hopes, or of returning to their forsaken worldly pursuits and pleasures. They are indeed helped forward, through the mercy of God, in a very extraordinary manner; yet they still remain exposed to alarms and discouragements, in every stage of their pilgrimage. They are afraid even of relying on Christ for salvation, because they have not distinct views of his love, and the methods of his grace; and imagine some other qualification to be necessary, besides the willingness to seek, knock, and ask for the promised blessings, with a real desire of obtaining them. They imagine, that there has been something in their past life, or that there is some peculiarity in their present habits, and way of applying to Christ, which may exclude them from the benefit: so that they pray with diffidence; and, being con-

Now I saw, that they still went on in their talk; for after Mr. Great-heart had made an end with Mr. Fearing, Mr. Honest began to tell them of another, but his name was Mr. Self-will. He pretended himself to be a pilgrim, said Mr. Honest; but I persuade myself he never came in at the gate that stands at the head of the way.

Of Mr. Self-will.

GREAT-HEART. Had you ever any talk with him about it?

HON. Yes, more than once or twice; but he would always be like himself, self-willed. He neither cared for man, nor argument, nor yet example; what his mind prompted him to, that he would do, and nothing else could he be got to.

Old Honest had talked with him.

GREAT-HEART. Pray, what principles did he hold? for I suppose you can tell.

HON. He held, that a man might follow the vices as well as the virtues of the pilgrims; and that if he did both, he should be certainly saved.

Self-will's opinions.

GREAT-HEART. How! if he had said, It is possible for the best to be guilty of the vices, as well as to partake of the virtues of pilgrims, he could not much have been blamed; for indeed we are exempted from no vice absolutely, but on condition that we watch and strive.[1] But this, I perceive, is not the thing; but if I understand you right, your meaning is, that he was of that opinion, that it was allowable so to be.

HON. Aye, aye, so I mean; and so he believed and practised.

GREAT-HEART. But what ground had he for his so saying?

HON. Why, he said he had the Scripture for his warrant.

GREAT-HEART. Prithee, Mr. Honest, present us with a few particulars.

HON. So I will. He said, To have to do with other men's wives, had been practised by David, God's beloved; and therefore he could do it. He said, To have more women than one, was a thing that Solomon practised; and therefore he could do it. He said, That Sarah and the godly midwives of Egypt lied, and so did saved Rahab; and therefore he could do it. He said, That the disciples went at the bidding of their Master, and took away the owner's ass; and therefore he could do so too. He said, That Jacob got the inheritance of his father in a way of guile and dissimulation; and therefore he could do so too.[2]

GREAT-HEART. Highly base! indeed. And you are sure he was of this opinion?

HON. I have heard him plead for it, bring Scripture for it, bring argument for it, &c.

GREAT-HEART. An opinion that is not fit to be with any allowance in the world.

HON. You must understand me rightly. He did not say that any man might do this; but that those that had the virtues of those that did such things, might also do the same.

GREAT-HEART. But what more false than such a conclusion? for this is as much as to say, that because good men heretofore have sinned of infirmity, therefore he had allowance to do it of a presumptuous mind; or if, because a child by the blast of the wind, or for that it stumbled at a stone, fell down, and defiled itself in mire, therefore he might wilfully lie down and wallow like a boar therein. Who could have thought that any one could so far have been blinded by the power of lust? But what is written must be true: They 'stumble at the word, being disobedient; whereunto also they were appointed.' 1 Pe. ii. 8.

His supposing that such may have the godly men's virtues, who addict themselves to their vices, is also a delusion as strong as the other. It is just as if the dog should say, I have, or may have, the qualities of the child, because I lick up its stinking excrements. To eat up the sin of God's people, is no sign of one that is possessed with

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sciously unworthy, can hardly believe that the Lord will grant their requests. They are also prone to overlook the most decisive evidences of their reconciliation to God; and to persevere in arguing with perverse ingenuity against their own manifest happiness. The same mixture of humility and unbelief renders persons of this description backward in associating with their brethren, and in frequenting those companies in which they might obtain further instruction; for they are afraid of being considered as believers, or even serious inquirers; so that affectionate and earnest persuasion is requisite to prevail with them to join in those religious exercises, by which Christians especially receive the teaching of the Holy Spirit. Yet this arises not from disinclination, but diffidence; and though they are often peculiarly favoured with seasons of great comfort, to counterbalance their dejections, yet they never hear or read of those who 'have drawn back to perdition,' but they are terrified with the idea that they shall shortly resemble them; so that every warning given against hypocrisy or self-deception seems to point them out by name, and every new discovery of any fault or mistake in their views, temper, or conduct, seems to decide their doom. At the same time, they are often remarkably melted into humble, admiring gratitude, by contemplating the love and sufferings of Christ, and seem to delight in hearing of that subject above all others. They do not peculiarly fear difficulties, self-denial, reproaches, or persecution, which deter numbers from making an open profession of religion; and yet they are more backward in this respect than others, because they deem themselves unworthy to be admitted to such privileges and into such society, or else are apprehensive of being finally separated from them or becoming a disgrace to religion.—(Scott.)

[1] This is a solid, scriptural definition; pray mind it. Here conditions may safely be admitted; and happy is the Christian who keeps closest to these conditions, in order to enjoy peace of conscience, and joy of heart in Christ.—(Mason.)

[2] That heart, which is under the teaching and influence of the grace of God, will detect such horrid notions, and cry out against them. God forbid that ever I should listen one moment to such diabolical sentiments! for they are hatched in hell, and propagated on earth, by the father of lies.—(Mason.)

their virtues. Ho. iv. 8. Nor can I believe, that one that is of this opinion, can at present have faith or love in him. But I know you have made strong objections against him; prithee, what can he say for himself?[1]

Hon. Why, he says, To do this by way of opinion, seems abundance more honest, than to do it, and yet hold contrary to it in opinion.

Great-heart. A very wicked answer; for though to let loose the bridle to lusts, while our opinions are against such things, is bad; yet, to sin, and plead a toleration so to do, is worse. The one stumbles beholders accidentally, the other pleads them into the snare.

Hon. There are many of this man's mind, that have not this man's mouth; and that makes going on pilgrimage of so little esteem as it is.

Great-heart. You have said the truth, and it is to be lamented; but he that feareth the King of Paradise, shall come out of them all.

Christ. There are strange opinions in the world; I know one that said, It was time enough to repent when they come to die.[2]

Great-heart. Such are not over wise. That man would have been loath, might he have had a week to run twenty miles in for his life, to have deferred that journey to the last hour of that week.

Hon. You say right; and yet the generality of them, that count themselves pilgrims, do indeed do thus. I am, as you see, an old man, and have been a traveller in this road many a day; and I have taken notice of many things.[3]

I have seen some that have set out as if they would drive all the world afore them, who yet have, in few days, died as they in the wilderness, and so never got sight of the promised land.

I have seen some that have promised nothing, at first setting out to be pilgrims and that one would have thought could not have lived a day, that have yet proved very good pilgrims.

I have seen some who have run hastily forward, that again have, after a little time, run as fast just back again.

I have seen some who have spoken very well of a pilgrim's life at first, that, after a while, have spoken as much against it.

I have heard some, when they first set out for Paradise, say positively there is such a place; who when they have been almost there, have come back again, and said there is none.

I have heard some vaunt what they would do, in case they should be opposed, that have, even at a false alarm, fled faith, the pilgrim's way, and all.[4]

Now, as they were thus in their way, there came one running to meet them, and said, Gentlemen, and you of the weaker sort, if you love life, shift for yourselves, for the robbers are before you.[5] Fresh news of trouble.

Great-heart. Then said Mr. Great-heart, They be the three that set upon Little-faith heretofore. Well, said he, we are ready for them; so they went on their way. Now, they looked at every turning, when they should have met with the villains; but whether they heard of Mr. Great-heart, or whether they had some other game, they came not up to the Pilgrims. First Part, p. 147. Great-heart's resolution.

Christiana then wished for an inn for herself and her children, because they were weary.[6] Then said Mr. Honest, There is one a little before us, where a very honourable disciple, one Gaius, dwells. Ro. xvi. 23. So they all concluded to turn in thither, and the rather, because the old gentleman gave him so good a report. So when they came to the door, they went in, not knocking, for folks use not Christiana wisheth for an inn. Gaius.

[1] It is a horrible and blasphemous perversion of Scripture, to take encouragement in sin, from those sad examples of it in the saints, which are held up, *in terrorem*, as so many beacons by which we may avoid the same. To talk, and especially to act like Self-will affords the fullest proof that a man never came in at the gate. The Lord change every such perverse will, and preserve the church from principles and practices so diabolical.—(Burder.) What shall we say to these things? Lord, keep me!—(J. B.)

[2] It may be seriously inquired as to whether in all Satan's temptations, any one is so fatal to immortal souls as the idea of a death-bed repentance. Have not prayers against sudden death a tendency to interfere with or obstruct that daily walk with God, which alone can fit us to meet the king of terrors? When heart and strength fail; when the body is writhing in agony, or lying an insensible lump of mortality; is that the time to make peace with God? Such persons must be infatuated with strange notions of the Divine Being. No, my reader, life is the time to serve the Lord, the time to insure the great reward. Sudden death is a release from much pain and anxiety. It is the most merciful gate by which we can enter upon immortality.—(Ed.)

[3] Pray attentively mind, and deeply consider the six following observations: they are just; they are daily confirmed to us in the different conduct of professors. Study, and pray to improve them to your soul's profit.—(Mason.)

[4] Adam hid himself because he was naked. But how could he be naked, when before he had made himself an apron? O! the approach of God consumed and burnt off his apron! His apron would not keep him from the eye of the incorruptible God. When God deals with such men for sin, assuredly they will find themselves naked.—(Bunyan on *Genesis*, vol. ii. p. 432.) If the wicked flee when no man pursueth, how can they stand when God lets loose death and eternity upon their guilty souls?—(Ed.)

[5] Thou art bound to heaven, but the way thither is dangerous. It is beset everywhere with evil angels, who would rob thee of thy soul. If thou wouldest go on cheerfully in thy dangerous journey, commit thy treasure—thy soul, to God, to keep; and then thou mayest say with comfort, Well, that care is over; my soul is safe; the thieves, if they meet me, cannot come at that; God will keep it to my joy and comfort at the great day.—(Bunyan's *Advice to Sufferers*, vol. ii. p. 701.)

[6] The spiritual refreshment, arising from experimental conversation, seems to be especially intended; but the name of Gaius suggests also the importance of the apostle's exhortation, 'Use hospitality without grudging.' This ought to be obeyed even to strangers, if they are certified to us as brethren in Christ.—(Scott.) Every Christian's house should, so far as ability is given, be an inn for the refreshment of weary fellow-pilgrims.—(Ed.)

to knock at the door of an inn. Then they called for the master of the house, and he came to them. So they asked if they might lie there that night.

They enter into his house.

GAIUS. Yes, gentlemen, if ye be true men, for my house is for none but pilgrims. Then was Christiana, Mercy, and the boys, the more glad, for that the Inn-keeper was a lover of pilgrims. So they called for rooms, and he showed them one for Christiana and her children, and Mercy, and another for Mr. Great-heart and the old gentleman.

Gaius entertains them, and how.

GREAT-HEART. Then said Mr. Great-heart, Good Gaius, what hast thou for supper? for these pilgrims have come far to-day, and are weary.

GAIUS. It is late, said Gaius, so we cannot conveniently go out to seek food; but such as we have, you shall be welcome to, if that will content.[1]

GREAT-HEART. We will be content with what thou hast in the house; forasmuch as I have proved thee, thou art never destitute of that which is convenient.

Then he went down and spake to the cook, whose name was Taste-that-which-is-good, to get ready supper for so many pilgrims. This done, he comes up again, saying, Come, my good friends, you are welcome to me, and I am glad that I have a house to entertain you; and while supper is making ready, if you please, let us entertain one another with some good discourse. So they all said, Content.

Gaius's Cook.

GAIUS. Then said Gaius, Whose wife is this aged matron? and whose daughter is this young damsel.

Talk between Gaius and his guests.

GREAT-HEART. The woman is the wife of one Christian, a Pilgrim of former times; and these are his four children. The maid is one of her acquaintance; one that she hath persuaded to come with her on pilgrimage. The boys take all after their father, and covet to tread in his steps; yea, if they do but see any place where the old Pilgrim hath lain, or any print of his foot, it ministereth joy to their hearts, and they covet to lie or tread in the same.

Mark this.

GAIUS. Then said Gaius, Is this Christian's wife? and are these Christian's children? I knew your husband's father, yea, also his father's father. Many have been good of this stock; their ancestors dwelt first at Antioch. Ac. xi. 26. Christian's progenitors (I suppose you have heard your husband talk of them) were very worthy men. They have, above any that I know, showed themselves men of great virtue and courage, for the Lord of the Pilgrims, his ways, and them that loved him. I have heard of many of your husband's relations, that have stood all trials for the sake of the truth. Stephen, that was one of the first of the family from whence your husband sprang, was knocked on the head with stones. Ac. vii. 59, 60. James, another of this generation, was slain with the edge of the sword. Ac. xii. 2. To say nothing of Paul and Peter, men anciently of the family from whence your husband came, there was Ignatius, who was cast to the lions;[2] Romanus, whose flesh was cut by pieces from his bones, and Polycarp, that played the man in the fire. There was he that was hanged up in a basket in the sun, for the wasps to eat; and he who they put into a sack, and cast him into the sea to be drowned. It would be utterly impossible to count up all of that family that have suffered injuries and death, for the love of a pilgrim's life. Nor can I but be glad, to see that thy husband has left behind him four such boys as these. I hope they will bear up their father's name, and tread in their father's steps, and come to their father's end.

Of Christian's ancestors.

GREAT-HEART. Indeed, Sir, they are likely lads; they seem to choose heartily their father's ways.

GAIUS. That is it that I said; wherefore Christian's family is like still to spread abroad upon the face of the ground, and yet to be numerous upon the face of the earth; wherefore, let Christiana look out some damsels for her sons, to whom they may be betrothed, &c., that the name of their father and the house of his progenitors may never be forgotten in the world.[3]

Advice to Christiana about her boys.

HON. It is pity this family should fall and be extinct.

GAIUS. Fall it cannot, but be diminished it may; but let Christiana take my advice, and that is the way to uphold it.

And, Christiana, said this Innkeeper, I am glad to see thee and thy friend Mercy together here, a lovely couple. And may I advise, take Mercy into a nearer relation to thee; if she will, let her be given to Matthew, thy eldest son; it is the way to preserve you a posterity in the earth. So this match was concluded, and in process of time they were married; but more of that hereafter.

Mercy and Matthew marry.

[1] This character is drawn from that of the well-beloved Gaius, in the third epistle of John. Although, in comparison with the great bulk of Christians, there are but few such in the church; yet in all ages, and in most churches, some hospitable Gaius is to be found. May their numbers be greatly increased.—(ED.)

[2] Ignatius, a bishop or pastor of a church in Antioch, cruelly martyred for the truth in the second century; not Ignatius Loyola, the Jesuit. Mr. Bunyan obtained all this information from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, which was written before Satan had introduced the Jesuits into the world.—(ED.)

[3] 'Marriage is honourable in all.' He. xiii. 4. Notwithstanding all the cares of a family, while the married have many troubles, the single have few, if any, real enjoyments of life. The will of our heavenly Father is here enforced upon the pilgrims by Gaius—only let pilgrims be united together, marry in the Lord, and we may expect his blessing to fit us to do his will. Vows of celibacy are from beneath, from the father of lies—contrary to the order of nature, and the expressed will of God. 'It is not good to be alone.'—(ED.)

Gaius also proceeded, and said, I will now speak on the behalf of women, to take away their reproach. For as death and the curse came into the world by a woman, Ge. iii., so also did life and health: 'God sent forth his Son made of a woman.' Ga. iv. 4. Yea, to show how much those that came after, did abhor the act of the mother, this sex, in the Old Testament, coveted children, if happily this or that woman might be the mother of the Saviour of the world.

Why women of old so much desired children.

I will say again, that when the Saviour was come, women rejoiced in him before either man or angel. Lu. ii. I read not, that ever any man did give unto Christ so much as one groat; but the women followed him, and ministered to him of their substance. Lu. viii. 2, 3. It was a woman that washed his feet with tears, and a woman that anointed his body to the burial. Lu. vii. 37, 50. Jn. xi. 2.; xii. 3. They were women that wept, when he was going to the cross, and women that followed him from the cross, and that sat by his sepulchre, when he was buried. Lu. xxiii. 27. Mat. xxvii. 55, 56, 61. They were women that were first with him at his resurrection-morn; and women that brought tidings first to his disciples, that he was risen from the dead. Lu. xxiv. 22, 23. Women, therefore, are highly favoured, and show by these things that they are sharers with us in the grace of life.

Now the cook sent up to signify that supper was almost ready, and sent one to lay the cloth, the trenchers, and to set the salt and bread in order.

Supper ready.

Then said Matthew, The sight of this cloth, and of this fore-runner of the supper, begetteth in me a greater appetite to my food than I had before.

GAIUS. So let all ministering doctrines to thee, in this life, beget in thee a greater desire to sit at the supper of the great King in his kingdom; for all preaching, books, and ordinances here, are but as the laying of the trenchers, and as setting of salt upon the board, when compared with the feast that our Lord will make for us when we come to his house.

What to be gathered from laying of the board with the cloth and trenchers.

So supper came up;[1] and first, a heave-shoulder, and a wave-breast, Le. vii. 32–34; x. 14, 15, were set on the table before them, to show that they must begin their meal with prayer and praise to God. Ps. xxv. 1. He. xiii. 15. The heave-shoulder, David lifted his heart up to God with; and with the wave-breast, where his heart lay, with that he used to lean upon his harp when he played. These two dishes were very fresh and good, and they all eat heartily well thereof.

The next they brought up, was a bottle of wine, red as blood. De. 32. 14. So Gaius said to them, Drink freely; this is the juice of the true vine, that makes glad the heart of God and man. Ju. ix. 13. Jn. xv. 1. So they drank and were merry.

The next was a dish of milk well crumbed; but Gaius said, Let the boys have that, that they may grow thereby. 1 Pe. ii. 1, 2.

A dish of milk.

Then they brought up in course a dish of butter and honey. Then said Gaius, Eat freely of this; for this is good to cheer up, and strengthen your judgments and understandings. This was our Lord's dish when he was a child: 'Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil, and choose the good.' Is. vii. 15.

Of honey and butter.

Then they brought them up a dish of apples, and they were very good tasted fruit. Then said Matthew, May we eat apples, since they were such, by, and with which, the serpent beguiled our first mother?

A dish of apples.

Then said Gaius—

> Apples were they with which we were beguil'd;
> Yet sin, not apples, hath our souls defil'd.
> Apples forbid, if eat, corrupt the blood;
> To eat such, when commanded, does us good.
> Drink of his flagons, then, thou church, his dove,
> And eat his apples, who are sick of love.

Then said Matthew, I made the scruple, because I awhile since was sick with eating of fruit.

GAIUS. Forbidden fruit will make you sick, but not what our Lord has tolerated.

While they were thus talking, they were presented with another dish, and it was a dish of nuts. Ca. vi. 11. Then said some at the table, Nuts spoil tender teeth, especially the teeth of children; which when Gaius heard, he said—

A dish of nuts.

> Hard texts are nuts (I will not call them cheaters),
> Whose shells do keep their kernels from the eaters.
> Ope then the shells, and you shall have the meat;
> They here are brought for you to crack and eat.

Then were they very merry, and sat at the table a long time, talking of many things. Then said the old gentleman, My good landlord, while we are cracking your nuts, if you please, do you open this riddle:[2]

[1] The different parts of social worship and Christian fellowship are here allegorically described. The heave-shoulder and wave-breast typify the power and love of our great High Priest; that we should devote to him our whole heart, with fervent prayer, and grateful praise. The wine represents the exhilarating effects of the shedding of Christ's blood, and its application to us by living faith. The milk is the simple instruction of the Scriptures. The butter and honey are animating views of God and heavenly joy. The apples are the promises and privileges of Christians (see Ca. ii. 3. Pr. xxv. 11). And the nuts those difficult doctrines, which amply repay us the trouble of penetrating their meaning. Christians so employed have far sweeter enjoyments than they ever had in the mirth, diversions, and pleasures of the world.—(Scott.)

[2] Bunyan takes advantage of the common pastime of solving

A riddle put forth by Old Honest.

A man there was, though some did count him mad,
The more he cast away, the more he had.

Then they all gave good heed, wondering what good Gaius would say; so he sat still awhile, and then thus replied:—

Gaius opens it.

He that bestows his goods upon the poor,
Shall have as much again, and ten times more.

Joseph wonders.

Then said Joseph, I dare say, Sir, I did not think you could have found it out.

Oh! said Gaius, I have been trained up in this way a great while; nothing teaches like experience; I have learned of my Lord to be kind; and have found by experience, that I have gained thereby. 'There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and *there is* that withholdeth more than is meet; but *it tendeth* to poverty. Pr. xi. 24. There is that maketh himself rich, yet *hath* nothing; *there is* that maketh himself poor, yet *hath* great riches.'[1] Pr. xiii. 7.

Then Samuel whispered to Christiana, his mother, and said, Mother, this is a very good man's house, let us stay here a good while, and let my brother Matthew be married here to Mercy, before we go any further.[2]

The which Gaius the host overhearing, said, With a very good will, my child.

Matthew and Mercy are married.

So they staid there more than a month, and Mercy was given to Matthew to wife.

While they staid here, Mercy, as her custom was, would be making coats and garments to give to the poor, by which she brought up a very good report upon the Pilgrims.[3]

The boys go to bed, the rest sit up.

But to return again to our story. After supper the lads desired a bed; for that they were weary with travelling: then Gaius called to show them their chamber; but said Mercy, I will have them to bed. So she had them to bed, and they slept well; but the rest sat up all night; for Gaius and they were such suitable company, that they could not tell how to part. Then after much talk of their Lord, themselves, and their journey, old Mr. Honest, he that put forth the

Old Honest nods.

riddle to Gaius, began to nod. Then said Great-heart, What, Sir, you begin to be drowsy; come, rub up; now here is a riddle for you. Then said Mr. Honest, Let us hear it.

Then said Mr. Great-heart,

A riddle.

He that will kill, must first be overcome,
Who live abroad would, first must die at home.

Ha! said Mr. Honest, it is a hard one, hard to expound, and harder to practise. But come, landlord, said he, I will, if you please, leave my part to you; do you expound it, and I will hear what you say.

No, said Gaius, it was put to you, and it is expected that you should answer it.

Then said the old gentleman,

The riddle opened.

He first by grace must conquer'd be,
That sin would mortify;
And who, that lives, would convince me,
Unto himself must die.[4]

It is right, said Gaius; good doctrine and experience teaches this. For, first, until grace displays itself, and overcomes the soul with its glory, it is altogether without heart to oppose sin; besides, if sin is Satan's cords, by which the soul lies bound, how should it make resistance, before it is loosed from that infirmity?

Secondly, nor will any, that knows either reason or grace, believe that such a man can be a living monument of grace that is a slave to his own corruptions.

A question worth the minding.

And now it comes in my mind, I will tell you a story worth the hearing. There were two men that went on pilgrimage; the one began when he was young, the other when he was old. The young man had strong corruptions to grapple with; the old man's were decayed with the decays of nature. The young man trod his steps as even as did the old one, and was every way as light as he. Who now, or which of them, had their graces shining clearest, since both seemed to be alike?

A comparison.

Hon. The young man's, doubtless. For that which heads it against the greatest opposition, gives best demonstration that it is strongest; especially when it also holdeth

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riddles, to teach important truth in a way calculated to be impressed on the memory. Thus, in the treatise on the *Covenants of the Law and Grace*, the second Adam was before the first, and also the second covenant before the first. This is a riddle.—(Vol. ii. p. 524.)—(Ed.) Observe here, the feast of pilgrims was attended with mirth. Christians have the greatest reason to be merry; but then it ought to be spiritual mirth, which springs from spiritual views and spiritual conversation. —(Mason.)

[1] When Christian intercourse is conducted with gravity and cheerfulness united, it is both pleasant and instructive. Speech should be 'always with grace, seasoned with salt, that it may minister grace to the hearers,' and thus 'provoke one another unto love, and to good works;' thus are the young encouraged to follow that which is good.—(Ivimey.)

[2] Here is a genuine discovery of a gracious heart when it is delighted with spiritual company and conversation, and longs for its continuance. Is it so with you?—(Mason.)

[3] If our love to sinners be only shown by seeking their spiritual good, it will be considered as a bigoted desire to proselyte them to our sect; but uniform diligent endeavours to relieve their temporal wants are intelligible to every man, and bring a good report on the profession of the gospel. Mat. v. 16.—(Scott.)

[4] O, this dying to self, to self-righteous pride, vain confidence, self-love, and self-complacency, is hard work to the old man; yea, it is both impracticable and impossible to him. It is only grace that can conquer and subdue him; and where grace reigns, this work is carried on day by day. And yet the old man of sin, and self-righteousness, still lives in us.—(Mason.)

pace with that that meets not with half so much; as, to be sure, old age does not.[1]

A mistake.

Besides, I have observed that old men have blessed themselves with this mistake, namely, taking the decays of nature for a gracious conquest over corruptions, and so have been apt to beguile themselves. Indeed, old men that are gracious, are best able to give advice to them that are young, because they have seen most of the emptiness of things. But yet, for an old and a young [man] to set out both together, the young one has the advantage of the fairest discovery of a work of grace within him, though the old man's corruptions are naturally the weakest.

Thus they sat talking till break of day. Now, when the family was up, Christiana bid her son James that he should read a chapter; so he read the fifty-third of Isaiah. When he had done,

Another question.

Mr. Honest asked, why it was said that the Saviour is said to come 'out of a dry ground;' and also, that 'he had no form or comeliness in him?'

GREAT-HEART. Then said Mr. Great-heart, To the first, I answer, Because the church of the Jews, of which Christ came, had then lost almost all the sap and spirit of religion. To the second, I say, The words are spoken in the person of the unbelievers, who, because they want that eye that can see into our Prince's heart, therefore they judge of him by the meanness of his outside. Just like those that know not that precious stones are covered over with a homely crust; who, when they have found one, because they know not what they have found, cast it again away, as men do a common stone.

Well, said Gaius, now you are here, and since, as I know, Mr. Great-heart is good at his weapons, if you please, after we have refreshed ourselves, we will walk into the fields, to see if we can do any good.[2] About a mile from hence, there is one Slay-good, a giant that does much annoy the King's highway in these parts; and I know whereabout his haunt is. He is master of a number of thieves; it would be well if we could clear these parts of him.

Giant Slay-good assaulted and slain.

So they consented, and went, Mr. Great-heart with his sword, helmet, and shield, and the rest with spears and staves.[3]

When they came to the place where he was, they found him with one Feeble-mind in his hands, whom his servants had brought unto him, having taken him in the way. Now the giant was rifling him, with a purpose, after that, to pick his bones, for he was of the nature of flesh-eaters.

He is found with one Feeble-mind in his hand.

Well, so soon as he saw Mr. Great-heart and his friends at the mouth of his cave, with their weapons, he demanded what they wanted.

GREAT-HEART. We want thee; for we are come to revenge the quarrel of the many that thou hast slain of the pilgrims, when thou hast dragged them out of the King's highway; wherefore, come out of thy cave. So he armed himself and came out; and to a battle they went, and fought for above an hour, and then stood still to take wind.

SLAY. Then said the giant, Why are you here on my ground?

GREAT-HEART. To revenge the blood of pilgrims, as I also told thee before. So they went to it again, and the giant made Mr. Great-heart give back; but he came up again, and, in the greatness of his mind, he let fly with such stoutness at the giant's head and sides, that he made him let his weapon fall out of his hand; so he smote him, and slew him, and cut off his head, and brought it away to the inn. He also took Feeble-mind, the pilgrim, and brought him with him to his lodgings. When they were come home, they showed his head to the family, and then set it up, as they had done others before, for a terror to those that shall attempt to do as he hereafter.[4]

One Feeble-mind rescued from the giant.

Then they asked Mr. Feeble-mind how he fell into his hands?

FEEBLE-MIND. Then said the poor man, I am a sickly man, as you see; and, because death did usually once a day knock at my door, I thought I should never be well at home; so I betook myself to a pilgrim's life, and have travelled hither from the town of

How Feeble-mind came to be a pilgrim.

[1] Old age affords advantage in overcoming some propensities, yet habits of indulgence often counterbalance the decays of nature; and avarice, suspicion, and peevishness, with other evils, gather strength as men advance in years. Some old men may imagine that they have renounced sin, because they are no longer capable of committing the crimes in which they once lived.—(Scott.)

[2] The refreshment of Divine consolations, and Christian fellowship, is intended to prepare us for vigorously maintaining the good fight of faith; not only against the enemies of our own souls, but also against the opposers of our most holy religion. We are soldiers, and should unite together under the Captain of Salvation, to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, by every method authorized by the Word of God; nor must we shrink from danger and contumely in so good a cause.—(Scott.)

[3] It may be asked, how far it is right to expose ourselves to danger and difficulties, since it is rashness, not courage, to expose ourselves to unnecessary danger, or to give unnecessary offence. I would answer, It can never be improper to expose error, or oppose a prevailing vice, by which God's children are in danger of being beguiled.—(J. B.)

[4] Giant Slay-good represents a wicked, cruel man—a mere cannibal, invested with judicial authority—a selfish, malignant persecutor, who intimidated feeble-minded professors by fines and imprisonments, to the hazard of their souls. By the thieves, of whom he was master, were perhaps intended the common informers, who got their living by giving evidence against Nonconformists; some cruel magistrates pursued them to death. The attack was by scriptural and rational arguments, which led to a great alteration in these accursed laws. —(Ivimey and Scott.)

Uncertain, where I and my father were born. I am a man of no strength at all of body, nor yet of mind; but would, if I could, though I can but crawl, spend my life in the pilgrim's way.[1] When I came at the gate that is at the head of the way, the Lord of that place did entertain me freely; neither objected he against my weakly looks, nor against my feeble mind; but gave me such things that were necessary for my journey, and bid me hope to the end. When I came to the house of the Interpreter, I received much kindness there; and because the Hill Difficulty was judged too hard for me, I was carried up that by one of his servants. Indeed, I have found much relief from pilgrims, though none were willing to go so softly as I am forced to do; yet still, as they came on, they bid me be of good cheer, and said that it was the will of their Lord that comfort should be given to the feeble-minded, and so went on their own pace. 1 Th. v. 14. When I was come up to Assault Lane, then this giant met with me, and bid me prepare for an encounter; but, alas! feeble one that I was, I had more need of a cordial. So he came up and took me. I conceited he should not kill me. Also, when he had got me into his den, since I went not with him willingly, I believed I should come out alive again; for I have heard, that not any pilgrim that is taken captive by violent hands, if he keeps heart-whole towards his Master, is, by the laws of Providence, to die by the hand of the enemy. Robbed I looked to be, and robbed to be sure I am; but I am, as you see, escaped with life; for the which I thank my King as author, and you as the means. Other brunts I also look for; but this I have resolved on, to wit, to run when I can, to go when I cannot run, and to creep when I cannot go. As to the main, I thank him that loves me, I am fixed. My way is before me, my mind is beyond the river that has no bridge, though I am, as you see, but of a feeble mind.[2]

Mark this.

Mark this.

Hon. Then said old Mr. Honest, Have you not, some time ago, been acquainted with one Mr. Fearing, a pilgrim.

Feeble. Acquainted with him! Yes; he came from the town of Stupidity, which lieth four degrees to the northward of the City of Destruction, and as many off of where I was born; yet we were well acquainted, for, indeed, he was my uncle, my father's brother. He and I have been much of a temper. He was a little shorter than I, but yet we were much of a complexion.

Mr. Fearing Mr. Feeble-mind's uncle.

Hon. I perceive you know him; and I am apt to believe also, that you were related one to another; for you have his whitely look, a cast like his with your eye, and your speech is much alike.

Feeble-mind has some of Mr. Fearing's features.

Feeble. Most have said so that have known us both; and besides, what I have read in him, I have, for the most part, found in myself.

Gaius. Come, Sir, said good Gaius, be of good cheer, you are welcome to me, and to my house, and what thou hast a mind to, call for freely; and what thou wouldest have my servants do for thee, they will do it with a ready mind.

Gaius comforts him.

Then said Mr. Feeble-mind, This is unexpected favour, and as the sun shining out of a very dark cloud. Did Giant Slay-good intend me this favour when he stopped me, and resolved to let me go no further? Did he intend, that after he had rifled my pockets, I should go to Gaius, mine host? Yet so it is.[3]

Notice to be taken of Providence.

Now, just as Mr. Feeble-mind and Gaius were thus in talk, there comes one running, and called at the door, and told that, about a mile and a half off, there was one Mr. Not-right, a pilgrim, struck dead upon the place where he was with a thunder-bolt.[4]

Tidings how one Not-right was slain with a thunderbolt, and Mr. Feeble-mind's comment upon it.

Feeble. Alas! said Mr. Feeble-mind, is he slain? He overtook me some days before I came so far as hither, and would be my company-keeper. He also was with me when Slay-good, the giant, took me; but he was nimble of his heels, and escaped. But, it seems, he escaped to die, and I was took to live.[5]

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[1] All pilgrims are not alike vigorous, strong, and lively; some are weak, creep and crawl on, in the ways of the Lord. No matter, if there be but a pilgrim's heart, all shall be well at last; for Omnipotence itself is for us, and then we may boldly ask, 'Who shall be against us?'—(Mason.) Constitutional timidity and lowness of spirits, arising from a feeble frame, give a peculiar cast to the views and nature of religious profession, which unfits for hard and perilous service. The difference between Feeble-mind and Fearing seems to be this—the former was more afraid of opposition, and the latter more doubtful about the event, which perhaps may intimate, that Slay-good rather represents persecutors than deceivers.—(Scott.)

[2] What a sweet simple relation is here! Doth it not suit many a feeble mind? Poor soul, weak as he was, yet his Lord provided against his danger. He sent some strong ones to his deliverance, and to slay his enemy. Mind his belief, even in his utmost extremity. Learn somewhat from this Feeble-mind.—(Mason.)

[3] O how sweet to reflect, that the most gigantic enemies shall be conquered, and their most malicious designs be overruled for our good; yea, what they intend for our ruin shall be made to work for our health and prosperity.—(Mason.)

[4] 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.' Mat. xvi. 25.—(Ed.) Here is a contrast between a feeble believer and a specious hypocrite; the latter eludes persecutions by time-serving, yet perishes in his sins; the former suffers and trembles, yet hopes to be delivered and comforted. The frequency with which this is introduced, and the variety of characters by which it is illustrated, show us how important the author deemed such warnings.—(Scott.)

[5] Events, which at first appear big with misery and mis-

What, one would think, doth seek to slay outright,
Ofttimes delivers from the saddest plight.
That very providence, whose face is death,
Doth ofttimes to the lowly life bequeath.
I taken was, he did escape and flee;
Hands cross'd gives death to him, and life to me.

Now, about this time, Matthew and Mercy were married. Also Gaius gave his daughter Phebe to James, Matthew's brother, to wife; after which time they yet staid above ten days at Gaius' house, spending their time, and the seasons, like as pilgrims used to do.[1]

The Pilgrims prepare to go forward.

When they were to depart, Gaius made them a feast, and they did eat and drink, and were merry. Now the hour was come that they must be gone; wherefore, Mr. Great-heart called for a reckoning; but Gaius told him, that at his house it was not the custom for pilgrims to pay for their entertainment. He boarded them by the year, but looked for his pay from the good Samaritan, who had promised him, at his return, whatsoever charge he was at with them, faithfully to repay him. Lu. x. 34, 35. Then said Mr. Great-heart to him,

How they greet one another at parting.

Great-heart. 'Beloved, thou dost faithfully whatsoever thou dost to the brethren, and to strangers; which have borne witness of thy charity before the church; whom if thou (yet) bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well.' 3 Jn. 5, 6.

Gaius, his last kindness to Feeble-mind.

Then Gaius took his leave of them all, and of his children, and particularly of Mr. Feeble-mind. He also gave him something to drink by the way.

Now Mr. Feeble-mind, when they were going out of the door, made as if he intended to linger; the which when Mr. Great-heart espied, he said, Come, Mr. Feeble-mind, pray do you go along with us, I will be your conductor, and you shall fare as the rest.

Feeble-mind for going behind.

Feeble. Alas! I want a suitable companion; you are all lusty and strong; but I, as you see, am weak; I choose, therefore, rather to come behind, lest, by reason of my many infirmities, I should be both a burden to myself and to you. I am, as I said, a man of a weak and feeble mind, and shall be offended and made weak at that which others can bear. I shall like no laughing; I shall like no gay attire; I shall like no unprofitable questions. Nay, I am so weak a man, as to be offended with that which others have liberty to do. I do not yet know all the truth; I am a very ignorant Christian man; sometimes, if I hear some rejoice in the Lord, it troubles me, because I cannot do so too. It is with me, as it is with a weak man among the strong, or as with a sick man among the healthy, or as a lamp despised ('He that is ready to slip with *his* feet, *is as* a lamp despised in the thought of him that is at ease;' Job xii. 5), so that I know not what to do.[2]

His excuse for it.

Great-heart. But, brother, said Mr. Great-heart, I have it in commission to 'comfort the feeble-minded,' and to 'support the weak.' 1 Th. v. 14. You must needs go along with us; we will wait for you; we will lend you our help, Ro. xiv. 1; we will deny ourselves of some things, both opinionative and practical, for your sake, 1 Co. viii., we will not enter into doubtful disputations before you; we will be made all things to you, rather than you shall be left behind.[3] 1 Co. ix. 22.

Great-heart's commission.

Now all this while they were at Gaius's door; and behold, as they were thus in the heat of their discourse, Mr. Ready-to-halt came by, with his crutches* in his hand, Ps. xxxviii. 17; and he also was going on pilgrimage.

A Christian spirit.

* Promises.

Feeble-mind glad to see Ready-to-halt come by.

Feeble. Then said Mr. Feeble-mind to him, Man, How camest thou hither? I was but just now complaining, that I had not a suitable companion, but thou art according to my wish. Welcome, welcome, good Mr. Ready-to-halt, I hope thee and I may be some help.

Ready-to-halt. I shall be glad of thy company, said the other; and good Mr. Feeble-mind, rather than we will part, since we are thus happily met, I will lend thee one of my crutches.[4]

Feeble. Nay, said he, though I thank thee for thy goodwill, I am not inclined to halt before I am lame. Howbeit, I think, when occasion is, it may help me against a dog.[5]

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fortune, have been found afterwards to have been as so many dark passages, to lead into brighter and more glorious displays of the Divine power, wisdom, and goodness.—(J. B.)

[1] 'Marriage is honourable in all;' nor will Christian females find such a state any hinderance to their abounding in works of charity and mercy. By fulfilling the duties of the married life, they will cause the ways of God to be well spoken of. The desire of Paul was, 'That the younger women marry, be sober, love their husbands, love their children, be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the Word of God be not blasphemed.' Tit. ii. 4, 5.—(Ivimey.)

[2] What an open, ingenuous confession is here! though feeble in mind, he was strong in wisdom and sound judgment. —(Mason.) Woe be to those who offend one of these little ones; no less dear to God than the most eminent and distinguished saints.—(J. B.)

[3] O that this were more practised among Christians of different standings, degrees, and judgments! If they who are strong were thus to bear with the weak, as they ought, how much more love, peace, and unanimity would prevail!—(Mason.)

[4] Excellent! See the nature of Christian love; even to be ready to spare to a brother, what we ourselves have occasion for. Love looketh not at the things of our own, but to provide for the wants of others.—(Mason.)

[5] The character of Feeble-mind seems to coincide, in some things, with that of Fearing, and in others with the description

READY. If either myself or my crutches can do thee a pleasure, we are both at thy command, good Mr. Feeble-mind.

Thus therefore they went on; Mr. Great-heart and Mr. Honest went before, Christiana and her children went next, and Mr. Feeble-mind and Mr. Ready-to-halt, came behind with his crutches.[1] Then said Mr. Honest,

HON. Pray, Sir, now we are upon the road, tell us some profitable things of some that have gone on pilgrimage before us.

New talk.

GREAT-HEART. With a good will. I suppose you have heard how Christian of old did meet with Apollyon in the Valley of Humiliation; and also what hard work he had, to go through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Also I think you cannot but have heard how Faithful was put to it with Madam Wanton, with Adam the first, with one Discontent, and Shame, four as deceitful villains as a man can meet with upon the road.

First Part, p. 111.

HON. Yes, I have heard of all this; but indeed, good Faithful was hardest put to it with Shame; he was an unwearied one.

GREAT-HEART. Aye; for, as the Pilgrim well said, he of all men had the wrong name.

HON. But pray, Sir, where was it that Christian and Faithful met Talkative? That same was also a notable one.

First Part, p. 120.

GREAT-HEART. He was a confident fool, yet many follow his ways.

HON. He had like to have beguiled Faithful.

GREAT-HEART. Aye, but Christian put him into a way quickly to find him out. Thus they went on till they came at the place where Evangelist met with Christian and Faithful, and prophesied to them of what should befall them at Vanity Fair.

First Part, p. 123.

GREAT-HEART. Then said their guide, Hereabouts did Christian and Faithful meet with Evangelist, who prophesied to them of what troubles they should meet with at Vanity Fair.

HON. Say you so? I dare say it was a hard chapter that then he did read unto them.[2]

GREAT-HEART. It was so; but he gave them encouragement withal. But what do we talk of them? they were a couple of lion-like men; they had set their faces like flint. Don't you remember how undaunted they were when they stood before the judge?

First Part, p. 130.

HON. Well, Faithful bravely suffered.

GREAT-HEART. So he did, and as brave things came on it; for Hopeful and some others, as the story relates it, were converted by his death.

HON. Well, but pray go on; for you are well acquainted with things.

GREAT-HEART. Above all that Christian met with after he had passed through Vanity Fair, one By-ends was the arch one.

First Part, p. 132.

HON. By-ends! What was he?

GREAT-HEART. A very arch fellow; a downright hypocrite. One that would be religious which way ever the world went; but so cunning, that he would be sure neither to lose nor suffer for it. He had his mode of religion for every fresh occasion; and his wife was as good at it as he. He would turn and change from opinion to opinion; yea, and plead for so doing too. But, so far as I could learn, he came to an ill end with his by-ends; nor did I ever hear that any of his children were ever of any esteem with any that truly feared God.

Now, by this time, they were come within sight of the town of Vanity, where Vanity Fair is kept. So, when they saw that they were so near the town, they consulted with one another, how they should pass through the town; and some said one thing, and some another. At last Mr. Great-heart said, I have, as you may understand, often been a conductor of pilgrims through this town; now I am acquainted with one Mr. Mnason, a Cyprusian by nation, an old disciple, at whose house we may lodge. Ac. xxi. 16. If you think good, said he, we will turn in there.[3]

They are come within sight of Vanity.

They enter into one Mr. Mnason's to lodge.

Content, said old Honest; Content, said Christiana; Content, said Mr. Feeble-mind; and so they said all. Now, you must think, it was even-tide by that they got to the outside of the town; but Mr. Great-heart knew the way to the old man's

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of Little-faith. Constitutional timidity and lowness of spirits, arising from a feeble frame, and frequent sickness, while they are frequently the means of exciting men to religion, give also a peculiar cast to their views and the nature of their profession —tend to hold them under perpetual discouragements, and unfit them for hard and perilous services. This seems implied in the name given to the native place of Feeble-mind; yet this is often connected with evident sincerity, and remarkable perseverance in the ways of God.—(Scott.)

[1] Here, very ingeniously, an associate is found for poor Feeble-mind; in one equally weak, lame, and limping in his religious sentiments, who, instead of forming his own sentiments from the Word of Truth, leant upon the sentiments and opinions of others. The hesitation of Feeble-mind to accept one of his crutches, is humourously conceived. He would, weak as he was, think for himself; though he had no objection to quote the opinion of another Christian against an adversary.—(Ivimey.) 'As iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.' How great a comfort to find a fellow-pilgrim whose experience agrees with our own, and with whom we can take sweet counsel! Still all our *dependence* must be on Ready-to-halt's crutches—'the promises.'—(ED.)

[2] The near prospect of persecution is formidable even to true believers, notwithstanding all the encouragements of God's Word. It is useful to realize such scenes, that we may pray, without ceasing, for wisdom, fortitude, patience, meekness, faith, and love sufficient for us, should matters come to the worst.—(Scott.)

[3] How happy to find a family, in Vanity Fair, whose master will receive and entertain pilgrims. Blessed be God for the present revival of religion in our day, and for the many houses that are open to friends of the Lamb.—(Mason.)

house. So thither they came; and he called at the door, and the old man within knew his tongue so soon as ever he heard it; so he opened, and they all came in. Then said Mnason their host, How far have ye come to-day? So they said, From the house of Gaius our friend. I promise you, said he, you have gone a good stitch, you may well be a weary; sit down. So they sat down.

They are glad of entertainment.

GREAT-HEART Then said their guide, Come, what cheer, Sirs? I dare say you are welcome to my friend.

MNASON. I also, said Mr. Mnason, do bid you welcome, and, whatever you want, do but say, and we will do what we can to get it for you.

HON. Our great want, a while since, was harbour and good company, and now I hope we have both.

MNASON. For harbour, you see what it is; but for good company, that will appear in the trial.

GREAT-HEART. Well, said Mr. Great-heart, will you have the Pilgrims up into their lodging?

MNASON. I will, said Mr. Mnason. So he had them to their respective places; and also showed them a very fair dining-room, where they might be, and sup together, until time was come to go to rest.

Now, when they were set in their places, and were a little cheery after their journey, Mr. Honest asked his landlord, if there were any store of good people in the town?

MNASON. We have a few, for indeed they are but a few, when compared with them on the other side.

HON. But how shall we do to see some of them?

They desire to see some of the good people of the town.

for the sight of good men to them that are going on pilgrimage, is like to the appearing of the moon and the stars to them that are sailing upon the seas.[1]

Then Mr. Mnason stamped with his foot, and his daughter Grace came up; so he said unto her,

Some sent for.

Grace, go you, tell my friends, Mr. Contrite, Mr. Holy-man, Mr. Love-saint, Mr. Dare-not-lie, and Mr. Penitent; that I have a friend or two at my house that have a mind this evening to see them.

So Grace went to call them, and they came; and, after salutation made, they sat down together at the table.

Then said Mr. Mnason, their landlord, My neighbours, I have, as you see, a company of strangers come to my house; they are Pilgrims; they come from afar, and are going to mount Zion. But who, quoth he, do you think this is? pointing with his finger to Christiana; it is Christiana, the wife of Christian, that famous Pilgrim, who, with Faithful his brother, were so shamefully handled in our town. At that they stood amazed, saying, We little thought to see Christiana, when Grace came to call us; wherefore this is a very comfortable surprise. Then they asked her of her welfare, and if these young men were her husband's sons? And when she had told them they were, they said, The King whom you love and serve, make you as your father, and bring you where he is in peace!

HON. Then Mr. Honest (when they were all sat down) asked Mr. Contrite, and the rest, in what posture their town was at present?

Some talk betwixt Mr. Honest and Contrite.

CONTRITE. You may be sure we are full of hurry in fair-time. It is hard keeping our hearts and spirits in any good order, when we are in a cumbered condition. He that lives in such a place as this is, and that has to do

The fruit of watchfulness.

with such as we have, has need of an item, to caution him to take heed, every moment of the day.

HON. But how are your neighbours for quietness?

CONTRITE. They are much more moderate now than formerly. You know how Christian and Faithful were used at our town; but of late, I say, they have been far more moderate. I think the blood of Faithful lieth with load upon them till now; for since they burned him, they have been ashamed to burn any more. In those days we were afraid to walk the streets, but now we can show our heads. Then the name of a professor was odious; now, especially in some parts of our town (for you know our town is large), religion is counted honourable.[2]

Persecution not so hot at Vanity fair as formerly.

[1] The inquiry of disciples, after suitable company, discovers that they, with David, love the Lord's saints; and in the excellent of the earth is all their delight. Ps. xvi. 3. A genuine discovery this of a gracious heart.—(Mason.)

[2] Great, indeed, was the change in the town of Vanity, when Christiana and her party of pilgrims arrived, compared with the but recent period when Faithful was martyred. The declaration of liberty of conscience had rendered the profession of vital godliness more public, still there was persecution enough to make it comparatively pure. Dr. Cheever has indulged in a delightful reverie, in his lecture on Vanity Fair, by supposing, at some length, how our glorious dreamer would now describe the face of society in our present Vanity Fair. After describing the consequences that had arisen from religion having become FASHIONABLE, he hints at the retrograde movement towards Popery, known under the name of Puseyism. 'It happened, in process of time, that a part of the pilgrims who remained in Vanity Fair, began to visit the cave of Giant Pope, and it became a sort of fashionable pilgrimage to that cave. They brushed up the giant, and gave him medicines to alleviate the hurts from those bruises which he had received in his youth; and, to make the place pleasanter, they carefully cleared away the remains of the bones and skulls of burned pilgrims, and planted a large enclosure with flowers and evergreens.' 'The cage in which the Pilgrims were once confined was now never used; some said it was consecrated for church purposes, and put under the cathedral, in a deep cell, from which it might again be brought forth if occasion required it.' The Doctor's description of the present state of Vanity Fair is very deeply interesting and amusing.—(ED.) When religion is counted honourable, we shall not want professors; but trying times are sifting times. As the chaff flies before the wind, so will the formal professors before a storm of persecution.—(J. B.)

Then said Mr. Contrite to them, Pray how fareth it with you in your pilgrimage? How stands the country affected towards you?

Hon. It happens to us as it happeneth to way-faring men; sometimes our way is clean, sometimes foul, sometimes up hill, sometimes down hill; we are seldom at a certainty; the wind is not always on our backs, nor is every one a friend that we meet with in the way. We have met with some notable rubs already; and what are yet behind, we know not; but for the most part, we find it true, that has been talked of, of old, A good man must suffer trouble.

Contrite. You talk of rubs; what rubs have you met withal?

Hon. Nay, ask Mr. Great-heart, our guide, for he can give the best account of that.

Great-heart. We have been beset three or four times already. First, Christiana and her children were beset with two ruffians, that they feared would a took away their lives. We were beset with Giant Bloody-man, Giant Maul, and Giant Slay-good. Indeed we did rather beset the last, than were beset of him. And thus it was: After we had been some time at the house of 'Gaius, mine host, and of the whole church,' Ro. xvi. 23, we were minded upon a time to take our weapons with us, and so go see if we could light upon any of those that were enemies to pilgrims (for we heard that there was a notable one thereabouts). Now Gaius knew his haunt better than I, because he dwelt thereabout; so we looked, and looked, till at last we discerned the mouth of his cave; then we were glad, and plucked up our spirits. So we approached up to his den, and lo, when we came there, he had dragged, by mere force, into his net, this poor man, Mr. Feeble-mind, and was about to bring him to his end. But when he saw us, supposing, as we thought, he had had another prey, he left the poor man in his hole, and came out. So we fell to it full sore, and he lustily laid about him; but in conclusion, he was brought down to the ground, and his head cut off, and set up by the way-side, for a terror to such as should after practise such ungodliness. That I tell you the truth, here is the man himself to affirm it, who was as a lamb taken out of the mouth of the lion.

Feeble-mind. Then said Mr. Feeble-mind, I found this true, to my cost, and comfort; to my cost, when he threatened to pick my bones every moment; and to my comfort, when I saw Mr. Great-heart and his friends with their weapons, approach so near for my deliverance.

Holy-man. Then said Mr. Holy-man, There are two things that they have need to be possessed with, that go on pilgrimage; courage, and an unspotted life. If they have not courage, they can never hold on their way; and if their lives be loose, they will make the very name of a Pilgrim stink. Mr. Holy-man's speech.

Love-saint. Then said Mr. Love-saint, I hope this caution is not needful amongst you. But truly, there are many that go upon the road, that rather declare themselves strangers to pilgrimage, than strangers and pilgrims in the earth. Mr. Love-saint's speech.

Dare-not-lie. Then said Mr. Dare-not-lie, It is true, they neither have the pilgrim's weed, nor the pilgrim's courage; they go not uprightly, but all awry with their feet; one shoe goes inward, another outward, and their hosen out behind; there a rag, and there a rent, to the disparagement of their Lord. Mr. Dare-not-lie's speech.

Penitent. These things, said Mr. Penitent, they ought to be troubled for; nor are the pilgrims like to have that grace put upon them and their pilgrim's progress, as they desire, until the way is cleared of such spots and blemishes. Mr. Penitent's speech.

Thus they sat talking and spending the time, until supper was set upon the table; unto which they went and refreshed their weary bodies; so they went to rest. Now they stayed in this fair a great while, at the house of this Mr. Mnason, who, in process of time, gave his daughter Grace unto Samuel, Christiana's son, to wife, and his daughter Martha to Joseph.

The time, as I said, that they lay here, was long (for it was not now as in former times). Wherefore the Pilgrims grew acquainted with many of the good people of the town, and did them what service they could. Mercy, as she was wont, laboured much for the poor; wherefore their bellies and backs blessed her, and she was there an ornament to her profession.[1] And, to say the truth for Grace, Phebe, and Martha, they were all of a very good nature, and did much good in their place. They were also all of them very fruitful; so that Christian's name, as was said before, was like to live in the world.

While they lay here, there came a monster out of the woods, and slew many of the people of the town. It would also carry away their children, and teach them to suck its whelps.[2] Now, no man in the town durst so A monster.

[1] Kindness to the poor increases and builds up the church. It conquers the prejudices of the worldly, secures their confidence, and brings them under the preaching of the gospel. They rationally conclude that they cannot be bad people who do so much good.—(Ivimey.)

[2] This monster is Antichrist. The devil is the head; the synagogue of Satan is the body; the wicked spirit of iniquity is the soul. The devil made use of the church [the clergy] to midwife this monster into the world. He had plums in his dragon's mouth, and so came in by flatteries. He metamorphosed himself into a beast, a man, or woman; and the inhabitants of the world loved the woman dearly, became her sons, and took up helmet

much as face this monster; but all men fled when they heard of the noise of his coming.

His shape, his nature. The monster was like unto no one beast upon the earth; its body was like a dragon, and it had seven heads and ten horns. Re. xvii. 3. It made great havoc of children, and yet it was governed by a woman.[1] This monster propounded conditions to men, and such men as loved their lives more than their souls, accepted of those conditions. So they came under.[2]

Now this Mr. Great-heart, together with these that came to visit the pilgrims at Mr. Mnason's house, entered into a covenant to go and engage this beast, if perhaps they might deliver the people of this town from the paws and mouth of this so devouring a serpent.

How he is engaged. Then did Mr. Great-heart, Mr. Contrite, Mr. Holy-man, Mr. Dare-not-lie, and Mr. Penitent, with their weapons go forth to meet him. Now the monster, at first, was very rampant, and looked upon these enemies with great disdain; but they so belaboured him, being sturdy men at arms, that they made him make a retreat; so they came home to Mr. Mnason's house again.

The monster, you must know, had his certain seasons to come out in, and to make his attempts upon the children of the people of the town; also these seasons did these valiant worthies watch him in, and did still continually assault him; insomuch, that in process of time he became not only wounded, but lame; also he has not made that havoc of the townsmen's children, as formerly he has done. And it is verily believed by some, that this beast will die of his wounds.[3]

This, therefore, made Mr. Great-heart and his fellows of great fame in this town; so that many of the people that wanted their taste of things, yet had a reverend esteem and respect for them.[4] Upon this account therefore it was, that these pilgrims got not much hurt here. True, there were some of the baser sort, that could see no more than a mole, nor understand more than a beast; these had no reverence for these men, nor took they notice of their valour or adventures.[5]

Well, the time grew on that the Pilgrims must go on their way, wherefore they prepared for their journey. They sent for their friends; they conferred with them; they had some time set apart, therein to commit each other to the protection of their Prince. There were again, that brought them of such things as they had, that were fit for the weak and the strong, for the women and the men, and so laded them with such things as were necessary. Ac. xxviii. 10.

Then they set forward on their way; and their friends accompanying them so far as was convenient, they again committed each other to the protection of their King, and parted.

They, therefore, that were of the Pilgrims' company went on, and Mr. Great-heart went before them. Now the women and children being weakly, they were forced to go as they could bear; by this means Mr. Ready-to-halt and Mr. Feeble-mind had more to sympathize with their condition.

When they were gone from the townsmen, and when their friends had bid them farewell; they quickly came to the place where Faithful was put to death; there therefore they made a stand, and thanked Him that had enabled him to bear his cross so well; and the rather because they now found that they had a benefit by such a manly suffering as his was.[6]

They went on, therefore, after this, a good way

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and shield to defend her. She arrayed herself in flesh-taking ornaments—gold, and precious stones, like an harlot. She made the kings drunken, and they gave her the blood of saints and martyrs until she was drunken, and did revel and roar. But when her cup is drunk out, God will call her to such a reckoning, that all her clothes, pearls, and jewels shall not be able to pay the shot. This beast is compared to the wild boar that comes out of the wood to devour the church of God. Ps. lxxx. 13. The temporal sword will kill its body, but spirit can only be slain by spirit; the Lord the Spirit will slay its soul.—(Bunyan on *Antichrist*, vol. ii. p. 47.) Is not Antichrist composed of all the State religions in the world?—(Ed.)

[1] For this woman's name and costume see Re. xvii. 1—4. She has just sent one of her illegitimate sons to England, under the impudent assumption of Archbishop of Westminster.—(Ed.)

[2] And that you may be convinced of the truth of this, look back and compare Antichrist four hundred years ago, with Antichrist as he now is, and you shall see what work the Lord Jesus has begun to make with him; kingdoms and countries he hath taken from her. True, the fogs of Antichrist, and the smoke that came with him out of the bottomless pit, has eclipsed the glorious light of the gospel; but you know, in eclipses, when they are recovering, all the creatures upon the face of the earth cannot put a stop to that course, until the sun or the moon have recovered their glory. And thus it shall be now, the Lord is returning to visit this people with his primitive lustre; he will not go back until the light of the sun shall be sevenfold.—(Bunyan's *Antichrist and his Ruin*, vol. ii. p. 48.)

[3] When nations have restored to the people the property of which they have been plundered, under the pretence of assisting to obtain the pardon of sin and the favour of God, the monster will soon die; when neither rule, nor honour, nor pelf is to be gained by hypocrisy.—(Ed.)

[4] This may refer to that noble band of eminent men who, in 1675, preached the morning exercises against Popery; among others were Owen, Manton, Baxter, Doolittle, Jenkyn, Poole, and many others. They were then, and ever will be, of great fame.—(Ed.)

[5] The plans of Charles II. and James II., to re-establish Popery in England, were defeated by the union of the eminent Nonconformists with some decided enemies to Rome in the Established Church; this brought them into esteem and respect. Mr. Scott's note on this passage is—'The disinterested, and bold decided conduct of many dissenters, on this occasion, procured considerable favour both to them and their brethren, with the best friends of the nation; but the prejudices of others prevented them from reaping all the advantage from it that they ought to have done.'—(Ed.)

[6] David Hume, in his *History of England*, admitted the invaluable services of the Puritans, 'By whom the precious spark of liberty was kindled and preserved, and to whom the English owe all the blessings of their excellent constitution.' —(Ed.)

further, talking of Christian and Faithful; and how Hopeful joined himself to Christian after that Faithful was dead.

First Part, p. 136.

Now they were come up with the Hill Lucre, where the silver mine was, which took Demas off from his pilgrimage, and into which, as some think, By-ends fell and perished; wherefore they considered that. But when they were come to the old monument that stood over against the hill Lucre, to wit, to the pillar of salt that stood also within view of Sodom and its stinking lake; they marvelled, as did Christian before, that men of that knowledge and ripeness of wit, as they were, should be so blinded as to turn aside here. Only they considered again, that nature is not affected with the harms that others have met with, especially if that thing upon which they look, has an attracting virtue upon the foolish eye.

First Part, p. 138.

I saw now that they went on, till they came at the river that was on this side of the Delectable Mountains. To the river where the fine trees grow on both sides; and whose leaves, if taken inwardly, are good against surfeits, where the meadows are green all the year long, and where they might lie down safely. Ps. xxiii.

By this river side, in the meadow, there were cotes and folds for sheep, a house built for the nourishing and bringing up of those lambs, the babes of those women that go on pilgrimage. He. v. 2. Also there was here one that was intrusted with them, who could have compassion, and that could gather these lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and that could gently lead those that were with young. Is. xl. 11. Now to the care of THIS MAN, Christiana admonished her four daughters to commit their little ones, that by these waters they might be housed, harboured, succoured, and nourished, and that none of them might be lacking in time to come.[1] This Man, if any of them go astray, or be lost, he will bring them again; he will also bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen them that are sick. Eze. xxxiv. 11–16. Here they will never want meat, and drink, and clothing; here they will be kept from thieves and robbers; for this Man will die before one of those committed to his trust shall be lost. Je. xxiii. 4. Besides, here they shall be sure to have good nurture and admonition, and shall be taught to walk in right paths, and that you know is a favour of no small account. Also here, as you see, are delicate waters, pleasant meadows, dainty flowers, variety of trees, and such as bear wholesome fruit; fruit not like that that Matthew ate of, that fell over the wall out of Beelzebub's garden; but fruit that procureth health where there is none, and that continueth and increaseth it where it is.[2]

So they were content to commit their little ones to him; and that which was also an encouragement to them so to do, was, for that all this was to be at the charge of the King, and so was as an hospital for young children and orphans.

First Part, p. 138.

They being come to By-path stile, have a mind to have a pluck with Giant Despair.

Now they went on; and when they were come to By-path Meadow, to the stile over which Christian went with his fellow Hopeful, when they were taken by Giant Despair, and put into Doubting Castle; they sat down and consulted what was best to be done; to wit, now they were so strong, and had got such a man as Mr. Great-heart for their conductor, whether they had not best to make an attempt upon the Giant, demolish his castle, and, if there were any pilgrims in it, to set them at liberty, before they went any further. So one said one thing, and another said the contrary. One questioned if it was lawful to go upon unconsecrated ground; another said they might, provided their end was good; but Mr. Great-heart said, Though that assertion offered last cannot be universally true, yet I have a commandment to resist sin, to overcome evil, to fight the good fight of faith; and, I pray, with whom should I fight this good fight, if not with Giant Despair? I will, therefore, attempt the taking away of his life, and the demolishing of Doubting Castle. Then said he, Who will go with me? Then said old Honest, I will. And so will we too, said Christiana's four sons, Matthew, Samuel, James, and Joseph; for they were young men and strong. 1 Jn. iii. 13, 14. So they left the women in the road, and with them Mr. Feeble-mind and Mr. Ready-to-halt with his crutches, to be their guard, until they came back; for in that place though Giant Despair dwelt so near, they keeping in the road, a little child might lead them. Is. xl. 6.

So Mr. Great-heart, old Honest, and the four young men, went to go up to Doubting Castle, to look for Giant Despair. When they came at the Castle-gate, they knocked for entrance with an unusual noise. At that the old Giant comes to the gate, and Diffidence, his wife, follows. Then said he, Who, and what is he that is so hardy, as after this manner to molest the Giant Despair?

[1] This is a most encouraging view of the tender care of the Saviour, to the children of believers committed to his care, by godly parents. Not by any ceremonial observance, but by constant fervent supplications to the throne of grace on their behalf, and by a consistent pious example to train them up in the way in which they should go, that when they are old they should not depart from the new and living way.—(Ed.)

[2] Here we frequently find our author speaking of our God and Saviour as man; he excels in this. It is to be wished that authors and preachers wrote and spake of the manhood of Jesus, who was a perfect man, like unto us in all things except sin. The view and consideration of this is sweet to faith, and endears our Saviour to our hearts.—(Mason.)

Mr. Great-heart replied, It is I, Great-heart, one of the King of the Celestial Country's conductors of pilgrims to their place; and I demand of thee that thou open thy gates for my entrance. Prepare thyself also to fight, for I am come to take away thy head, and to demolish Doubting Castle.

Now Giant Despair, because he was a giant, thought no man could overcome him; and, again, thought he, since heretofore I have made a conquest of angels, shall Great-heart make me afraid! So he harnessed himself, and went out. He had a cap of steel upon his head, a breast-plate of fire girded to him, and he came out in iron shoes with a great club in his hand. Then these six men made up to him, and beset him behind and before. Also when Diffidence, the giantess, came up to help him, old Mr. Honest cut her down at one blow. Then they fought for their lives, and Giant Despair was brought down to the ground, but was very loath to die. He struggled hard, and had, as they say, as many lives as a cat; but Great-heart was his death, for he left him not till he had severed his head from his shoulders.[1]

Despair has overcome angels.

Despair is loath to die.

Then they fell to demolishing Doubting Castle, that you know might with ease be done, since Giant Despair was dead. They were seven days in destroying of that; and in it of pilgrims they found one Mr. Despondency, almost starved to death, and one Much-afraid, his daughter; these two they saved alive. But it would have made you a-wondered to have seen the dead bodies that lay here and there in the castle-yard, and how full of dead men's bones the dungeon was.

Doubting Castle demolished.

When Mr. Great-heart and his companions had performed this exploit, they took Mr. Despondency, and his daughter Much-afraid, into their protection; for they were honest people, though they were prisoners in Doubting Castle, to that tyrant Giant Despair. They, therefore, I say, took with them the head of the Giant, for his body they had buried under a heap of stones, and down to the road and to their companions they came, and showed them what they had done. Now when Feeble-mind and Ready-to-halt saw that it was the head of Giant Despair indeed, they were very jocund and merry.[2] Now Christiana, if need was, could play upon the viol, and her daughter Mercy upon the lute; so, since they were so merry disposed, she played them a lesson, and Ready-to-halt would dance. So he took Despondency's daughter, named Much-afraid, by the hand, and to dancing they went in the road. True, he could not dance without one crutch in his hand; but, I promise you, he footed it well. Also the girl was to be commended, for she answered the music handsomely.

They have music and dancing for joy.

As for Mr. Despondency, the music was not much to him; he was for feeding rather than dancing, for that he was almost starved. So Christiana gave him some of her bottle of spirits, for present relief, and then prepared him something to eat; and, in little time, the old gentleman came to himself, and began to be finely revived.

Now I saw in my dream, when all these things were finished, Mr. Great-heart took the head of Giant Despair, and set it upon a pole by the highway side, right over against the pillar that Christian erected for a caution to pilgrims that came after, to take heed of entering into his grounds.[3]

Though Doubting Castle be demolish'd,
And the Giant Despair hath lost his head,
Sin can rebuild the Castle, make't remain,
And make Despair the Giant live again.

Then he writ under it, upon a marble stone, these verses following:

This the head of him, whose name only
In former times did pilgrims terrify.
His Castle's down; and Diffidence, his wife,
Brave Master Great-heart has bereft of life.
Despondency, his daughter Much-afraid,
Great-heart for them also the man has play'd;
Who hereof doubts, if he'll but cast his eye
Up hither, may his scruples satisfy.
This head also, when doubting cripples dance,
Doth show from fears they have deliverance.

A monument of deliverance.

[1] What cannot Great-heart do? what feats not perform? what victories not gain? Who can stand before Great-heart? Diffidence shall fall, and Giant Despair be slain by the power of Great-heart, with 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God,' Eph. vi. 17; even Despondency, though almost starved, shall be delivered, and his daughter Much-afraid shall be rescued. O for more of Great-heart's company!—(Mason.) The struggle with Despair may be dangerous, and painful, and long-continued, but it shall be finally successful. 'I am persuaded,' saith the apostle, 'that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.' Paul demolished the castle, and slew the giant; but,

'Sin can rebuild the castle, make't remain,
And make Despair the Giant live again.'—Ed.

[2] How well does Mr. Bunyan describe the experience of the Much-afraids, Ready-to-halts, and the Feeble-minds, in the *Come and Welcome*. 'Poor coming soul, thou art like the man that would ride full gallop, whose horse will hardly trot! Now, the desire of his mind is not to be judged of by the slow pace of the dull jade he rides on, but by the hitching, and kicking, and spurring, as he sits on his back. Thy flesh is like this dull jade; it will not gallop after Christ, it will be backward, though thy soul and heaven lie at stake. But be of good comfort, Christ judgeth according to the sincerity of the heart.'—(Vol. i. p. 252.)

[3] This is the work and aim of every faithful minister of Christ, to destroy Giant Despair, and demolish Doubting Castle, in the hearts of God's children. A more awful character is not in the world, than the man who assumes the ministerial name and character, without understanding the nature of that ministry of reconciliation which is committed to every one who is really called and sent of God.—(J. B.)

When these men had thus bravely showed themselves against Doubting Castle, and had slain Giant Despair, they went forward; and went on till they came to the Delectable Mountains, where Christian and Hopeful refreshed themselves with the varieties of the place. They also acquainted themselves with the shepherds there, who welcomed them, as they had done Christian before, unto the Delectable Mountains.

Now the Shepherds, seeing so great a train follow Mr. Great-heart, for with him they were well acquainted, they said unto him, Good Sir, you have got a goodly company here. Pray, where did you find all these?

Then Mr. Great-heart replied:

The Guide's speech to the Shepherds.

First, here is Christiana and her train,
Her sons, and her sons' wives, who like the wain,[1]
Keep by the pole, and do by compass steer,
From sin to grace, else they had not been here;
Next, here's old Honest come on pilgrimage,
Ready-to-halt, too, who, I dare engage,
True-hearted is, and so is Feeble-mind,
Who willing was not to be left behind;
Despondency, good man, is coming after,
And so also is Much-afraid his daughter.
May we have entertainment here, or must
We further go? Let's know whereon to trust.

Then said the Shepherds, This is a comfortable company. You are welcome to us, for we have [comfort] for the feeble as for the strong. Our Prince has an eye to what is done to the least of these; therefore infirmity must not be a block to our entertainment. Mat. xxv. 40. So they had them to the palace door, and then said unto them, Come in, Mr. Feeble-mind; Come in, Mr. Ready-to-halt; come in, Mr. Despondency, and Mrs. Much-afraid, his daughter.[2] These, Mr. Great-heart, said the Shepherds to the guide, we call in by name, for that they are most subject to draw back; but as for you, and the rest that are strong, we leave you to your wonted liberty. Then said Mr. Great-heart, This day I see that grace doth shine in your faces, and that you are my Lord's Shepherds indeed; for that you have not pushed these diseased neither with side nor shoulder, but have rather strewed their way into the palace with flowers, as you should.[3] Eze. xxxiv. 21.

Their entertainment.

A description of false shepherds.

So the feeble and weak went in, and Mr. Great-heart and the rest did follow. When they were also set down, the Shepherds said to those of the weaker sort, What is it that you would have? for, said they, all things must be managed here to the supporting of the weak, as well as the warning of the unruly.

So they made them a feast of things easy of digestion, and that were pleasant to the palate, and nourishing; the which, when they had received, they went to their rest, each one respectively unto his proper place. When morning was come, because the mountains were high, and the day clear, and because it was the custom of the Shepherds to show to the Pilgrims, before their departure, some rarities;[4] therefore, after they were ready, and had refreshed themselves, the Shepherds took them out into the fields, and showed them first what they had showed to Christian before.

Then they had them to some new places. The first was to Mount Marvel, where they looked, and beheld a man at a distance, that tumbled the hills about with words. Then they asked the Shepherds what that should mean? So they told them, that that man was a son of one Great-grace, of whom you read in the First Part of the Records of the Pilgrim's Progress. And he is set there to teach pilgrims how to believe down, or to tumble out of their way, what difficulties they shall meet with, by faith.[5] Mar. xi. 23, 24. Then said Mr. Great-heart, I know him. He is a man above many.

Mount Marvel.

First Part, p. 149.

Then they had them to another place, called Mount Innocent; and there they saw a man clothed all in white, and two men, Prejudice and Ill-will, continually casting dirt upon him. Now, behold, the dirt, whatsoever they cast at him, would in little time fall off again, and his garments would look as clear as if no dirt had been cast thereat.[6]

Mount Innocent.

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[1] 'The wain,' seven bright stars in the constellation of Ursa Major, called by country people, the plough, or the wain, or Charles I.'s chariot.—(Ed.)

[2] Those ministers who exercise the greatest affection towards weak and upright Christians, are most according to the description of pastors, after God's own heart, given in the Scriptures of truth.—(Ivimey.)

[3] Bunyan was peculiarly tender with the weak; they are to be received, but not to doubtful disputations. Thus, with regard to the great cause of separation among Christians, he says, 'If water-baptism' (whether by sprinkling of infants, or immersing of adults) 'trouble their peace, wound the consciences of the godly, and dismember their fellowships, it is, although an ordinance, for the present to be prudently shunned, for the edification of the church.' 'Love is more discovered when we receive, for the sake of Christ, than when we refuse his children for want of water.'—(Bunyan on *Baptism*, vol. ii. p. 608.) When will such peaceful sentiments spread over the church?—(Ed.)

[4] There are things taught by the gospel, here called 'rarities,' which, though high and mysterious, will yet, when clearly stated, prove the means of exciting Christians to live by faith, and to cultivate whatsoever things are lovely and of good report.—(Ivimey.)

[5] Strong faith, in the words of Christ, will 'believe down' mountains of afflictions, or tumble them out of the Christian's way. Though it will not perform miracles, it will remove difficulties resembling mountains.—(Ivimey.)

[6] The history of Joseph, with that of Mr. Bunyan, and of thousands besides, proves, that charges against a godly, innocent man, arising from the prejudice, ill-will, and malice of his enemies, shall eventually turn out to his honour, and to their confusion. 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you FALSELY, for my sake.' Mat. v. 11.—(Ed.)

Then said the Pilgrims, What means this? The Shepherds answered, This man is named Godly-man, and this garment is to show the innocency of his life. Now, those that throw dirt at him, are such as hate his well-doing; but, as you see the dirt will not stick upon his clothes, so it shall be with him that liveth truly innocently in the world. Whoever they be that would make such men dirty, they labour all in vain; for God, by that a little time is spent, will cause that their innocence shall break forth as the light, and their righteousness as the noon-day.

Mount Charity.

Then they took them, and had them to Mount Charity, where they showed them a man that had a bundle of cloth lying before him, out of which he cut coats and garments for the poor that stood about him; yet his bundle or roll of cloth was never the less.

Then said they, What should this be? This is, said the Shepherds, to show you, that he that has a heart to give of his labour to the poor, shall never want wherewithal. He that watereth shall be watered himself. And the cake that the widow gave to the prophet did not cause that she had ever the less in her barrel.

The work of one Fool, and one Want-wit.

They had them also to a place where they saw one Fool, and one Want-wit, washing of an Ethiopian, with intention to make him white; but the more they washed him the blacker he was. They then asked the Shepherds what that should mean. So they told them, saying, Thus shall it be with the vile person. All means used to get such a one a good name shall, in conclusion, tend but to make him more abominable. Thus it was with the Pharisees, and so shall it be with all hypocrites.[1]

Mercy has a mind to see the hole in the hill.

First Part, p. 145.

Then said Mercy, the wife of Matthew, to Christiana, her mother, Mother, I would, if it might be, see the hole in the hill, or that commonly called the by-way to hell. So her mother brake her mind to the Shepherds. Then they went to the door. It was in the side of a hill, and they opened it, and bid Mercy hearken awhile. So she hearkened, and heard one saying, Cursed be my father, for holding of my feet back from the way of peace and life; and another said, O that I had been torn in pieces, before I had, to save my life, lost my soul! and another said, If I were to live again, how would I deny myself, rather than come to this place! Then there was as if the very earth had groaned and quaked under the feet of this young woman for fear. So she looked white, and came trembling away, saying, Blessed be he and she that are delivered from this place.[2]

Now when the Shepherds had shown them all these things, then they had them back to the palace, and entertained them with what the house would afford. But Mercy being a young and breeding woman, longed for something that she saw there, but was ashamed to ask. Her mother-in-law then asked her what she ailed; for she looked as one not well. Then said Mercy, There is a looking-glass hangs up in the dining-room, off which I cannot take my mind: if, therefore, I have it not, I think I shall miscarry. Then said her mother, I will mention thy wants to the Shepherds, and they will not deny it thee. But she said, I am ashamed that these men should know that I longed. Nay, my daughter, said she, it is no shame but a virtue, to long for such a thing as that. So Mercy said, Then, mother, if you please, ask the Shepherds if they are willing to sell it.

Mercy longeth, and for what.

Now the glass was one of a thousand. It would present a man, one way, with his own features exactly, Ja. i. 23; and, turn it but another way, and it would show one the very face and similitude of the Prince of Pilgrims himself. 1 Co. xiii. 12. Yea, I have talked with them that can tell, and they have said, that they have seen the very crown of thorns upon his head, by looking in that glass; they have therein also seen the holes in his hands, in his feet, and his side. 2 Co. iii. 18. Yea, such an excellency is there in that glass, that it will show him to one where they have a mind to see him; whether living or dead; whether in earth or heaven; whether in a state of humiliation, or in his exaltation; whether coming to suffer, or coming to reign.[3]

It was the Word of God.

Christiana, therefore, went to the Shepherds

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[1] This represents the folly of those who go about to reform the manners, without aiming at the conversion of the heart. Nature, in its highest state of cultivation and improvement, is nature still. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.—(J. B.)

[2] O, damned souls will have thoughts that will clash with glory, clash with justice, clash with law, clash with itself, clash with hell, and with the everlastingness of misery; but the point, the edge, and the poison of all these thoughts will still be galling, and dropping their stings into the sore, grieved, wounded, fretted place, which is the conscience, though not the conscience only; for I may say of the souls in hell, that they, all over, are but one wound, one sore.—(Bunyan's *Greatness of the Soul*, vol. i. p. 119.) Well might Mercy say, 'Blessed are they that are delivered from this place!'—(Ed.)

[3] O what a blessed thing it is to long for the Word of God so as not to be satisfied without it, and to prize it above and beyond all other things! Love to the Word excites the soul to say with David, 'I have longed for thy salvation, O Lord.' Ps. cxix. 174. This is a special mark of a gracious soul.—(Mason.) Every true believer longs to be more completely acquainted with the Scriptures from day to day, and to look into them continually.—(Scott.) Abraham Cheer, who perished in prison for nonconformity in Bunyan's time, published a little volume of *Poems*, in which he compares the Bible to a looking-glass, in these very appropriate lines:—

'If morn by morn you in this glass will dress you,
I have some hopes that God by it may bless you.'—(P. 37.)—(Ed.)

apart[1]—now the names of the Shepherds are Knowledge, Experience, Watchful, and Sincere—and said unto them, There is one of my daughters, a breeding woman, that I think doth long for something that she hath seen in this house; and she thinks she shall miscarry, if she shall by you be denied.

First Part, p. 144.

Experience. Call her, call her; she shall assuredly have what we can help her to. So they called her, and said to her, Mercy, what is that thing thou wouldst have? Then she blushed, and said, The great glass that hangs up in the dining-room. So Sincere ran and fetched it, and, with a joyful consent, it was given her. Then she bowed her head, and gave thanks, and said, By this I know that I have obtained favour in your eyes.

She doth not lose her longing.

They also gave to the other young women such things as they desired, and to their husbands great commendations, for that they had joined with Mr. Great-heart, to the slaying of Giant Despair, and the demolishing of Doubting Castle.

About Christiana's neck, the Shepherds put a bracelet, and so they did about the necks of her four daughters; also they put earrings in their ears, and jewels on their foreheads.[2]

How the Shepherds adorn the Pilgrims.

When they were minded to go hence, they let them go in peace, but gave not to them those certain cautions which before were given to Christian and his companion. The reason was, for that these had Great-heart to be their guide, who was one that was well acquainted with things, and so could give them their cautions more seasonably; to wit, even then when the danger was nigh the approaching.

First Part, p. 145.

What cautions Christian and his companion had received of the Shepherds, they had also lost, by that the time was come that they had need to put them in practice. Wherefore, here was the advantage that this company had over the other.

First Part, p. 151.

From hence they went on singing, and they said,

> Behold, how fitly are the stages set
> For their relief that pilgrims are become!
> And how they us receive without one let,
> That makes the other life our mark and home!
>
> What novelties they have to us they give,
> That we, though Pilgrims, joyful lives may live;
> They do upon us, too, such things bestow,
> That show we Pilgrims are, where'er we go.

When they were gone from the Shepherds, they quickly came to the place where Christian met with one Turn-away, that dwelt in the town of Apostasy. Wherefore of him Mr. Great-heart, their guide, did now put them in mind, saying, This is the place where Christian met with one Turn-away, who carried with him the character of his rebellion at his back. And this I have to say concerning this man; he would hearken to no counsel, but once falling, persuasion could not stop him.

Part First, p. 146.

How one Turn-away managed his apostasy.

When he came to the place where the Cross and the Sepulchre were, he did meet with one that did bid him look there, but he gnashed with his teeth, and stamped, and said, he was resolved to go back to his own town. Before he came to the gate, he met with Evangelist, who offered to lay hands on him, to turn him into the way again. But this Turn-away resisted him, and having done much despite unto him, he got away over the wall, and so escaped his hand. He. x. 26–29.

Then they went on; and just at the place where Little-faith formerly was robbed, there stood a man with his sword drawn, and his face all bloody. Then said Mr. Great-heart, What art thou? The man made answer, saying, I am one whose name is Valiant-for-truth. I am a pilgrim, and am going to the Celestial City. Now, as I was in my way, there were three men did beset me, and propounded unto me these three things: 1. Whether I would become one of them. 2. Or go back from whence I came. 3. Or die upon the place.[3] To the first, I answered, I had been a true man a long season, and therefore it could not be expected that I now should cast in my lot with thieves. Pr. i. 10–14. Then they demanded what I would say to the second. So I told them that the place from whence I came, had I not found incommodity there, I had not forsaken it at all; but finding it altogether unsuitable to me, and very unprofitable for me, I forsook it for this way. Then they asked me what I said to the third. And I told them, My life cost more dear far, than that I should lightly give it away. Besides, you have nothing to do thus to

One Valiant-for-truth beset with thieves.

[1] This doubtless is meant to intimate, that in times of great anxiety, and in prospect of seasons of difficulty, Christians desire above all things the special supports and consolations of the Word of God.—(Ivimey.)

[2] By this jewelry is probably intimated, that they gave them written testimonials of possessing the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, that they might be recognized as Christian women by other churches.—(Ivimey.)

[3] From the names given to these opposers, they appear to represent certain wild enthusiasts who intrude themselves in the way of professors, to perplex their minds, and persuade them that, unless they adopt their reveries or superstitions, they cannot be saved. An ungovernable imagination, a mind incapable of sober reflection, and a dogmatizing spirit, characterize these enemies of the truth; they assault religious persons with specious reasonings, cavilling objections, confident assertions, bitter reproaches, proud boastings, sarcastic censures, and rash judgments. They endeavour to draw them to their party, or drive them from attending to religion at all. But the Word of God, used with fervent, persevering prayer, will silence such dangerous assailants, and confirm others also.—(Scott.)

put things to my choice; wherefore, at your peril be it, if you meddle. Then these three, to wit, Wild-head, Inconsiderate, and Pragmatic, drew upon me, and I also drew upon them.

So we fell to it, one against three, for the space of above three hours. They have left upon me, as you see, some of the marks of their valour, and have also carried away with them some of mine. They are but just now gone. I suppose they might, as the saying is, hear your horse dash, and so they betook them to flight.

How he behaved himself, and put them to flight.

Great heart wonders at his valour.

GREAT-HEART. But here was great odds, three against one.

VALIANT. It is true; but little or more are nothing to him that has the truth on his side. 'Though an host should encamp against me,' said one, 'my heart shall not fear; though war should rise against me, in this *will* I *be* confident.' Ps. xxvii. 3. Besides, saith he, I have read in some records, that one man has fought an army. And how many did Samson slay with the jaw-bone of an ass?[1] Ju. xv. 15, 16.

GREAT-HEART. Then said the guide, Why did you not cry out, that some might have come in for your succour?

VALIANT. So I did, to my King, who, I knew, could hear, and afford invisible help, and that was sufficient for me.

GREAT-HEART. Then said Great-heart to Mr. Valiant-for-truth, Thou hast worthily behaved thyself. Let me see thy sword. So he showed it him. When he had taken it in his hand, and looked thereon a while, he said, Ha! it is a right Jerusalem blade. Is. ii. 3.

VALIANT. It is so. Let a man have one of these blades, with a hand to wield it and skill to use it, and he may venture upon an angel with it. He need not fear its holding, if he can but tell how to lay on. Its edges will never blunt. It will cut flesh and bones, and soul and spirit, and all. Ep. vi. 12–17. He. iv. 12.

GREAT-HEART. But you fought a great while; I wonder you was not weary.

VALIANT. I fought till my sword did cleave to my hand; and when they were joined together, as if a sword grew out of my arm, and when the blood ran through my fingers, then I fought with most courage.[2] 2 Sa. xxiii. 10.

The Word. The Faith. Blood.

GREAT-HEART. Thou hast done well. Thou hast 'resisted unto blood, striving against sin.' Thou shalt abide by us, come in and go out with us, for we are thy companions.

Then they took him, and washed his wounds, and gave him of what they had to refresh him; and so they went on together. Now, as they went on, because Mr. Great-heart was delighted in him, for he loved one greatly that he found to be a man of his hands, and because there were with his company them that were feeble and weak, therefore he questioned with him about many things; as, first, what countryman he was?[3]

VALIANT. I am of Dark-land; for there I was born, and there my father and mother are still.

GREAT-HEART. Dark-land, said the guide; doth not that lie up on the same coast with the City of Destruction?

VALIANT. Yes, it doth. Now, that which caused me to come on pilgrimage was this; we had one Mr. Tell-true came into our parts, and he told it about what Christian had done, that went from the City of Destruction; namely, how he had forsaken his wife and children, and had betaken himself to a pilgrim's life. It was also confidently reported, how he had killed a serpent that did come out to resist him in his journey, and how he got through to whither he intended. It was also told, what welcome he had at all his Lord's lodgings, especially when he came to the gates of the Celestial City; for there, said the man, he was received with sound of trumpet, by a company of Shining Ones. He told it also, how all the bells in the city did ring for joy at his reception, and what golden garments he was clothed with, with many other things that now I shall forbear to relate. In a word, that man so told the story of Christian and his travels, that my heart fell into a burning haste to be gone after him; nor could father or mother stay me! So I got from them, and am come thus far on my way.

How Mr. Valiant came to go on pilgrimage.

GREAT-HEART. You came in at the gate, did you not?

[1] Truth will make a man valiant; and valour for truth will make a pilgrim fight with wild-headed, inconsiderate, and pragmatic opposers. The blood he loses in such a battle is his honour, the scars he gets are his glory.—(Mason.) He does not attempt to hide himself, or run from his and his Lord's enemies. O that pilgrims, especially those that are young, were better trained to this battle! In Bunyan's time, there were comparatively few of these cavillers; now their name is Legion.—(Ed.)

[2] In this battle, this striving for the truth, three considerations strike the mind.—1. Reliance upon Divine aid, without which we can do nothing. 2. A right Jerusalem weapon, forged in the fire of love, well tempered with Bible truths. Such a sword will make even the angel of the bottomless pit flee, its edge will never blunt, and it will cut through everything opposed to it. 3. Decision of character, perseverance to the utmost; no trimming or meanly compounding for truth, but a determination, in the Lord's strength, to come off more than conquerors. It is blessed fighting when hand and heart are engaged, and the sword grows united to both.—(Ed.)

[3] The church of Christ has produced heroes of the first class in point of courage, which they have displayed in circumstances of great danger. Luther and Knox, and Latimer and Bunyan, were men of this stamp; each of whom might, with great propriety, have been named Valiant-for-the-truth.—(Ivimey.)

VALIANT. Yes, yes; for the same man also told us that all would be nothing, if we did not begin to enter this way at the gate.[1]

He begins right.

GREAT-HEART. Look you, said the guide to Christiana, the pilgrimage of your husband, and what he has gotten thereby, is spread abroad far and near.

Christian's name famous.

VALIANT. Why, is this Christian's wife?

GREAT-HEART. Yes, that it is; and these are also her four sons.

VALIANT. What! and going on pilgrimage too?

GREAT-HEART. Yes, verily; they are following after.

VALIANT. It glads me at heart. Good man! how joyful will he be when he shall see them that would not go with him, yet to enter after him in at the gates into the City!

He is much rejoiced to see Christian's wife.

GREAT-HEART. Without doubt it will be a comfort to him; for, next to the joy of seeing himself there, it will be a joy to meet there his wife and children.

VALIANT. But, now you are upon that, pray let me hear your opinion about it. Some make a question, Whether we shall know one another when we are there.

GREAT-HEART. Do they think they shall know themselves then, or that they shall rejoice to see themselves in that bliss? and if they think they shall know and do these, why not know others, and rejoice in their welfare also?[2]

Again, since relations are our second self, though that state will be dissolved there; yet why may it not be rationally concluded, that we shall be more glad to see them there, than to see they are wanting?

VALIANT. Well, I perceive whereabouts you are as to this. Have you any more things to ask me about my beginning to come on pilgrimage?[3]

GREAT-HEART. Yes. Was your father and mother willing that you should become a pilgrim?

VALIANT. O no! They used all means imaginable to persuade me to stay at home.

GREAT-HEART. What could they say against it?

VALIANT. They said it was an idle life; and if I myself were not inclined to sloth and laziness, I would never countenance a pilgrim's condition.[4]

The great stumbling-blocks that by his friends were laid in his way.

GREAT-HEART. And what did they say else?

VALIANT. Why, they told me that it was a dangerous way; yea, the most dangerous way in the world, said they, is that which the pilgrims go.

GREAT-HEART. Did they show wherein this way is so dangerous?

VALIANT. Yes; and that in many particulars.

GREAT-HEART. Name some of them.

VALIANT. They told me of the Slough of Despond, where Christian was well nigh smothered. They told me that there were archers standing ready in Beelzebub Castle, to shoot them that should knock at the wicket-gate for entrance. They told me also of the wood, and dark mountains; of the Hill Difficulty; of the lions; and also of the three giants, Bloody-man, Maul, and Slay-good. They said, moreover, that there was a foul fiend haunted the Valley of Humiliation, and that Christian was by him almost bereft of life. Besides, said they, you must go over the Valley of the Shadow of Death, where the hobgoblins are; where the light is darkness; where the way is full of snares, pits, traps, and gins. They told me also of Giant Despair, of Doubting Castle, and of the ruin that the Pilgrims met with there. Further, they said I must go over the Enchanted Ground, which was dangerous. And that, after all this, I should find a river, over which I should find no bridge, and that that river did lie betwixt me and the Celestial Country.

The first stumbling-block.

GREAT-HEART. And was this all?

VALIANT. No. They also told me that this way was full of deceivers,[5] and of

The second.

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[1] The reason why so many professors set out, and go on for a season, but fall away at last, is, because they do not enter into the pilgrim's path by Christ, who is the gate. They do not see themselves quite lost, ruined, hopeless, and wretched; their hearts are not broken for sin; therefore they do not begin by receiving Christ as the only Saviour of such miserable sinners. But they set out in nature's strength; and not receiving nor living upon Christ, they fall away. This is the reason of this inquiry, Did you come in at the gate? A question we ought to put to ourselves, and be satisfied about.—(Mason.)

[2] Among many puzzling questions which agitate the Christian's mind, this is very generally a subject of inquiry. At the mount of transfiguration, the apostles knew the glorified spirits of Moses and Elias. The rich man and Lazarus and Abraham knew each other. The most solemn inquiry is, to reconcile with the bliss of heaven the discovery that some dear relative has been shut out. Shall we forget them? or will all our exquisite happiness centre in the glory of God? Bunyan has no doubt upon personal identity in heaven:—

'Our friends that lived godly here
Shall there be found again;
The wife, the child, and father dear,
With others of our train.

Those God did use us to convert
We there with joy shall meet.
And jointly shall, with all our heart,
In life each other greet.'

—(*One Thing Needful*, ver. 69, 71.)—(ED.)

[3] A sound Christian is not afraid to be examined, and sifted to the bottom, for he can give reason of the hope that is in him. He knows why and wherefore he commenced his pilgrimage.—(Mason.)

[4] This is a reproach cast upon religion in every age. Pharaoh said to Moses and the Israelites, 'Ye are idle, ye are idle.' Men by nature imagine, that time spent in reading the Bible and in prayer is wasted. It behoves all believers to avoid every appearance of evil; and, by exemplary diligence, frugality, and good management, to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.—(Scott.)

[5] Worldly people, in opposing the gospel, descant upon the hypocrisy of religious persons; they pick up every vague report that they hear to their disadvantage, and narrowly watch for the halting of such as they are acquainted with; and then they form general conclusions from a few distorted

persons that laid in wait there to turn good men out of the path.

GREAT-HEART. But how did they make that out?

VALIANT. They told me that Mr. Worldly-wiseman did there lie in wait to deceive. They also said, that there was Formality and Hypocrisy continually on the road. They said also that By-ends, Talkative, or Demas would go near to gather me up; that the Flatterer would catch me in his net; or that, with green-headed Ignorance, I would presume to go on to the gate, from whence he always was sent back to the hole that was in the side of the hill, and made to go the by-way to hell.

GREAT-HEART. I promise you this was enough to discourage; but did they make an end here?

VALIANT. No; stay. They told me also of

The third.

many that had tried that way of old, and that had gone a great way therein, to see if they could find something of the glory there, that so many had so much talked of from time to time; and how they came back again, and befooled themselves for setting a foot out of doors in that path, to the satisfaction of all the country. And they named several that did so; as Obstinate and Pliable, Mistrust and Timorous, Turn-away and old Atheist, with several more, who, they said, had some of them, gone far to see if they could find; but not one of them found so much advantage by going as amounted to the weight of a feather.[1]

GREAT-HEART. Said they anything more to discourage you?

VALIANT. Yes. They told me of one Mr. Fearing who was a pilgrim; and how he

The fourth.

found this way so solitary, that he never had comfortable hour therein. Also that Mr. Despondency had like to have been starved therein; yea, and also, which I had almost forgot, that Christian himself, about whom there has been such a noise, after all his ventures for a celestial crown, was certainly drowned in the Black River, and never went foot further, however it was smothered up.[2]

GREAT-HEART. And did none of these things discourage you?

VALIANT. No; they seemed but as so many nothings to me.

GREAT-HEART. How came that about?

VALIANT. Why, I still believed what Mr. Tell-true had said, and that carried me beyond them all.

How he got over these stumbling-blocks.

GREAT-HEART. Then this was your victory, even your faith.

VALIANT. It was so. I believed, and therefore came out, got into the way, fought all that set themselves against me, and, by believing, am come to this place.[3]

Who would true valour see,
Let him come hither;
One here will constant be,
Come wind, come weather.
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent,
His first avow'd intent
To be a pilgrim.

Who so beset him round
With dismal stories,
Do but themselves confound,
His strength the more is;
No lion can him fright,
He'll with a giant fight;
But he will have a right
To be a pilgrim.

Hobgoblin nor foul fiend
Can daunt his spirit;
He knows he at the end
Shall life inherit.
Then fancies fly away,
He'll fear not what men say;
He'll labour night and day
To be a pilgrim.

By this time they were got to the Enchanted Ground,[4] where the air naturally tended to make one drowsy; and that place was all grown over with briars and thorns, excepting here and there, where was an Enchanted Arbour, upon which if a man sits, or in which, if a man sleeps, it is a question, say some, whether

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and uncertain stories. Thus they endeavour to prove that there is no reality in religion. This is a frivolous sophistry, often employed after all other arguments have been silenced. —(Scott.)

[1] If Judas the traitor, or Francis Spira the backslider, were alive, to whisper these men in the ear a little, and to tell them what it hath cost their souls for turning back, it would surely stick by them as long as they have a day to live in the world. Agrippa gave a fair step on a sudden; he stepped almost into the bosom of Christ in less than half an hour. 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.' It was but almost, and so he had as good been not at all. He stepped fair, but stepped short. He was hot whilst he ran, but he was quickly out of breath. O this but ALMOST! I tell you, it lost his soul. What a doom they will have, who were almost at heaven's gate, but ran back again!—(Bunyan's *Heavenly Footman.*)

[2] How natural is it for carnal men to give an evil report of the ways of the Lord; and to discourage those who are just setting out, by telling of the dangers and difficulties they shall meet with! But here is not one word of the pleasures, comforts, and joys, that are experienced in the ways of the Lord. No, they feel them not, they believe not one word about them; therefore they cannot speak of them.—(Mason.)

[3] Here we see that valiant soldiers of Christ ascribe all to faith. They set out with faith, and they hold on and hold out by believing. Thus they give all the glory to Christ, who is the object, author, and finisher of faith.—(Mason.)

[4] Various are the enemies we meet with in our Christian warfare. The world, with its enchantments, has a tendency to stupify, and bring on a fatal lethargy. How many professors receive principles, by which they harden themselves in carnal pursuits and sensual gratifications; and others, still preserving a religious name and character, are as dead in their souls, as devoted to the world as these, though contending for legal principles, and high in their religious pretensions!—(J. B.)

ever he shall rise or wake again in this world.[1] Over this forest, therefore, they went, both one and the other, and Mr. Greatheart went before, for that he was the guide; and Mr. Valiant-for-truth, he came behind, being there a guard, for fear, lest peradventure some fiend, or dragon, or giant, or thief, should fall upon their rear, and so do mischief. They went on here, each man with his sword drawn in his hand, for they knew it was a dangerous place. Also they cheered up one another as well as they could; Feeble-mind, Mr. Great-heart commanded, should come up after him, and Mr. Despondency was under the eye of Mr. Valiant.[2]

Now they had not gone far, but a great mist and darkness fell upon them all, so that they could scarce, for a great while, see the one the other; wherefore they were forced, for some time, to feel for one another by words; for they walked not by sight.

But any one must think that here was but sorry going for the best of them all; but how much worse for the women and children, who both of feet and heart, were but tender. Yet so it was, that through the encouraging words of he that led in the front, and of him that brought them up behind, they made a pretty good shift to wag along.

The way also was here very wearisome, through dirt and slabbiness. Nor was there on all this ground so much as one inn, or victualling house, therein to refresh the feebler sort. Here, therefore, was grunting, and puffing, and sighing. While one tumbleth over a bush, another sticks fast in the dirt; and the children, some of them, lost their shoes in the mire. While one cries out, I am down; and another, Ho! where are you? and a third, The bushes have got such fast hold on me, I think I cannot get away from them.

Then they came at an arbour, warm, and promising much refreshing to the Pilgrims; for it was finely wrought above head, beautified with greens, furnished with benches and settles.[3] It also had in it a soft couch, whereon the weary might lean. This, you must think, all things considered, was tempting: for the Pilgrims already began to be foiled with the badness of the way; but there was not one of them that made so much as a motion to stop there. Yea, for aught I could perceive, they continually gave so good heed to the advice of their guide, and he did so faithfully tell them of dangers, and of the nature of dangers, when they were at them, that usually, when they were nearest to them, they did most pluck up their spirits, and hearten one another to deny the flesh. This arbour was called The Slothful's Friend, on purpose to allure, if it might be, some of the pilgrims there to take up their rest when weary.

An arbour on the Enchanting Ground.

The name of the arbour.

I saw then in my dream, that they went on in this their solitary ground, till they came to a place at which a man is apt to lose his way.[4] Now, though when it was light, their guide could well enough tell how to miss those ways that led wrong, yet in the dark he was put to a stand; but he had in his pocket a map of all ways leading to, or from the Celestial City; wherefore he struck a light, for he never goes also without his tinder-box, and takes a view of his book or map, which bids him be careful, in that place, to turn to the right-hand way. And had he not here been careful to look in his map, they had all, in probability, been smothered in the mud; for, just a little before them, and that at the end of the cleanest way too, was a pit, none knows how deep, full of nothing but mud, there made on purpose to destroy the Pilgrims in.[5]

The way difficult to find.

The guide has a map of all ways leading to or from the city.

Then thought I with myself, who that goeth on pilgrimage, but would have one of these maps about him, that he may look when he is at a stand, which is the way he must take.[6]

God's Book.

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[1] It behoves all who love their souls to shun that hurry of business, and multiplicity of affairs and projects, into which many are betrayed by degrees, in order to supply increasing expenses, that might be avoided by strict frugality; for they load the soul with thick clay, are a heavy weight to the most upright, render a man's way doubtful and joyless, and drown many in perdition.—(Scott.)

[2] Old pilgrims, ye who have set out well, and gone on well for a long season, consider ye are yet in the world, which is enchanted ground. Know your danger of seeking rest here, or of sleeping in any of its enchanting arbours. Though the flesh may be weary, the spirit faint, and the arbours inviting, yet beware. Press on. Look to the Strong for strength; and to the Beloved for rest in his way.—(Mason.)

[3] Mark how the ready hands of death prepare;
His bow is bent, and he hath notch'd his dart;
He aims, he levels at thy slumb'ring heart.
The wound is posting; O be wise, beware!
What, has the voice of danger lost the art
To raise the spirit of neglected care?
Well, sleep thy fill, and take thy soft reposes;
But know, withal, sweet tastes have sour closes;
And he repents in thorns that sleeps in beds of roses.
—(Quarles' *Emblems*, i.—vii.)

[4] This inculcates the duty of constant attention to the precepts and counsels of Scripture, as well as reliance on its promises; and a habitual application to the Lord by prayer, to teach us the true meaning of his Word, that we may learn the way of peace and safety in the most difficult and doubtful cases.—(Scott.)

[5] The Word of God is compared to a map and a lantern; to these we shall do well to take heed, as to light shining in a dark place. Let this be the pilgrim's guide, when the light of spiritual joy or sensible comfort is withdrawn.—(Burder.)

[6] ——— To follow Christ.
He is to them instead of eyes,
He must before them go in any wise;
And he must lead them by the water side,
This is the work of HIM our faithful guide.

They went on, then, in this Enchanted Ground, till they came to where there was another arbour, and it was built by the highway-side. And in that arbour there lay two men, whose names were Heedless and Too-bold.[1] These two went thus far on pilgrimage; but here, being wearied with their journey, they sat down to rest themselves, and so fell fast asleep. When the Pilgrims saw them, they stood still, and shook their heads; for they knew that the sleepers were in a pitiful case. Then they consulted what to do, whether to go on and leave them in their sleep, or to step to them, and try to awake them. So they concluded to go to them, and awake them; that is, if they could; but with this caution, namely, to take heed that themselves did not sit down nor embrace the offered benefit of that arbour.

An arbour, and two asleep therein.

So they went in, and spake to the men, and called each by his name,[2] for the guide, it seems, did know them; but there was no voice nor answer. Then the guide did shake them, and do what he could to disturb them. Then said one of them, I will pay you when I take my money. At which the guide shook his head. I will fight so long as I can hold my sword in my hand, said the other. At that one of the children laughed.

The Pilgrims try to wake them.

Then said Christiana, What is the meaning of this? The guide said, They talk in their sleep. If you strike them, beat them, or whatever else you do to them, they will answer you after this fashion; or, as one of them said in old time, when the waves of the sea did beat upon him, and he slept as one upon the mast of a ship, 'When shall I awake? I will seek it yet again.' Pr. xxiii. 34, 35. You know, when men talk in their sleep, they say anything, but their words are not governed either by faith or reason. There is an incoherency in their words now, as there was before, betwixt their going on pilgrimage, and sitting down here.[3] This, then, is the mischief of it, when heedless ones go on pilgrimage, it is twenty to one but they are served thus; for this Enchanted Ground is one of the last refuges that the enemy to pilgrims has. Wherefore it is, as you see, placed almost at the end of the way, and so it standeth against us with the more advantage. For when, thinks the enemy, will these fools be so desirous to sit down, as when they are weary? and when so like to be weary, as when almost at their journey's end? Therefore it is, I say, that the Enchanted Ground is placed so nigh to the Land Beulah, and so near the end of their race.[4] Wherefore, let pilgrims look to themselves, lest it happen to them as it has done to these, that, as you see, are fallen asleep, and none can wake them.[5]

Their endeavour is fruitless.

Then the Pilgrims desired, with trembling, to go forward; only they prayed their guide to strike a light, that they might go the rest of their way by the help of the light of a lantern.[6] So he struck a light, and they went by the help of that through the rest of this way, though the darkness was very great. 2 Pe. i. 19.

The light of the Word.

But the children began to be sorely weary; and they cried out unto him that loveth pilgrims, to make their way more com-

The children cry for weariness.

Since snares, and traps, and gins are for us set,
Since here's a hole, and there is spread a net,
O let no body at my muse deride,
No man can travel here without a guide.
—(Bunyan's *House of God*, vol. ii. p. 582.)

[1] Ignorance and pride may long maintain a form of godliness, though it be a weariness to them; but after a time they will be gradually drawn back into the world, retaining nothing of their religion except certain distorted doctrinal notions.—(Scott.)

[2] It is the duty, and will be the practice of pilgrims, to strive to be instrumental to the good of others. But, at the same time, it behoves them to take heed to themselves, and watch, lest they catch harm from them and their conduct.—(Mason.)

[3] What a sound sleep of infatuation hath this enchanting world cast many a professor into! They are proof against all warnings, and dead as to any means of arousing them. When this sleep of death seizes the soul, it destroys faith, infatuates reason, and causes men to talk incoherently. They have lost the language of pilgrims. Their state is awful; beware of it; pray against it. For 'if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.' 1 Jn. ii. 15.—(Mason.)

[4] This view of the Enchanted Ground seems to vary from that which has been considered in the First Part. The circumstances of believers who are deeply engaged in business, and constrained to spend much of their time among worldly people, may here be particularly intended. This may sometimes be unavoidable; but it is enchanted ground. Many professors, fascinated by the advantages and connections thus presented to them, fall asleep, and wake no more; and others are entangled by those thorns and briers which 'choke the Word, and render it unfruitful.' The more soothing the scene the greater the danger, and the more urgent need is there for watchfulness and circumspection.—(Scott.)

[5] This is a solemn period in the Christian's pilgrimage. In the *Heavenly Footman*, Bunyan has given some admirable general directions:—'Because I would have you think of them, take all in short in this little bit of paper—1. Get into the way. 2. Then study on it. 3. Then strip and lay aside everything that would hinder. 4. Beware of by-paths. 5. Do not gaze and stare much about thee; but be sure to ponder the path of thy feet. 6. Do not stop for any that call after thee, whether it be the world, the flesh, or the devil; for all these will hinder thy journey if possible. 7. Be not daunted with any discouragements thou meetest with as thou goest. 8. Take heed of stumbling at the cross. And, 9. Cry hard to God for an enlightened heart and a willing mind, and God give thee a prosperous journey. Yet, before I do quite take my leave of thee, a few motives. It may be they will be as good as a pair of spurs, to prick on thy lumpish heart in this rich voyage. If thou winnest, then heaven, God, Christ, glory eternal is thine. If thou lose, thou procurest eternal death.'—(Ed.)

[6] The Word of God is the only light to direct our steps. He who neglects this is a fool. He who sets up and looks for any other light to direct him is mad, and knows not what he does. As folly and madness beset him, danger and distress will come upon him. Trembling souls will attend closely to God's Word.—(Mason.)

fortable. So by that they had gone a little further, a wind arose, that drove away the fog; so the air became more clear.

Yet they were not off, by much, of the Enchanted Ground, only now they could see one another better, and the way wherein they should walk.

Now, when they were almost at the end of this ground, they perceived that, a little before them. was a solemn noise of one that was much concerned. So they went on and looked before them; and behold,

Stand-fast upon his knees in the Enchanted Ground.

they saw, as they thought, a man upon his knees, with hands and eyes lift up, and speaking, as they thought, carnestly to one that was above.[1] They drew nigh, but could not tell what he said. So they went softly till he had done. When he had done, he got up, and began to run towards the Celestial City. Then Mr. Great-heart called after him, saying, Soho! friend, let us have your company, if you go, as I suppose you do, to the Celestial City. So the man stopped, and they came up to him. But so soon as Mr. Honest saw him, he said, I

The story of Stand-fast.

know this man. Then said Mr. Valiant-for-truth, Prithee, who is it? It is one, said he, who comes from whereabouts I dwelt. His name is Stand-fast; he is certainly a right good pilgrim.

So they came up one to another; and presently Stand-fast said to old Honest, Ho, father Honest, are you there? Aye, said he, that I am, as sure

Talk between him and Mr. Honest.

as you are there. Right glad am I, said Mr. Stand-fast, that I have found you on this road. And as glad am I, said the other, that I espied you upon your knees. Then Mr. Stand-fast blushed, and said, But why, did you see me? Yes, that I did, quoth the other, and with my heart was glad at the sight. Why, what did you think? said Stand-fast. Think! said old Honest, what should I think? I thought we had an honest man upon the road, and therefore should have his company by and by. If you thought not amiss [said Stand-fast], how happy am I; but if I be not as I should, I alone must bear it. That is true, said the other; but your fear doth further confirm me, that things are right betwixt the Prince of Pilgrims and your soul; for, saith he, 'Blessed is the man that feareth always.'

Valiant. Well, but brother, I pray thee tell us what was it that was the cause of thy being upon thy knees even now? Was it for that some special mercies laid obligations upon thee, or how?

They found him at prayer.

Stand-fast. Why, we are, as you see, upon the Enchanted Ground; and as I was coming along, I was musing with myself of what a dangerous road the road in this place was, and how many that had come even thus far on pilgrimage had here been stopped, and been destroyed. I thought also of the manner of the death with which this place destroyeth men. Those that die here, die of no violent distemper. The death which such die is not grievous to them; for he that goeth away in a sleep, begins that journey with desire and pleasure; yea, such acquiesce in the will of that disease.

What it was that fetched him upon his knees.

Hon. Then Mr. Honest, interrupting of him, said, Did you see the two men asleep in the arbour?

Stand-fast. Aye, aye, I saw Heedless and Too-bold there; and, for aught I know, there they will lie till they rot. Pr. x. 7. But let me go on in my tale. As I was thus musing, as I said, there was one, in very pleasant attire, but old, who presented herself unto me, and offered me three things; to wit, her body, her purse, and her bed. Now, the truth is, I was both a-weary and sleepy; I am also as poor as an owlet,[2] and that, perhaps, the witch knew. Well, I repulsed her once and twice, but she put by my repulses, and smiled. Then I began to be angry; but she mattered that nothing at all. Then she made offers again, and said, If I would be ruled by her, she would make me great and happy; for, said she, I am the mistress of the world, and men are made happy by me. Then I asked her name, and she told me it was Madam Bubble.[3] This set me further from her; but she still followed me with enticements. Then I betook me as you saw, to my knees; and with hands lift up, and cries, I prayed to him that had said he would help.[4] So, just as you came up, the gentlewoman went her way. Then I continued to give thanks for this my great deliverance; for I verily believe she intended no good, but rather sought to make stop of me in my journey.[5]

Madam Bubble, or this vain world.

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[1] He who fears always, will pray evermore. The fear of the heart will bring pilgrims on their knees. He who fears to be or go wrong, will pray to be set right. The Lord will direct the heart, and order the goings of all who cry to him. Fear and prayer go hand in hand. Joy shall attend them.—(Mason.)

[2] No more money than an owl loves light. 'The antiquarian, who delights to solace himself in the benighted days of monkish owl-light, sometimes passes for a divine.'—(Warburton.)—(Ed.)

[3] My soul, what's lighter than a feather? Wind.
Than wind? The fire. And what than fire? The mind.
What's lighter than the mind? A thought. Than thought?
This bubble world. What than this bubble? Naught.
—(Quarles.)

[4] ——— Prayer's arrow drawn
Down to the head by nervous penitence,
Or meek humility's compliant strings,
Wings to the destin'd mark its certain way,
And ne'er was shot in vain!
—(Dodd's *Epiphany*, p. 32, 4to.)

[5] O pilgrims, beware of this Madam Bubble! Know and consider well, that ye have a nature exactly suited to accept of her offers, and to fall in love with her promises. The riches, honours, and pleasures of this world, what mortal can withstand? or who can forego them? No one but he who sees

HON. Without doubt her designs were bad. But stay, now you talk of her, methinks I either have seen her, or have read some story of her.

STAND-FAST. Perhaps you have done both.

HON. Madam Bubble! is she not a tall, comely dame, something of a swarthy complexion?

STAND-FAST. Right, you hit it, she is just such a one.

HON. Doth she not speak very smoothly, and give you a smile at the end of a sentence?

STAND-FAST. You fall right upon it again, for these are her very actions.

HON. Doth she not wear a great purse by her side; and is not her hand often in it, fingering her money, as if that was her heart's delight?

STAND-FAST. It is just so; had she stood by all this while, you could not more amply have set her forth before me, nor have better described her features.

HON. Then he that drew her picture was a good limner, and he that wrote of her said true.[1]

GREAT-HEART. This woman is a witch, and it is by virtue of her sorceries that this ground is enchanted. Whoever doth lay their head down in her lap, had as good lay it down upon that block over which the axe doth hang; and whoever lay their eyes upon her beauty, are counted the enemies of God. Ja. iv. 4. 1 Jn. ii. 15. This is she that maintaineth in their splendour all those that are the enemies of pilgrims. Yea, this is she that hath bought off many a man from a pilgrim's life. She is a great gossipper; she is always, both she and her daughters, at one pilgrim's heels or another, now commending, and then preferring the excellencies of this life. She is a bold and impudent slut; she will talk with any man. She always laugheth poor pilgrims to scorn; but highly commends the rich. If there be one cunning to get money in a place, she will speak well of him from house to house; she loveth banqueting and feasting mainly well; she is always at one full table or another. She has given it out in some places, that she is a goddess, and therefore some do worship her. She has her times and open places of cheating; and she will say and avow it, that none can show a good comparable to hers. She promiseth to dwell with children's children, if they will but love and make much of her. She will cast out of her purse gold like dust, in some places, and to some persons. She loves to be sought after, spoken well of, and to lie in the bosoms of men. She is never weary of commending her commodities, and she loves them most that think best of her. She will promise to some crowns and kingdoms, if they will but take her advice; yet many hath she brought to the halter, and ten thousand times more to hell.

The World.

STAND-FAST. O, said Stand-fast, what a mercy is it that I did resist! for whither might she have drawn me!

GREAT-HEART. Whither! nay, none but God knows whither. But, in general, to be sure, she would have drawn thee into 'many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition.' 1 Ti. vi. 9.

It was she that set Absalom against his father, and Jeroboam against his master. It was she that persuaded Judas to sell his Lord, and that prevailed with Demas to forsake the godly pilgrims' life; none can tell of the mischief that she doth. She makes variance betwixt rulers and subjects, betwixt parents and children, betwixt neighbour and neighbour, betwixt a man and his wife, betwixt a man and himself, betwixt the flesh and the heart.

Wherefore, good Master Stand-fast, be as your name is, and 'when you have done all, Stand.'[2]

At this discourse there was, among the Pilgrims, a mixture of joy and trembling; but at length they brake out, and sang—

What danger is the pilgrim in!
How many are his foes!
How many ways there are to sin
No living mortal knows.

more charms in Jesus, more glory in his cross, and more comfort in the enjoyment of his love and presence; and therefore, is continually looking and crying to him, 'Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity.'—(Mason.) Many, indeed, are her fair promises and golden dreams. Many hath she brought to the halter, and ten thousand times more to hell. O for precious faith, to overcome the world; and to pass through it, in pursuit of a nobler portion, as strangers and pilgrims!—(Burder.)

[1] Is she not rightly named Bubble? Art thou convinced that she is nothing more? Why then dost thou not break loose from her hold? I ask, Why has the world such hold of thee? Why dost thou listen to her enchantments? For shame! Stir up thy strength, call forth thy powers! What! be convinced that the world is a *bubble*, and be led captive by her. Shake her off, you ought, you should, it is your duty. Let Mr. Stand-fast answer these questions. His earnest and solemn prayers plainly prove the sense he had of his own weakness and inability to extricate himself from her enchantments. Though some may appear to despise the dominion of sin, I am convinced that it must be a Divine power to deliver me from it.—(J. B.)

[2] It was amidst this Enchanted Ground that good Mr. Stand-fast, whom the Pilgrims there found upon his knees, was so hard beset and enticed by Madam Bubble; and indeed it is by her sorceries that the ground itself is enchanted. Madam Bubble is the world, with its allurements and vanities; and whosoever, as Mr. Great-heart said, do lay their eyes upon her beauty are counted the enemies of God; for God hath said that the friendship of the world is enmity against God; and he hath said furthermore, 'Love not the world, nor the things of the world; if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.' So Mr. Stand-fast did well to betake him to his knees, praying to him that could help him. So if all pilgrims, when worldly proposals and enticements allure them, and they feel the love of the world tempting them, and gaining on them, would thus go to more earnest prayer, and be made more vigilant against temptations, Madam Bubble would not gain so many victories.—(Cheever.)

Some of the ditch shy are, yet can
Lie tumbling in the mire;
Some, though they shun the frying-pan,
Do leap into the fire.

After this, I beheld until they were come unto the Land of Beulah, where the sun shineth night and day.[1] Here, because they were weary, they betook themselves a while to rest; and, because this country was common for pilgrims, and because the orchards and vineyards that were here belonged to the King of the Celestial country, therefore they were licensed to make bold with any of his things. But a little while soon refreshed them here; for the bells did so ring, and the trumpets continually sound so melodiously, that they could not sleep; and yet they received as much refreshing, as if they had slept their sleep ever so soundly. Here also all the noise of them that walked in the streets, was, More pilgrims are come to town. And another would answer, saying, And so many went over the water, and were let in at the golden gates to-day. They would cry again, There is now a legion of Shining Ones just come to town, by which we know that there are more pilgrims upon the road; for here they come to wait for them, and to comfort them after all their sorrow. Then the Pilgrims got up, and walked to and fro; but how were their ears now filled with heavenly noises, and their eyes delighted with celestial visions! In this land they heard nothing, saw nothing, felt nothing, smelled nothing, tasted nothing, that was offensive to their stomach or mind; only when they tasted of the water of the river over which they were to go, they thought that tasted a little bitterish to the palate, but it proved sweeter when it was down.

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Death bitter to the flesh, but sweet to the soul.

In this place there was a record kept of the names of them that had been pilgrims of old, and a history of all the famous acts that they had done. It was here also much discoursed how the river to some had had its flowings, and what ebbings it has had while others have gone over. It has been in a manner dry for some, while it has overflowed its banks for others.

Death has its ebbings and flowings like the tide.

In this place the children of the town would go into the King's gardens, and gather nosegays for the Pilgrims, and bring them to them with much affection. Here also grew camphire, with spikenard, and saffron, calamus, and cinnamon, with all its trees of frankincense, myrrh, and aloes, with all chief spices. With these the Pilgrims' chambers were perfumed, while they staid here; and with these were their bodies anointed, to prepare them to go over the river when the time appointed was come.

Now, while they lay here, and waited for the good hour, there was a noise in the town, that there was a post come from the Celestial City, with matter of great importance to one Christiana, the wife of Christian the Pilgrim. So inquiry was made for her, and the house was found out where she was; so the post presented her with a letter; the contents whereof were, 'Hail, good woman! I bring thee tidings that the Master calleth for thee, and expecteth that thou shouldest stand in his presence, in clothes of immortality, within these ten days.'

A messenger of Death sent to Christiana.

His message.

When he had read this letter to her, he gave her therewith a sure token that he was a true messenger, and was come to bid her make haste to be gone. The token was, an arrow with a point sharpened with love, let easily into her heart, which by degrees wrought so effectually with her, that at the time appointed she must be gone.[2]

How welcome is death to them that have nothing to do but to die.

When Christiana saw that her time was come, and that she was the first of this company that was to go over, she called for Mr. Great-heart her guide, and told him how matters were. So he told her he was heartily glad of the news, and could have been glad had the post come for him. Then she bid that he should give advice how all things should be prepared for her journey. So he told her, saying, thus and

Her speech to her Guide.

[1] The ensuing description represents the happy state of those that live in places favoured with many lively Christians, united in heart and judgment; and where instances of triumphant deathbed scenes are often witnessed. Aged believers, in such circumstances, have been remarkably delivered from fears and temptations, and animated by the hopes and earnests of heaven; so that, while death seemed bitter to nature, it became pleasant to the soul to think of the joy and glory that would immediately follow it.—(Scott.)

O scenes surpassing fable, and yet true!
Scenes of accomplish'd bliss, which who can see,
Though but in distant prospect, and not feel
His soul refresh'd with foretaste of the joy?
Bright as a sun the sacred City shines;
All kingdoms and all princes of the earth
Flock to that light, the glory of all lands
Flows into her; unbounded is her joy,
And endless her increase. Thy rams are there,
Nebaioth, and the flocks of Kedar there;
The looms of Ormus, and the mines of Ind,
And Saba's spicy groves pay tribute there.
Praise is in all her gates; upon her walls,
And in her streets, and in her spacious courts,
Is heard *Salvation!*

[2] These messengers are the diseases or decays by which the Lord takes down the earthly tabernacle, when he sees good to receive the souls of his people into his immediate presence. In plain language, it was reported that Christiana was sick and near death, and she herself became sensible of her situation. 'The arrow sharpened by love' implies, that the time, manner, and circumstances of the believer's death, are appointed by him 'who loved us, and gave himself for us.' He, as it were, says to the dying saint, 'It is I, be not afraid.'—(Scott.)

thus it must be; and we that survive will accompany you to the river side.

Then she called for her children, and gave them her blessing, and told them, that she yet read with comfort the mark that was set in their foreheads, and was glad to see them with her there, and that they had kept their garments so white. Lastly, she bequeathed to the poor that little she had, and commanded her sons and her daughters to be ready against the messenger should come for them.

To her children.

When she had spoken these words to her guide and to her children, she called for Mr. Valiant-for-truth, and said unto him, Sir, you have in all places showed yourself true-hearted; 'be faithful unto death,' and my King will give you 'a crown of life.' I would also entreat you to have an eye to my children; and if at any time you see them faint, speak comfortably to them. For my daughters, my sons' wives, they have been faithful, and a fulfilling of the promise upon them will be their end. But she gave Mr. Stand-fast a ring.

To Mr. Valiant.

To Mr. Stand-fast.

Then she called for old Mr. Honest, and said of him, 'Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.' Then said he, I wish you a fair day, when you set out for Mount Zion, and shall be glad to see that you go over the river dry-shod. But she answered, Come wet, come dry, I long to be gone; for, however the weather is in my journey, I shall have time enough when I come there to sit down and rest me, and dry me.

To old Honest.

Then came in that good man Mr. Ready-to-halt, to see her. So she said to him, Thy travel hither has been with difficulty; but that will make thy rest the sweeter. But watch and be ready; for at an hour when you think not, the messenger may come.

To Mr. Ready-to-halt.

After him came in Mr. Despondency, and his daughter Much-afraid, to whom she said, You ought with thankfulness, for ever to remember your deliverance from the hands of Giant Despair, and out of Doubting Castle. The effect of that mercy is, that you are brought with safety hither. Be ye watchful, and cast away fear; 'be sober and hope to the end.'

To Despondency and his daughter.

Then she said to Mr. Feeble-mind, Thou wast delivered from the mouth of Giant Slay-good, that thou mightest live in the light of the living for ever, and see thy King with comfort; only I advise thee to repent thee of thine aptness to fear and doubt of his goodness, before he sends for thee; lest thou shouldest, when he comes, be forced to stand before him, for that fault, with blushing.

To Feeble-mind.

Now the day drew on, that Christiana must be gone. So the road was full of people to see her take her journey. But, behold, all the banks beyond the river were full of horses and chariots, which were come down from above to accompany her to the city gate. So she came forth, and entered the river, with a beckon of farewell to those that followed her to the river side. The last words that she was heard to say here, were, I come, Lord, to be with thee, and bless thee.[1]

Her last day, and manner of departure.

So her children and friends returned to their place, for that those that waited for Christiana had carried her out of their sight. So she went and called, and entered in at the gate with all the ceremonies of joy that her husband Christian had done before her.

At her departure her children wept. But Mr. Great-heart and Mr. Valiant played upon the well-tuned cymbal and harp for joy. So all departed to their respective places.[2]

In process of time there came a post to the town again, and his business was with Mr. Ready-to-halt. So he inquired him out, and said to him, I am come to thee in the name of him whom thou hast loved and followed, though upon crutches; and my message is to tell thee, that he expects thee at his table to sup with him, in his kingdom, the next day after Easter; wherefore prepare thyself for this journey.[3]

Ready-to-halt summoned.

Then he also gave him a token that he was a true messenger, saying, I have broken thy golden bowl, and loosed thy silver cord. Ec. xii. 6.

After this, Mr. Ready-to-halt called for his fellow-pilgrims, and told them, saying, I am sent for, and God shall surely visit you also. So he desired Mr. Valiant to make his will; and because he had nothing to bequeath to them that should survive him, but his crutches, and his good wishes, therefore thus he said, These crutches I bequeath to my son that shall tread

Promises. His will.

[1] This is the faith and patience of this dying Christian heroine, who began her pilgrimage with trembling steps, maintained her journey with holy zeal, and thus finished her course with joy.—(Ivimey.)

[2] O how blessed is the death of the righteous, who die in the Lord! Even a wicked Balaam could wish for this. But it will be granted to none but those who have lived in the Lord; whose souls have been quickened by his Spirit to come unto Jesus, believe in him, and glory of him as their righteousness and salvation.—(Mason.)

[3] Evident decays of natural powers as effectually convince the observing person, as if a messenger had been sent to inform him. But men in general cling to life, wilfully overlook such tokens, and try to keep up to the last the vain hope of recovering; those around them, by a cruel compassion, soothe them in the delusion; so that numbers die of chronic diseases as suddenly as if they had been shot through the heart. Perhaps the author had some reference to those inexplicable presages of death which some persons evidently experience.—(Scott.)

in my steps, with a hundred warm wishes that he may prove better than I have done.

Then he thanked Mr. Great-heart for his conduct and kindness, and so addressed himself to his journey. When he came at the brink of the river, he said, Now I shall have no more need of these crutches, since yonder are chariots and horses for me to ride on. The last words he was heard to say was, Welcome life![1] So he went his way.

His last words.

After this, Mr. Feeble-mind had tidings brought him, that the post sounded his horn at his chamber door. Then he came in, and told him, saying, I am come to tell thee, that thy Master hath need of thee; and that, in very little time, thou must behold his face in brightness. And take this as a token of the truth of my message, 'Those that look out of the windows shall be darkened.'[2] Ec. xii. 3.

Feeble-mind summoned.

Then Mr. Feeble-mind called for his friends, and told them what errand had been brought unto him, and what token he had received of the truth of the message. Then he said, Since I have nothing to bequeath to any, to what purpose should I make a will? As for my feeble mind, that I will leave behind me, for that I have no need of that in the place whither I go. Nor is it worth bestowing upon the poorest pilgrim; wherefore, when I am gone, I desire that you, Mr. Valiant, would bury it in a dunghill. This done, and the day being come in which he was to depart, he entered the river as the rest. His last words were, Hold out, faith and patience. So he went over to the other side.

He makes no will.

His last words.

When days had many of them passed away, Mr. Despondency was sent for; for a post was come, and brought this message to him: Trembling man, these are to summon thee to be ready with thy King by the next Lord's day, to shout for joy for thy deliverance from all thy doubtings.

Mr. Despondency's summons.

And, said the messenger, that my message is true, take this for a proof; so he gave him the grasshopper to be a burden unto him. Ec. xii. 5. Now, Mr. Despondency's daughter, whose name was Much-afraid, said, when she heard what was done, that she would go with her father. Then Mr. Despondency said to his friends, Myself and my daughter, you know what we have been, and how troublesomely we have behaved ourselves in every company. My will and my daughter's is, that our desponds and slavish fears be by no man ever received, from the day of our departure, for ever; for I know that after my death they will offer themselves to others.[3] For, to be plain with you, they are ghosts the which we entertained when we first began to be pilgrims, and could never shake them off after; and they will walk about and seek entertainment of the pilgrims; but, for our sakes, shut ye the doors upon them.[4]

His daughter goes too.

His will.

When the time was come for them to depart, they went to the brink of the river. The last words of Mr. Despondency were, Farewell night, welcome day. His daughter went through the river singing, but none could understand what she said.[5]

His last words.

Then it came to pass, a while after, that there was a post in the town that inquired for Mr. Honest. So he came to his house where he was, and delivered to his hand these lines: Thou art commanded to be ready against this day sevennight, to present thyself before thy Lord, at his Father's house. And for a token that my message is true, 'All thy daughters of music shall be brought low.' Ec. xii. 4. Then Mr. Honest called for his friends, and said unto them, I die, but shall make no will. As for my honesty, it shall go with me; let him that comes after be told of this. When the day that he was to be gone was come, he addressed himself to go over the river. Now the river at that time overflowed the banks in some places; but Mr. Honest in his lifetime had spoken to one Good-conscience to meet him there, the which he also did, and lent him his hand, and so helped him over. The last

Mr. Honest summoned.

He makes no will.

Good-conscience helps Mr. Honest over the river.

[1] See the joyful end of one ready to halt at every step. Take courage hence, ye lame, halting pilgrims.—(Mason.)

[2] The tokens are taken from that well-known portion of Scripture, Ec. xii. 1–7; in which the dealings of the Lord are represented as uniformly gentle to the feeble, trembling, humble believer; and the circumstances of their deaths comparatively encouraging and easy.—(Scott.)

[3] In the *Holy War*, the doubters having been dispersed, three or four thrust themselves into Mansoul. Now, to whose house should these Diabolian doubters go, but to that of Old Evil-questioning. So he made them welcome. Well, said he, be of what shire you will, you have the very length of my foot, are one with my heart. So they thanked him. I, said one, am an election-doubter; I, said another, am a vocation-doubter; then said the third, I am a salvation-doubter; and the fourth said, I am a grace-doubter. I am persuaded you are down boys, and are one with my heart, said the old gentleman.—(Ed.)

[4] Pilgrims, mind this. It is as much your duty to strive, in the strength of the Lord, against unreasonable doubts and slavish fears, as against sin; nay, are they not, in their own nature, the worst of sins, as they spring from infidelity, and dishonour God's precious truth, glorious grace, and everlasting salvation? Never, never, then, cherish or give way to them, but resist, and shut the door of your hearts against them.—(Mason.)

[5] How various is the experience of Christians in the hour of death. Christian and Hopeful inquired 'if the waters were all of a depth.' The answer was, 'You shall find it deeper or shallower, as you believe in the King of the place.' 'What ailed thee, O Jordan, that thou wast driven back?' The answer is, 'At the presence of the Lord: at the presence of the God of Jacob.' In proportion as a Christian can say, 'for me to live is Christ,' in that proportion may he hope to find the water shallow, and feel support to his feet in the trying passage.—(Ed.)

words of Mr. Honest were, Grace reigns. So he left the world.

After this, it was noised abroad, that Mr. Valiant-for-truth was taken with a summons, by the same post as the other; and had this for a token that the summons was true, 'That his pitcher was broken at the fountain.' Ec. xii. 6. When he understood it, he called for his friends, and told them of it. Then, said he, I am going to my Father's; and though with great difficulty I am got hither, yet now I do not repent me of all the trouble I have been at to arrive where I am. My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought his battles, who now will be my rewarder. When the day that he must go hence was come, many accompanied him to the river-side, into which as he went, he said, 'Death, where is thy sting?' And as he went down deeper, he said, 'Grave, where is thy victory?' So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.[1]

Mr. Valiant summoned.

His will.

His last words.

Then there came forth a summons for Mr. Stand-fast—this Mr. Stand-fast was he that the rest of the Pilgrims found upon his knees in the Enchanted Ground—for the post brought it him open in his hands. The contents whereof were, that he must prepare for a change of life, for his Master was not willing that he should be so far from him any longer. At this Mr. Stand-fast was put into a muse. Nay, said the messenger, you need not doubt of the truth of my message, for here is a token of the truth thereof: 'Thy wheel is broken at the cistern.' Ec. xii. 6. Then he called unto him Mr. Great-heart, who was their guide, and said unto him, Sir, although it was not my hap to be much in your good company in the days of my pilgrimage; yet, since the time I knew you, you have been profitable to me. When I came from home, I left behind me a wife and five small children; let me entreat you, at your return (for I know that you will go, and return to your Master's house, in hopes that you may yet be a conductor to more of the holy pilgrims), that you send to my family, and let them be acquainted with all that hath, or shall happen unto me. Tell them, moreover, of my happy arrival to this place, and of the present [and] late blessed condition that I am in. Tell them also of Christian, and Christiana his wife, and how she and her children came after her husband. Tell them also of what a happy end she made, and whither she is gone. I have little or nothing to send to my family, except it be prayers and tears for them; of which it will suffice if thou acquaint them, if peradventure they may prevail.

Mr. Stand-fast is summoned.

He calls for Mr. Great-heart.

His speech to him.

His errand to his family.

When Mr. Stand-fast had thus set things in order, and the time being come for him to haste him away, he also went down to the river. Now there was a great calm at that time in the river; wherefore Mr. Stand-fast, when he was about half-way in, stood a while and talked to his companions that had waited upon him thither; and he said, This river has been a terror to many; yea, the thoughts of it also have often frightened me. Now, methinks, I stand easy, my foot is fixed upon that upon which the feet of the priests that bare the ark of the covenant stood, while Israel went over this Jordan. Jos. iii. 17. The waters, indeed, are to the palate bitter, and to the stomach cold; yet the thoughts of what I am going to, and of the conduct that waits for me on the other side, doth lie as a glowing coal at my heart.

His last words.

I see myself now at the end of my journey, my toilsome days are ended. I am going now to see that head that was crowned with thorns, and that face that was spit upon for me.[2]

I have formerly lived by hearsay and faith; but now I go where I shall live by sight, and shall be with him in whose company I delight myself.

I have loved to hear my Lord spoken of; and wherever I have seen the print of his shoe in the earth, there I have coveted to set my foot too.

His name has been to me as a civet-box; yea, sweeter than all perfumes. His voice to me has been most sweet; and his countenance I have more desired than they that have most desired the light of the sun. His word I did use to gather for my food, and for antidotes against my faintings. 'He has held me, and hath kept me from mine iniquities; yea, my steps hath he strengthened in his way.'[3]

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[1] In the truth of Jesus is victory. He who is valiant for it shall share most of its comforts in life, and in death. O Lord, increase our faith in the never-failing word of truth and grace, for thy glory and our soul's triumph!—(Mason.)

[2] Such is the joy and blessedness of faith! How does it bring near and realize the sight of Christ in glory! Do we indeed see Christ by the eye of faith? Is he the one, the chief object of our soul? Verily, then we shall count our days on earth toilsome ones, and long for the full fruition of him in glory. O it will be our great glory to see that dear Man, whose blessed head was crowned with thorns, and whose lovely face was spit upon, for us. O that we may be living every day upon him and to him, till we see him as he is!—(Mason.)

[3] This speech has been justly admired as one of the most striking passages in the whole work; but it is so plain that it only requires an attentive reader. It may, however, be worthy of our observation, that, in all the instances before us, the pilgrims are represented as resting their only dependence, at the closing scene, on the mercy of God, through the righteousness and atonement of his Son; and yet recollecting their conscious integrity, boldness in professing and contending for the truth, love to the cause, example, and words of Christ,

Now, while he was thus in discourse, his countenance changed, his strong man bowed under him; and after he had said, Take me, for I come unto thee, he ceased to be seen of them.

But glorious it was to see how the open region was filled with horses and chariots, with trumpeters and pipers, with singers and players on stringed instruments, to welcome the Pilgrims as they went up, and followed one another in at the beautiful gate of the city.[1]

As for Christian's children, the four boys that Christiana brought with her, with their wives and children, I did not stay where I was till they were gone over. Also, since I came away, I heard one say that they were yet alive, and so would be for the increase of the CHURCH in that place where they were, for a time.[2]

Shall it be my lot to go that way again, I may give those that desire it an account of what I here am' silent about.[3] Meantime, I bid my reader

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obedience to his precepts, delight in his ways, preservation from their own iniquities, and consistent behaviour, as *evidences* that their faith was living, and their hope warranted; and in this way the retrospect conduced to their encouragement. Moreover, they all concur in declaring that, while they left their infirmities behind them, they should take their graces along with them, and that their works would follow them.'—(Scott.)

[1] O who is able to conceive the inexpressible, inconceivable joys of heaven! How will the heavens echo with joy, when the bride, the Lamb's wife, shall come to dwell with her husband for ever! Christ, the desire of nations, the joy of angels, the delight of the Father; what solace then must the soul be filled with, that hath the possession of him to all eternity! O what acclamations of joy will there be, when all the children of God shall meet together, without fear of being disturbed by the antichristian and Cainish brood! If you would be better satisfied what the beatifical vision means, my request is, that you would live holily, and go and see.—(Bunyan's *Dying Sayings*, vol. i. p. 65.)

[2] It was not without design that our excellent author tells us, that the four boys, with their wives and children, were suffered to continue in life for a time, for the increase of the church in the place where they dwelt. He doubtless intended to write a Third Part of his 'Pilgrim's Progress,' founded upon this circumstance, with a design, probably to show the influence of real religion and evangelical sentiments on persons in business and in domestic life.—(Ivimey.)

[3] The view of the peaceful and joyful death of the pilgrims, cannot but affect every reader; and many, perhaps, may be ready to say, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his;' but, except they make it their principal concern to live the life of the righteous, such a wish will be frustrated. If any man, therefore, doubt whether this allegory do indeed describe the rise and progress of religion in the soul—the beginning, continuance, and termination of the godly man's course to heaven, let him diligently search the Scriptures, and fervently pray to God, from whom alone 'cometh every good and perfect gift,' to enable him to determine this question. But let such as own themselves to be satisfied that it does, beware lest they rest in the pleasure of reading an ingenious work on the subject, or in the ability of developing many of the author's emblems. Let them beware lest they be fascinated, as it were, into a persuasion that they actually accompany the pilgrims in the life of faith and walking with God, in the same measure as they keep pace with the author in discovering and approving the grand outlines of his plan. And let every one carefully examine his state, sentiments, experience, motives, tempers, affections, and conduct, by the various characters, incidents, and observations, that pass under his review—assured that this is a matter of the greatest consequence. We ought not, indeed, to call any man *master*, or subscribe absolutely to all his sentiments; yet the diligent *practical* student of Scripture can scarcely doubt that the warnings, counsels, and instructions of this singular work agree with that sacred touchstone, or that characters and actions will at last be approved or condemned by the Judge of the world, in a great degree according to the sentence passed on them in this wise and faithful book. The Lord grant that both the writer and readers of these observations 'may find mercy in that day,' and be addressed in these gracious words, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.'—(Scott.)

THE HOLY WAR,

MADE

BY SHADDAI UPON DIABOLUS,

FOR THE REGAINING OF THE METROPOLIS OF THE WORLD;

OR, THE LOSING AND TAKING AGAIN OF THE TOWN OF MANSOUL.

By JOHN BUNYAN,
The Author of 'The Pilgrim's Progress.'

'*I have used similitudes.*'—Hosea xii. 10.

London: Printed for Dorman Newman, at the King's Arms in the Poultry; and Benjamin Alsop, at the Angel and Bible in the Poultry, 1682.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

Bunyan's account of the Holy War is indeed an extraordinary book, manifesting a degree of genius, research, and spiritual knowledge, exceeding even that displayed in the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' To use the words of Mr. J. Montgomery, 'It is a work of that master intelligence, which was privileged to arouse kindred spirits from torpor and inactivity, to zeal, diligence, and success.'

It was first published in 1682, in a small octavo volume, and, like the first edition of the Pilgrim, it was printed in a very superior manner to all the subsequent editions, to a recent period. The portrait of the author, by White, which faced the title-page, is without doubt the best likeness that has ever appeared of our great allegorist.[1] In addition to this is a whole length figure of the author, with a representation of Heart-castle on his left breast; the town of Mansoul, behind, being partly seen through him; Emmanuel and his army on the heart side, and Diabolus with his dragons on his right. From the publication of this popular book in 1682, it has been constantly kept in print, so that it is impossible to calculate the numbers that have been circulated. As time rolls on, the 'Holy War,' allegorized by John Bunyan, becomes more and more popular; nor can there be a doubt, but that so long as the internal conflict and spiritual warfare between the renewed soul and its deadly enemies are maintained, this book will become increasingly popular.

The 'Holy War,' although so very extraordinary an allegory, has not been translated into so many languages, nor has it been so much read in English, as the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' This would naturally arise from the Pilgrimage being a more simple narrative. It is a journey full of the most striking scenery and incidents, which is read with the deepest interest by all classes, from the children in a workhouse to the profoundest Christian philosopher. The facts which are intended to be impressed upon the mind by the force of the allegory, are seen and appreciated by the Christian without requiring much investigation; while the 'Holy War' is carried on under an allegorical representation by no means so transparent. Man's soul is figured under the simile of a town, which having surrendered to an insidious and mortal enemy, is besieged by its lawful Sovereign with all the 'pomp and circumstances' of war; the arch-enemy is driven out, the town retaken, new-modelled, and garrisoned by Emmanuel.

To the Christian, whose aim and end is peace, war presents a most forbidding aspect. He loves not to see the garments rolled in blood, nor to hear the dying groans of the wounded, nor the heart-rending cries of the bereaved, especially those of the widow and the orphan. Spoliation and robbery are not the pastimes of the child of God, nor is cruelty the element of his happiness or peace. To read of such scenes, produces painfully interesting sensations; but even these are not so strong or intense as those delightful feelings which pervade the mind while watching the poor pilgrim in his struggles to get through the Slough of Despond, his terror under the flames of Mount Sinai, his passing unhurt the darts from Beelzebub's castle, and his finding refuge at the Wicket Gate. It is true, that the most delicate Christian must become a stern warrior—the most sensitive ear must be alarmed with the sound of Diabolus's drum, and

[1] The original drawing by White, from which he engraved the portrait, is preserved in the print department of the British Museum. An accurate copy from it is prefixed to this edition of his Works.

at times feel those inward groanings which cannot be uttered—pass through 'the fiery trial,' and 'endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ;' while at other periods of his experience, flushed with victory, he will cry out, 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?' We must fight the good fight of faith, or we can never lay hold on eternal life. We must be engaged in this holy war, and FIGHT or PERISH. There is no neutrality, no excuse that can be awaiting at the day of judgment. The servant of Christ is therefore found trusting in the Captain of salvation, furnished with the whole armour of God, with which his soul is clothed by the Holy Spirit—having the shield of faith, the helmet, the breastplate, the two-edged sword. It was being thus mysteriously, invulnerably armed, that gave the delicate, learned, pious Lady Anne Askew strength to triumph over her agonies, when the Papists disjointed every bone and sinew of her body on the rack. Her spiritual armour enabled her with patience to bless God at the stake, when, for refusing to worship Antichrist, she was burned in Smithfield, and her soul ascended to heaven in a flaming fiery chariot. It is the same spiritual armour, the same Captain to guide, the same Spirit to sanctify, the same Father to bless us, by which alone we can become more than conquerors over our vigilant and powerful enemies. The Holy war is in this volume presented to us by an old, experienced, faithful warrior; it is an allegorical narrative, written by a master hand, guided by deeply penetrating, searching powers of mind. It is his own severe brunts with the great enemy, who is aided by his army of pomps, vanities, lusts, and allurements, many lurking within, disguised to appear like angels, while under their masquerade dress they are very devils. It is written by one who possessed almost boundless resources of imagination. It is more profound, more deeply spiritual than the pilgrimage from Destruction to the Celestial City; and to understand its hidden meaning, requires the close and mature application of the renewed mind. There are, alas! comparatively few that are blessed with spiritual discernment; and even of these, there are but few inclined to mental investigation and research. These are reasons why it has not been so popular a book as the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' To aid those whose time for reading is limited, notes are given, by which obsolete words and customs are explained, and the reader assisted to appreciate the beauties, and to understand the meaning of this allegory. It is earnestly hoped that many will richly enjoy the comforts, instructions, consolations, and strength which the author ardently wished to convey to Zion's warriors, by the study of this important subject.

I have already, in my long Introduction to the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' noticed the peculiar genius and originality which are conspicuous in all Bunyan's works, and which most resplendently appear in his allegorical writings. That genius became hallowed and sanctified by prison discipline, by an intense study of the Sacred Scriptures, and by his controversies with great men of various sects and parties. In the 'Holy War' Bunyan's peculiar genius shines forth in its most beauteous lustre; the whole is new, genuine, flowing forth from his own deep and rich experience. It is, in fact, the same narrative that he had published under the title of 'Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, or a brief and faithful relation of the exceeding mercy of God, in Christ, to his poor servant John Bunyan.' This simple, heart-affecting narrative, is here related under the allegorical representation of the 'Holy War.' In this, all the circumstances of his conviction of sin, and his conversion to God, are narrated with startling interest from the first alarm—his being roused from a state of death-like lethargy, his opposition to the grace of God, his refusals of the invitations of Emmanuel, and his being at length conquered to become a monument of Divine mercy—a temple of the Holy Ghost. Then came his declension by carnal security, and his misery in that state, until he was finally reconquered; and his heart is permanently occupied by Emmanuel. The 'Grace Abounding,' aided by the marginal notes of the author to the 'Holy War,' forms a very valuable key to the mysteries of this allegory; without their aid some passages would be found deeply mysterious, and hard to be understood. Nor can this be considered extraordinary, when it is recollected that the whole of the allegory is a revelation of scenes, feelings, hopes, fears, and enjoyments, which are unknown, unfelt, and invisible to all except to those whose minds are enlightened by Divine truth; and even of these, very few have had the deep and trying experience with which the author was exercised.

That the 'Holy War' allegorically represents Bunyan's personal feelings, is clearly declared by him in the poetical Introduction or Address to the Reader, prefixed to the book. He adverts to books of fiction, and solemnly declares—

> ——'I have somewhat else to do,
> Than with vain stories thus to trouble you,
> For my part, *I* (*myself*) was in the town,
> Both when 'twas set up, and when pulling down;
> *I saw* Diabolus in his possession, - -
> Yea, *I was there* when she own'd him for lord.'

A remarkable verse describes his state before conversion—

> 'When Mansoul trampled upon things Divine,
> And wallowed in filth as doth a swine;
> When she betook herself unto her arms,
> Fought her Emmanuel, despis'd his charms,* * His counsels.

Then I was there, and *did rejoice to see*
Diabolus and Mansoul so agree.'

Some editor, imagining that Bunyan could never have so rejoiced, forgetting his own words in the fourth section of his 'Grace Abounding'—'It was *my delight* to be taken captive by the devil, at his will'—altered these words to—

'Then I was there, and *grieved for to see*
Diabolus and Mansoul so agree.'

This alteration, which perverts the author's meaning, appears in a London edition, 1752, and has been copied into many modern editions, even into those by Mason and Burder.[1]

The author having in the above lines described his unconverted state, goes on to delineate his convictions in these words:—

——'What is here in view,
Of *mine own knowledge*, I dare say is true.
I saw the Prince's armed men come down,
I saw the captains, *heard* the trumpets sound;
Yea, how they set themselves in battle-ray,
I shall remember to my dying day.'

The whole of this address is descriptive of what the author *saw*, *felt*, or *heard*—

'What shall I say? *I heard* the people's cries,
And *saw* the Prince wipe tears from Mansoul's eyes;
I heard the groans, and *saw* the joy of many,
Tell you of all, I neither will, nor can I;
But by what here I say, you well may see
That Mansoul's matchless wars no fables be.'

The narrative of this eventful war is authenticated by his personal feelings while under the chastising, correcting, hand of his heavenly Father; in his new birth and subsequent experience; in bringing his soul from darkness to marvellous light, and from the wretched bondage of sin to the glorious liberty of the gospel. This address is closed with a very important notice, which all our readers should keep constantly in mind—it is to attend to the author's key to the allegory, and that is his marginal notes—

'Nor do thou go to work without my key,
(In mysteries men soon do lose their way),
And also turn it right, if thou would'st know
My riddle, and would'st with my heifer plough.
* The margent. It lies there in the window,* fare thee well,
My next may be to ring thy passing-bell.'

The last line strongly reminds us of the author's difficulty to quit the gin and beer-drinking practice of bell-ringing, to which in his youth he was so much addicted. It is recorded in his 'Grace Abounding,' Nos. 33 and 34.[2]

The form and order of the narrative is exceedingly beautiful, and deeply interesting to those who have been engaged in a similar warfare. Passing over the short and vivid narration of the fall of man, our personal feelings are excited by witnessing the methods of grace, adapted by a covenant-keeping God and Father, to rescue his people from their natural state of Diabolonian slavery. Many of the incidents will bring, to the enlightened reader's recollection, the solemn and powerful impressions under which he struggled, when opposing the invitations of Emmanuel. His holy joy, when a sense of pardoning love and mercy came over his soul; and his anxieties, when in conflict with doubts, and fears, and blood-men.

Our young readers must be cautioned not to give way to doubts and fears for their soul's safety, because they have never passed through the same feelings which fitted Bunyan for a sphere of extraordinary usefulness. God brings his lambs and sheep into the fold by such means as are agreeable to his infinite wisdom and grace. Some surrender at the first summons; others hold out during a long and distressing siege. 'God's ways are not our ways.' All our anxious inquiries should be, Is Emmanuel in Heart-castle? is he 'formed in me the hope of glory?' do I live and believe in him who has immutably decreed that 'whosoever'—be he rich or poor, learned or unlearned—if he 'liveth and believeth in me, shall never die?' It matters not, as to my salvation, whether the siege was long or short. The vital question is, Has my heart been conquered; do I love Emmanuel? If I do, it is because he first loved me, and he changeth not. In proportion to the trouble that I gave to my Conqueror, so should be my zealous, holy, happy obedience to his commands. Much is expected from those to whom much has been forgiven. The Conqueror, by his victory, fits us for those peculiar duties to which he intends to devote us in extending his kingdom. In the history of this war, the reader's attention will be naturally arrested by the fact that Mansoul, having voluntarily surrendered to the dominion of Satan, made no effort to relieve herself. No spiritual feelings lurked in the walls to disturb the reign of Diabolus; not even a prayer or a sigh breaks forth from her heart for deliverance; she felt not her degradation nor her danger; she was dead while she yet lived—dead in sin; and from this state would have sunk, as thousands have, from spiritual and temporal death into eternal and irretrievable ruin. The first conception of a scheme for her deliverance from such awful danger, arises in the celestial court of her Creator; grace lays the foundation, and raises the top-stone. All the redeemed of God will unite in *one* song, 'Not unto us, O Lord; not unto us, but unto thy name give

[1] These words were correctly given in an edition that I published in 1806.—(Ed.)

[2] How strange to hear a sermon, on the day of sacred rest, from the words, 'Keep holy the Sabbath day,' accompanied by 'a trible-bob grandsire,' the men labouring and sweating most violently.—(Ed.)

glory.' A covenant is made, ordered in all things and sure, to save Mansoul; and from this emanates the vast, the costly design of her deliverance. To effect this great object, the Mosaic dispensation—the Law, with all its terrors, is sent, in fearful array, to conquer or destroy. This is allegorically represented under the similitude of an army of forty thousand warriors, 'stout, rough-hewn men, fit to break the ice, and make their way by dint of sword.' They are under the command of four captains, each with his ensign—Boanerges and Thunder, Conviction and Sorrow, Judgment and Terror, Execution and Justice. To resist this force, Diabolus arms the town, hardens the conscience, and darkens the understanding. He places at Eargate a guard of DEAF MEN, under old Mr. Prejudice, and plants over that important gate two great guns, Highmind and Heady. He arms Mansoul with the whole armour of Satan, which is very graphically described. Summons after summons is unheeded. The death of friends, sickness, and troubles, pass by *apparently* without any good result. They 'will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely.' At length, the town is assaulted, conscience becomes alarmed, but the will remains stubborn. The beleaguering of the town—planting the ensigns—throwing up batteries—the slings casting, with irresistible force, portions of the Word into the mind—the battering-rams beating upon the gates, especially Eargate—exciting alarm under the fear of the just and awful punishment due to sin—all are described with an extraordinary knowledge of military terms and tactics. The episode of the three volunteers who enlisted under Shaddai, into Captain Boanerges's company—Tradition, Human-wisdom, and Man's-invention—are inimitably beautiful. When they were caught *in the rear*, and taken prisoners—'as they did not live so much by religion as by the fates of fortune'—they offer their services to Diabolus, and are joined to Captain Anything's company. After a few sharp assaults, convictions of sin alarm the conscience, and six of Diabolus's new Aldermen are slain with one shot. Their names are well worthy an attentive consideration, showing what open vices are abandoned upon the soul being first terrified with the fear of retribution—Swearing, Whoring, Fury, Stand-to-lies, Drunkenness, and Cheating.

Alarms are continued by day and night, until it is said of Mansoul, 'Upon all her pleasant things there was a blast, and burning instead of beauty; with shows of the shadow of death.' Thus was it with David—'My soul is cast down within me: deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy water-spouts; all thy waves and thy billows are gone over me.' Ps. xlii. 6, 7.

All the assaults of Moses and the Law are ineffectual; the gates remain closed against her King and God. The thunders of Sinai and the voice of the prophets may alarm, but cannot conquer Mansoul. The thundering, terrifying captains appeal to the celestial court, and Emmanuel—God with us—condescends to fight the battle, and secure the victory. The angelic hosts desire to look into these things—they are the peers of the heavenly realm—the news 'flew like lightning round about the court'—and the greatest peers did covet to have commissions under Emmanuel. The captains that accompany him in this grand expedition are Faith, Hope, Charity, Innocence, and Patience. Mansoul is to be won by persuasion to receive her Saviour. The cost of the enterprise is vast indeed; the army is numerous as our thoughts, and who can number 'the multitude of his thoughts?' The battering rams and slings, we are told by the margin, mean the books of Sacred Scripture, sent to us by the influence of the Holy Ghost. Emmanuel is irresistible—Mansoul is taken—Diabolus is dragged out, stripped of his armour, and sent to the parched places in a salt land, 'seeking rest, but finding none.'

The heart at first trembles lest punishment should be justly poured out upon her for treason, but it becomes the throne of its lawful King; and instead of God's anger, his pardon and blessings are proclaimed, and Mansoul is filled with joy, happiness, and glory.

Reader, can you call to mind the peace and holy enjoyment which took possession of your soul, when—having passed through the fears and hopes, the terrors and alarms, of the new birth—you sat down, for the first time, at the table of the Lord, to celebrate the wonders of his grace? Then you rejoiced in hope full of immortality; then you could exclaim, 'O tidings! glad tidings! good tidings of good, and of great joy to my soul!' 'Then they leaped and skipped upon the walls for joy, and shouted, Let Emmanuel live for ever!' And then you fondly thought that happiness was secure for the rest of your pilgrimage, until your glorified spirit should enter into the celestial city.

Alas! your enemies were not dead. They insidiously seized an unguarded moment. Remiss in watchfulness, and formal in prayer, Carnal-security invaded the mind. Your ardent love is cooled—intercourse with heaven is slighted—and by slow degrees, and almost unperceived, Emmanuel leaves Heart-castle; and the prince of the power of the air promotes the treason, and foments rebellion, by the introduction of loose thoughts, under the name of harmless mirth. The news soon reach Diabolus, and an infernal conference, or dialogue of devils, is revealed by our author; who had watched the course and causes of spiritual declension, and was not 'ignorant of Satan's devices.'

The malignant craft and subtilty displayed in Satan's counsel, are described in a manner far beyond an ordinary imagination. They display the almost unbounded resources of genius and invention so richly possessed by the prince of allegorists, John Bunyan. It reminds us of the dialogue between Lucifer and Beelzebub, in that rare work by Barnardine Ochine, a reformer, published in 1549, called, *A Tragedy or Dialogue of the unjust usurped Primacy of the Bishop of Rome.*[1] In this is represented, in very popular language, the designs of Lucifer to ruin Christianity by the establishment of Popery. Lucifer thus addresses his diabolical conclave—'I have devised to make a certain new kingdom, replenished with idolatry, superstition, ignorance, error, falsehoods, deceit, compulsion, extortion, treason, contention, discord, tyranny, and cruelty; with spoiling, murder, ambition, filthiness, injuries, factions, sects, wickedness, and mischief; in the which kingdom all kinds of abomination shall be committed. And notwithstanding that it shall be heaped up with all kinds of wickedness, yet shall the [professed] Christian men think it to be a spiritual kingdom, most holy and most godly. The supreme head of this kingdom shall be a man which is not only sinful, and an abominable robber and thief, but he shall be sin and abomination itself; and yet, for all that, shall be thought of Christian men a God in earth, and his members, being most wicked, shall be called of men most holy. God sent his Son into the world, who, for the salvation of mankind, hath humbled himself even to the death of the cross.

The Pope the devil's son.

I will send my son into the world, who, for the destruction and condemnation of mankind, shall so advance himself that he shall take upon him to be made equal with God.' 'I will, by craft and diligence, shadow and cover superstition and idolatry with a fair face, and beauty of holy ceremonies, that men shall be made so drunken and so amazed with this outward pomp and show, that they shall not be able to discern truth from falsehood, when they be drowned in the flood of idolatry and superstition.' 'I will cause them to be most cruel tyrants and butchers of Christ and his members, under a pretence of zeal to the house of God. They shall hide their uncleanness and filthy behaviour with an exceeding wide cloak of hypocrisy, and with glorious shining titles.' Thus this intrepid reformer opened up the origin, the development, the desolations, of Popery; and, with a similar knowledge of Satan's devices, the Nonconformist Bunyan shows the means by which Diabolus urges the young Christian into a backsliding state. 'Let our Diabolonian friends in Mansoul draw it into sin, for there is nothing like sin to devour Mansoul; while we will send against it an army of twenty or thirty thousand sturdy terrible doubters. Sin renders Mansoul sick and faint, while doubts are by it made fierce and strong.' At length Diabolus and his army of doubts march from Hellgate Hill to Mansoul: the order in which they are placed, and the names of the officers, are very instructive, as well as curious. Election-doubters, under Captain Rage—Vocation-doubters, commanded by Captain Fury—Grace-doubters, led by Capt. Damnation—Faith-doubters, under Captain Insatiable—Perseverance-doubters, led by Captain Brimstone—Resurrection-doubters, by Captain Torment—Salvation-doubters, under Captain Noease—Glory-doubters, commanded by Captain Sepulchre—Felicity-doubters, led by Captain Pasthope. Incredulity was Lord-general, and Diabolus was King and Commander-in-chief. The roaring of the drum—their alarming outcries, Hell-fire! Hell-fire!—their furious assaults—the multitude of doubts—and the perplexity of poor distracted Mansoul, are admirably and truly narrated. The town makes a sortie in the night, but Diabolus and his legions, experienced in night work, drive them back, and severely wound Captains Faith, Hope, and Experience. Again the gates are assaulted, and Diabolus and his doubters gain an entrance, by the senses, into the town, but cannot force the heart; and Mansoul is reduced to the greatest straits and sadness. In this extremity, prayers are incessantly offered up to Emmanuel; but, for a long time, they can obtain no satisfactory answers. Both parties are on the alert; but Diabolus finds it impossible, either by treachery, or by storming with his legion of doubts, to gain possession of Heart-castle. Being worsted in a general engagement, the doubters are slain, and are buried with their armour; yea, all that did but smell of a Diabolonian doubter. The arch-fiend now enters upon a new mode of assault—he sends for a reinforcement, to try the effect of persecution; and obtains an army of fifteen thousand bloodmen, from the province of Loathgood. To these were added ten thousand new doubters, under their commander old Incredulity. These bloodmen were 'rugged villains, and had done feats heretofore;' 'they were mastiffs, and would fasten upon father, mother, brother, yea, upon the Prince of princes. Among their officers is Captain Pope, whose colours were the stake, the flame, and the good man in it.' To these I would humbly suggest the propriety of adding one more—it is Captain State-religion, upon whose standard should be represented the Nonconformist John Bunyan in a damp dreary dungeon, writing his 'Pilgrim's Progress,' with his poor blind child at his feet. O persecutor, whether you burn or imprison a Nonconformist, or harass him in Ecclesiastical courts,

[1] From a copy in the Editor's library.

or seize his goods to support forms or ceremonies which he believes to be Antichristian, your commander is old Incredulity—your king is Diabolus! The bloodmen send a summons to Mansoul 'as hot as a red hot iron,' threatening fire and sword, and utter destruction; but the God who visited our pious author in prison, and cherished and comforted him in his twelve years' sufferings under persecution, came to the relief of Mansoul. The Diabolonian army is routed—the doubters are slain, excepting a few who escaped—the bloodmen or persecutors were not to be slain, but to be taken alive. The prisoners are brought to trial, with all the forms and solemnities of law; and the narrative concludes with a most admirable charge from Emmanuel to keep Mansoul in a state of the most prayerful vigilance. Enemies still lurk within, to keep her humble; that she may feel her dependence upon God, and be found much in communion with him. 'Believe that my love,' says Emmanuel, 'is constant to thee. Watch, hold fast, till I come.'

In the whole detail of this war, very singular skill is manifested. A keen observer of all that passed before him, aided by a most retentive memory, and a fertile imagination, enabled our pilgrim forefather to gain much knowledge in a short time. He had been engaged, as a private soldier, in the Civil war; and was at the siege of Leicester, when it was taken by Prince Rupert. This gave him a knowledge of the meaning of trumpet or bugle sounds; so that, when the trumpeters made their best music, in the expectation of Emmanuel's speedy assistance to help Mansoul, Diabolus exclaims, 'What do these madmen mean? they neither sound to boot and saddle, nor horse and away, nor a charge.'

Bunyan had been released from his tedious and cruel imprisonment for conscience sake about ten years, when he published the 'Holy War.' In this interval of time, although labouring incessantly to win souls to Christ, being a very popular preacher, yet he must have found time to gratify his incessant thirst for knowledge; gaining that he might communicate, and in imparting it, receiving into his own mind a rich increase. This would doubtless lead him to read the best of our Puritan and Nonconformists' works, so that we find him using the Latin words *primum mobile*, carefully noting in the margin that he meant 'the soul;' and from hence he must have scraped acquaintance with Python, Cerberus, and the furies of mythology, whom he uses in this war, describing accurately their names and qualities.

At first sight, it may seem strange that the armies, both within and without the city, should be so numerous, as it is but one man who is the object of attack and defence—one human body, containing one immortal Mansoul; but if the reader reflects that every soldier represents a thought, who can number them? At one time, by the sin-sickness, eleven thousand—men, women, and children—died in Mansoul! this is interpreted by Bunyan to mean, that the men represented 'good thoughts'—the women, 'good conceptions'—and the children, 'good desires.' The town is assaulted by thirty or forty thousand doubts, very curiously and methodically arranged.

The value of the marginal notes is very great, throwing immediate light upon many difficult passages. Every reader should make free use of the key which lieth in the window.* The value of this key is seen by a few quotations. Thus, when Diabolus beat a charge against the town, my Lord Reason was wounded in the head—the brave Lord Mayor, Mr. Understanding, in the eye—and 'many also of the inferior sort were not only wounded, but slain outright.' The margin explains this as meaning 'Hopeful thoughts.'[1] When the enemy broke into the town at Feelgate, during a night of terror, and got possession, it is described as being accompanied by all the horrors of war—by atrocities probably even greater than those perpetrated by Rupert's cavaliers at Leicester. 'Young children were dashed in pieces, yea, those unborn were destroyed.' 'The women were beastlike abused.' This is interpreted by two marginal notes—'Good and tender thoughts,' 'Holy conceptions of good.'

* The margin.

The storming of Leicester took place in the night, and furnished Bunyan, who was an eye-witness, with a correct notion of raising the standard, beleaguring the city, and forcing the gates, and a lively view of the desolations he describes. Awful as is his account of the sacking of Mansoul, with its murders and desolations, yet it may prove to be a good description of the conduct of Prince Rupert and his cavaliers at the storming of Leicester. Strike out the name of Diabolus, and insert Rupert, and put Leicester instead of Mansoul, and the account of the brutal conduct of the Royal army will be found accurately described. Lord Clarendon, who wrote to gain the smiles of royalty, plainly tells us that, when Prince Rupert and the King took Leicester, 'The conquerors pursued their advantage with the usual license of rapine and plunder, and miserably sacked the whole town, without any distinction of persons and places. Churches and hospitals, as well as other houses, were made a prey to the enraged and greedy soldier, to the exceeding regret of the King.' Clarendon goes on to account for the exceeding regret of Charles: it was because many

[1] See subsequent page.

of his faithful friends had suffered, in the confusion of this murderous scene of rapine and plunder.

In the 'Holy War,' Bunyan has not been, nor can he ever be, charged with copying from any author who preceded him. Erasmus, Gouge, and many other of our Reformers, Puritans, and Nonconformists, commented upon the Christian's armour and weapons. Benjamin Keach, about the time that the 'Holy War' appeared, published his *War with the Devil, or, The Young Man's Conflict with the Powers of Darkness.* It is a series of admirable poetical dialogues on the corruption and vanity of youth, the horrible nature of sin, and deplorable condition of fallen man; with the rule of conscience and of true conversion. It has nothing allegorical in it, but is replete with practical warnings and exhortations. No one had ever attempted, under the form of an allegory, to describe the internal conflict between the powers of darkness and of the mind in the renewed man; the introduction of evil thoughts and suggestions, their unnatural union with the affections, and the offspring of such union, under the name of Diabolonians, who, when Mansoul is watchful unto prayer, *lurk in the walls;* but when in a backsliding state, are tolerated and encouraged openly to walk the streets. Some have supposed that there is a slight similarity between the description, given by John Chrysostom of the battle between the hosts of hell and mankind, and John Bunyan's 'Holy War.' It is not at all probable that Bunyan was acquainted with Chrysostom on the Priesthood, which was then locked up in the Greek language, but has been since translated into English. Nor can we find any similarity between the work of the pious apostolically descended tinker, and the learned Greek father. Chrysostom's picture of the battle is contained in a letter to Basil, urging him to become a minister of the gospel. It is in words to this effect:—'Pent up in this body, like a dungeon, we cannot discern the invisible powers. Could you behold the black army of the devil and his mad conflict, you would witness a great and arduous battle, in which there is no brass or steel,[1] no horses or wheeled chariots, no fire and arrows, but other instruments much more formidable. No breastplates, or shields, or swords, or darts. The very sight of this accursed host is alone sufficient to paralyze a soul which is not imbued with courage furnished by God, and with even greater foresight than valour. Could you calmly survey all this array and war, you would see, not torrents of blood or dead bodies, but fallen souls! You would see wounds so grievous, that human war, with all its horrors, is mere child's play or idle pastime, in comparison to the sight of so many souls struck down every day by Satan.' Thus this learned Greek father very eloquently represents the great battle of Satan and his hosts, against all mankind. But for a description of the internal conflict, Diabolus and his army of doubters and bloodmen arrayed against the powers of Mansoul, Bunyan stands alone and most beautifully resplendent.

In this war there is no combination of souls to resist Satan, nor can any human powers in any way assist us in the trying battle. Here, O my reader, you and I must stand alone far from the aid of our fellow-men. We must call upon all the resources of our minds, and while there is unity within, no resisting or treason—while the Holy Spirit strengthens and inclines the will, the understanding, the conscience, the affections, and all our powers are united to resist Satan, God fights for us, and the heart is safe under the gracious smiles of our Emmanuel. May we never forget that our spiritual life is totally dependent upon him, in whom, as to the body, we live, and move, and have our being. But when doubts enfeeble us, and bloodmen harass us, there is no help from man. No pope, cardinal, archbishop, minister, or any human power can aid us; ALL our hope is in God alone; every effort for deliverance must be by fervent prayer and supplication, from the heart and conscience, directly to God. Our petitions must be framed by the Holy Ghost, and presented unto Shaddai, not by priest or prelate, but by our Emmanuel, Jesus Christ, the only intercessor and mediator.

The attentive reader of Bunyan's works will notice the difference between the trial of Faithful in the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and that of the prisoners brought to the bar as traitors in the 'Holy War.' The judge and jury are particularly overbearing to Faithful, much more so than to the Diabolonians. Still there is one very strong feature in which they all agree. The prisoners are all brought to their trial, not that their guilt or innocence might be proved, but *in order* to their condemnation and execution. All are brought up *in chains*, a custom which then was very prevalent, if not universal, but which is now only read of as a cruel practice of a bygone age.

There are a few riddles or questions arising out of this narrative, the solving of which may afford instructive amusement to the reader. What is meant by the drum of Diabolus, which so terrified Mansoul? Refer to Ga. iii. 10. He. vi. 4–8. 1 Jn. v. 16. He. xii. 29. Why were the troops numbered at forty thousand, that came up to alarm and convince Mansoul of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, while Emmanuel's army is not numbered? See Jos. iv. 13. He. xii. 22. When the doubters are slain or driven from Mansoul, after her conversion, they go

[1] All Diabolus's army are by Bunyan clothed in steel armour. —(ED.)

straggling up and down the country enslaving the barbarous people (the margin informs us that the unbeliever never fights the doubters). Why do they go by fives, nines, and seventeens? Do these odd numbers refer to the nine companies of doubters, and eight of bloodmen, who were under the command of five fallen angels—Diabolus, Beelzebub, Lucifer, Legion, and Apollyon? Fearful odds against a poor fallen sinner, five evil spirits, or nine classes of doubts, or these nine doubts united to eight kinds of bloodmen or persecutors.

In a work so highly allegorical, and founded upon a plain narrative of facts in the experience of the author, the editor deemed it needful to add numerous notes. These contain all that appeared to be explanatory or illustrative in other commentaries, with many that are original; obsolete terms and customs are explained; references are given to about fifty passages in the 'Grace Abounding,' that the reader's attention may be constantly directed to the solemn truths which are displayed under this delightful allegory. The editor has the consolation of hoping that the result of great labour can do no injury. Those whose deep experience in the spiritual warfare enables them to understand and enjoy the allegory, can pass them by; while many of the poor but immortal souls engaged in this warfare, who are not deeply experienced, may receive aid and encouragement to persevere, until they shall exclaim, The battle is fought, the victory is one, eternal praises to the great and gracious Emmanuel.

Reader, I must not detain you much longer from the pleasure of entering upon a narrative so deeply interesting to all who possess the understanding heart—an allegory, believed by very many to be the most beautiful and extraordinary that mere human genius ever composed in any language. O consider the worth of an immortal soul! God sent his servants, Moses and the prophets, with their slings and battering-rams, their great and precious promises to the early *prophets*, who have faithfully handed them down to us; and then came Emmanuel and his heavenly army, and all this to conquer Mansoul! Without the shedding of blood, there is no remission of sin. The blood of bulls and of goats cannot wash out our stains. We must be found in Christ as part of his mystical body, and thus in perfection obey the Divine law, and then, through the sin-atoning offering of Emmanuel, God's equal, eternal Son, a fountain is opened for sin and uncleanness, in which our souls, being purified, shall be clothed with the garment of salvation. Who can calculate the worth of his immortal soul, that God himself should pay so costly a price for its redemption! May the desire of every reader be, O that my soul may be engaged in this holy war, my ears be alarmed by the infernal drum of Diabolus, that my Heart-castle may receive the King of salvation, and Christ be found there the hope of glory. Then may we feel the stern necessity of incessant watchfulness and prayer against carnal security, or any other cause of backsliding, with its consequent miseries.

Well may the world wonder, how a poor travelling tinker could gain the extraordinary knowledge, which enabled him to become the greatest allegorical writer that the world ever saw. The reason is obvious, he lived and moved and had his being in the atmosphere of God's revealed will. It was this that enabled him to take the wings of the morning, and fly not only to the uttermost parts of the visible but of the invisible world; to enjoy scenes of light and glory, such as Gabriel contemplated when he came from heaven to Nazareth, and revealed to Mary her high destiny—that her Son should be the promised Saviour, who should bear the government of the universe upon his shoulders—whose name was Wonderful—Counsellor—the Mighty God—the everlasting Father—the Prince of Peace—Emmanuel, God with us.

Bunyan's industry and application must have been intense, he could not by possibility for a single moment say, 'soul take thine ease,' inglorious, destructive ease. His hands had to labour for his bread, and to provide for a most exemplary wife and four childern, one of them blind. There was no hour of his life when he could have said to his soul, Let all thy noble powers be absorbed in eating, drinking, being merry—mere animal gratifications. The Holy War, the solemn results depending upon it, salvation or eternal ruin, the strong desire to glorify Emmanuel, the necessity to labour for his household—that blessed industry left him no opportunity for weaving a web of unmeaning casuistic subtilties, in which to entangle and engulph his soul, like a Puseyite or a German Rationalist. The thunders and lightnings of Sinai had burnt up all this wood, hay, and stubble, and with child-like simplicity he depended upon the Holy Spirit, while drawing all his consolations and all his spiritual supplies from the sacred Scriptures.

Bunyan's narrative of the Holy War, from its commencement in the fall of man to that splendid address of Emmanuel with which it concludes, has been the study of the Editor for more than forty years, and he hopes that no future year of the residue of his life will be spent without reading this solemn, soul-stirring, delightful narrative.

Hackney, April 1851. Geo. Offor.

TO THE READER.

'Tis strange to me, that they that love to tell
Things done of old, yea, and that do excel
Their equals in historiology,
Speak not of Mansoul's wars, but let them lie
Dead, like old fables, or such worthless things,
That to the reader no advantage brings:
When men, let them make what they will their own,
Till they know this, are to themselves unknown.
Of stories I well know there 's divers sorts,
Some foreign, some domestic; and reports
Are thereof made, as fancy leads the writers;
By books a man may guess at the inditers.
Some will again of that which never was,
Nor will be, feign, and that without a cause,
Such matter, raise such mountains, tell such things
Of men, of laws, of countries, and of kings:
And in their story seem to be so sage,
And with such gravity clothe ev'ry page,
That though their frontispiece say all is vain,
Yet to their way disciples they obtain.[1]
But, *readers*, I have somewhat else to do,
Than with vain stories thus to trouble you;
True Christians. What here I say, some men do know so well,
They can with tears and joy the story tell.
The town of Mansoul is well known to many,
Nor are her troubles doubted of by any
The Scriptures. That are acquainted with those histories
That Mansoul, and her wars, anatomize.
Then lend thine ear to what I do relate
Touching the town of Mansoul and her state,
How she was lost, took captive, made a slave;
And how against him set, that should her save.
Yea, how by hostile ways, she did oppose
Her Lord, and with his enemy did close.
For they are true; he that will them deny
Must needs the best of records vilify.
For my part, I (myself) was in the town,
Both when 'twas set up, and when pulling down,
I saw Diabolus in his possession,
And Mansoul also under his oppression.
Yea, I was there when she own'd him for lord,
And to him did submit with one accord.

When Mansoul trampled upon things Divine,
And wallowed in filth as doth a swine;
When she betook herself unto her arms,
Fought her Emmanuel, despis'd his charms, His Counsels.
Then I was there, and did rejoice to see
Diabolus and Mansoul so agree.[2]
Let no men, then, count me a fable-maker,
Nor make my name or credit a partaker
Of their derision; what is here in view,
Of mine own knowledge, I dare say is true.
I saw the *prince's* armed men come down,
By troops, by thousands, to besiege the town.
I saw the captains, heard the trumpets sound,
And how his forces cover'd all the ground.
Yea, how they set themselves in battle-ray,
I shall remember to my dying day.
I saw the colours waving in the wind,
And they within to mischief how combin'd,
To ruin Mansoul, and to make away
Her *primum mobile*[3] without delay. Her Soul.
I saw the mounts cast up against the town,
And how the slings were placed to beat it down.
I heard the stones fly whizzing by mine ears,
What longer kept in mind than got in fears,
I heard them fall, and saw what work they made,
And how old Mors did cover with his shade Death.
The face of Mansoul; and I heard her cry,
Woe worth the day, in dying I shall die!
I saw the battering rams, and how they play'd,[4]
To beat ope Ear-gate, and I was afraid
Not only Ear-gate, but the very town,
Would by those battering rams be beaten down.
I saw the fights, and heard the captains shout,
And each in battle saw who faced about;
I saw who wounded were, and who were slain; Lusts.
And who, when dead, would come to life again.
I heard the cries of those that wounded were,
While others fought like men bereft of fear,
And while the cry, Kill, kill, was in mine ears,
The gutters ran, not so with blood as tears.
Indeed, the captains did not always fight,
But then they would molest us day and night;

[1] Very few persons can imagine what trumpery trash was circulated by hawkers and chapmen in Bunyan's time, and even to the period when the Tract Society was established. Lying wonders and lewd stories were eagerly read, to the destruction of millions. Thanks to the piety of Sunday-school teachers, their supplications were heard, and our youth, when taught to read, are now supplied with nutritious literary food, by the aid of that invaluable society.—(Ed.)

[2] Bunyan, in his *Grace Abounding*, No. 4, thus records that awful period of his experience—'It was my delight to be taken captive by the devil at his will.' In 1752, and even in Burder's edition, the line is strangely altered to—

'Then I was there, and grieved for to see.'—(Ed.)

[3] Terms much used by writers in Bunyan's time, meaning, as stated in the margin, 'her soul.'—Ed.

[4] 'The battering rams' are the books of Holy Scripture; see margin, p. 286.—(Ed.)

Their cry, *Up, fall on*, let us take the town,
Kept us from sleeping, or from lying down.
I was there when the gates were broken ope,
And saw how Mansoul then was stript of hope.[1]
I saw the captains march into the town,
How there they fought, and did their foes cut down.
I heard the prince bid Boanerges go
Up to the castle, and there seize his foe,
And saw him and his fellows bring him down
In chains of great contempt quite through the town.
I saw Emmanuel when he possest
His town of Mansoul, and how greatly blest
A town, his gallant town of Mansoul was,
When she received his pardon, lived his laws!
When the Diabolonians were caught,
When tried, and when to execution brought,
Then I was there; yea, I was standing by
When Mansoul did the rebels crucify.
I also saw Mansoul clad all in white,
And heard her prince call her his heart's delight.
I saw him put upon her chains of gold,
And rings, and bracelets, goodly to behold.
What shall I say?—I heard the people's cries,
And saw the prince wipe tears from Mansoul's eyes.
I heard the groans, and saw the joy of many:
Tell you of all, I neither will, nor can I.
But by what here I say, you well may see
That Mansoul's matchless wars no fables be.
Mansoul! the desire of both princes was,
One keep his gain would, t'other gain his loss;
Diabolus would cry, The town is mine;
Emmanuel would plead a right Divine
Unto his Mansoul; then to blows they go,
And Mansoul cries, These wars will me undo.
Mansoul! her wars seem'd endless in her eyes,
She's lost by one, becomes another's prize.
And he again that lost her last would swear,
Have her I will, or her in pieces tear.
Mansoul, it was the very seat of war,
Wherefore her troubles greater were by far,
Than only where the noise of war is heard,
Or where the shaking of a sword is fear'd,
Or only where small skirmishes are fought,
Or where the fancy fighteth with a thought.

She saw the swords of fighting men made red,
And heard the cries of those with them wounded;
Must not her frights then be much more by far,
Than theirs that to such doings strangers are?
Or theirs that hear the beating of a drum,
But not made fly for fear from house and home?
Mansoul not only heard the trumpet sound,
But saw her gallants gasping on the ground;
Wherefore, we must not think that she could rest
With them, whose greatest earnest is but jest:
Or where the blust'ring threat'ning of great wars
Do end in parleys, or in wording jars.
Mansoul, her mighty wars, they did portend
Her weal or woe, and that world without end;
Wherefore she must be more concerned than they
Whose fears begin and end the self-same day:
Or where none other harm doth come to him
That is engaged, but loss of life or limb,[2]
As all must needs confess that now do dwell
In Universe, and can this story tell.
Count me not then with them that to amaze
The people, set them on the stars to gaze,
Insinuating with much confidence,
That each of them is now the residence[3]
Of some brave creatures; yea, a world they will
Have in each star, though it be past their skill
To make it manifest to any man,
That reason hath, or tell his fingers can.[4]
But I have too long held thee in the porch,
And kept thee from the sunshine with a torch.
Well, now go forward, step within the door,
And there behold five hundred times much more
Of all sorts of such inward rarities
As please the mind will, and will feed the eyes
With those, which if a Christian, thou wilt see
Not small, but things of greatest moment be.
Nor do thou go to work without my key
(In mysteries men soon do lose their way),
And also turn it right if thou wouldst know
My riddle, and wouldst with my heifer plough.
It lies there in the window, fare thee well, The margent.[5]
My next may be to ring thy passing-bell.

Jo. Bunyan.

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[1] 'I felt such a clogging and heat at my stomach, by reason of my terrors, that I was, especially at some times, as if my breast-bone would split asunder.'—(*Grace Abounding*, No. 164.)

[2] The death of the body, or loss of a limb, is as nothing compared with the eternal loss of a never-dying soul.—(Ed.)

[3] This line, in the first edition, is at the bottom of a page. In many copies, viz., in that of 1752, printed both at London and at Glasgow; that with Mason's notes, 1782; and that with Adam's notes, 1795, &c., this line is omitted, and one inserted to make up the rhyme—

'They are the only men that have science.'

[4] It is not surprising that Bunyan wondered at the *confidence* with which these speculations were published. His knowledge of invisible things was drawn exclusively from the Bible, which is silent upon the subject of a plurality of worlds. He does not say there is no such thing, but that it cannot be demonstrated.—(Ed.)

[5] Bunyan intended his marginal notes as a *key* to the text. How strikingly does this illustrate the first page of his 'Pilgrim'—'I lighted on a certain place where was a den;' the margin is a key to show that it was written in 'the jail.' So, in the latter part of the 'Holy War,' the Diabolonians dashed young children in pieces; the margin explains this to mean 'good and tender thoughts.'—(Ed.)

A RELATION

OF

THE HOLY WAR.

[Chapter I.]

[Contents:—The original beauty and splendour of the town of Mansoul, while under the dominion of Shaddai—Its noble castle described—Its five gates—The perfection of its inhabitants—The origin of Diabolus—His pride and fall—Revenge meditated—A council of war held to deliberate on the best means of seducing the town of Mansoul—Diabolus marches to the town, and sits down before Eye-gate—His oration—Captain Resistance slain—My Lord Innocence killed—The town taken.]

In my travels, as I walked through many regions and countries, it was my chance to happen into that famous continent of Universe; a very large and spacious country it is. It lieth between the two poles, and just amidst the four points of the heavens. It is a place well-watered, and richly adorned with hills and valleys, bravely situate; and for the most part (at least where I was) very fruitful, also well peopled, and a very sweet air.

The people are not all of one complexion, nor yet of one language, mode, or way of religion; but differ as much as, it is said, do the planets themselves. Some are right, and some are wrong, even as it happeneth to be in lesser regions.

In this country, as I said, it was my lot to travel, and there travel I did; and that so long, even till I learned much of their mother-tongue, together with the customs and manners of them among whom I was. And to speak truth, I was much delighted to see and hear many things which I saw and heard among them. Yea, I had (to be sure) even lived and died a native among them, so was I taken with them and their doings, had not my Master sent for me home to his house, there to do business for him, and to over-see business done.[1]

A natural state pleasing to the flesh.

Christ.

Now there is in this gallant country of Universe a fair and delicate town, a corporation, called Mansoul. A town for its building so curious, for its situation so commodious, for its privileges so advantageous—I mean with reference to its original—that I may say of it, as was said before of the continent in which it is placed, There is not its equal under the whole heaven.[2]

Man.

As to the situation of this town, it lieth just between the two worlds, and the first founder, and builder of it, so far as by the best and most authentic records I can gather, was one Shaddai; and he built it for his own delight.[3] He made it the mirror and glory of all that he made, even the top-piece, beyond anything else that he did in that country. Ge. i. 26. Yea, so goodly a town was Mansoul, when first built, that, it is said by some, the gods, at the setting up thereof, came down to see it, and sang for joy. And as he made it goodly to behold, so also mighty to have dominion over all the country round about. Yea, all was commanded to acknowledge Mansoul for their metropolitan, all was enjoined to do homage to it. Aye, the town itself had positive commission and power from her King to demand service of all, and also to subdue any that any ways denied to do it.

Scriptures.

The Almighty.

Created angels.

There was reared up in the midst of this town a most famous and stately palace. For strength, it might be called a castle; for pleasantness, a paradise; for largeness, a place so copious as to contain all the world. Ec. iii. 11. This palace the King Shaddai intended but for himself alone, and not another with him;[4] partly because of his own delights, and partly because he would not that the terror of strangers should be upon the town. This place Shaddai made also a garrison of, but

The heart.

The powers of the soul.

[1] With what Christian simplicity is this most important history introduced. The author, a traveller in the world, delighted with its customs, would have perished in his sins, but that God called him to his service and salvation.—(Ed.)

[2] Mansoul, or, as the margin reads, man, so fearfully and wonderfully made, was glorious in his original sinless state, but will be infinitely more glorious if saved to eternal bliss, by union with Christ.—(Ed.)

[3] The name שַׁדַּי, *Shaddai*, one of the names of God, means 'the pourer forth,' the source of existence, the all-bountiful, the all-mighty, in whom we live, and move, and have our being. If he withhold his blessings, the universe must perish. 'Lord, what is man, that thou shouldst be mindful of him?'—(Ed.)

[4] Professor, if thy heart be idolatrous, or devoted to the world and thy lusts, thy religion is vain, thou deceivest thine own soul. God says to all, 'My son, give me thine heart.' Pr. xxiii. 26.—(Mason.)

committed the keeping of it only to the men of the town.

The wall of the town was well built, yea, so fast and firm was it knit and compact together, that had it not been for the townsmen themselves, they could not have been shaken or broken for ever.

The Body.

For here lay the excellent wisdom of him that built Mansoul, that the walls could never be broken down, nor hurt, by the most mighty adverse potentate, unless the townsmen gave consent thereto.

This famous town of Mansoul had five gates in at which to come, out at which to go, and these were made likewise answerable to the walls, to wit, impregnable, and such as could never be opened nor forced but by the will and leave of those within. The names of the gates were these, Ear-gate, Eye-gate, Mouth-gate, Nose-gate, and Feel-gate.[1]

The five senses.

Other things there were that belonged to the town of Mansoul, which, if you adjoin to these, will yet give further demonstration to all of the glory and strength of the place. It had always a sufficiency of provision within its walls; it had the best, most wholesome, and excellent law that then was extant in the world. There was not a rascal, rogue, or traitorous person then within its walls. They were all true men, and fast joined together; and this, you know, is a great matter. And to all these, it was always—so long as it had the goodness to keep true to Shaddai the king—his countenance, his protection, and it was his delight, &c.

The state of Mansoul at first.

Well, upon a time there was one Diabolus,[2] a mighty giant, made an assault upon this famous town of Mansoul, to take it, and make it his own habitation. This giant was king of the blacks or negroes,[3] and a most raving prince he was. We will, if you please, first discourse of the original of this Diabolus, and then of his taking of this famous town of Mansoul.

The Devil.

Sinners, the fallen angels.

The original of Diabolus.

This Diabolus is indeed a great and mighty prince, and yet both poor and beggarly. As to his original, he was at first one of the servants of King Shaddai, made, and taken, and put by him into most high and mighty place, yea, was put into such principalities as belonged to the best of his territories and dominions. This Diabolus was made son of the morning, and a brave place he had of it. Is. xiv. 12. It brought him much glory, and gave him much brightness, an income that might have contented his Luciferian heart, had it not been insatiable, and enlarged as hell itself.

Well, he seeing himself thus exalted to greatness and honour, and raging in his mind for higher state and degree, what doth he but begins to think with himself how he might be set up as Lord over all, and have the sole power under Shaddai! Now that did the King reserve for his Son, yea, and had already bestowed it upon him. Wherefore he first consults with himself what had best to be done, and then breaks his mind to some other of his companions, to the which they also agreed. So, in fine, they came to this issue, that they should make an attempt upon the King's Son to destroy him, that the inheritance might be theirs. Well, to be short, the treason, as I said, was concluded, the time appointed, the word given, the rebels rendezvoused, and the assault attempted.[4] Now the King and his Son being ALL and always EYE, could not but discern all passages in his dominions; and he having always love for his Son as for himself, could not, at what he saw, but be greatly provoked and offended; wherefore, what does he, but takes them in the very nick; and, first trip that they made towards their design, convicts them of the treason, horrid rebellion, and conspiracy that they had devised, and now attempted to put into practice; and casts them altogether out of all place of trust, benefit, honour, and preferment. This done, he banishes them the court; turns them down into the horrible pits, as fast bound in chains, never more to expect the least favour from his hands, but to abide the judgment that he had appointed, and that for ever. 2 Pe. ii. 4; Jude 6.

And yet, now, they being thus cast out of all place of trust, profit, and honour, and also knowing that they had lost their prince's favour for ever, being banished his courts, and cast down to the horrible pits, you may be sure they would now add to their former pride what malice and rage against Shaddai, and against his Son, they could.

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[1] The five senses (see the margin) are the gates to Mansoul. While they were guarded, no enemy could injure the town; *now* they require a double watch.—(ED.)

[2] Διαβολος (Diabolus) is frequently used in the New Testament. It is translated 'a slanderer,' 'an accuser,' and 'adversary;' and, in Mat. iv. 1; Re. xii. 9; xx 2, 'The prince of devils.' It is the same as שטן (Satan), in Hebrew.—(ED.)

[3] It must not be supposed that this is a reflection upon the unhappy sons of Africa who had been sold into slavery. The margin is the key to the meaning of the words; 'blacks or negroes' mean 'sinners, the fallen angels.' Negro slaves were believed to be convicted criminals sold to the whites for transportation. English convicts were, at that time, sold as slaves to the planters in the West Indies. A man, for merely being a Quaker, was thus sold as a slave in New England. The horrors that were disclosed in this diabolical traffic stamps a demon character upon every slave-dealer or holder. The principal of these are *negroes*, who steal their fellows; and, like black devils, sell them to the white devils, who hold these poor creatures in slavery.—(ED.)

[4] 'And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought, and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven.' Re. xii. 7, 8.

Wherefore, roving and ranging in much fury from place to place, if perhaps they might find something that was the King's, to revenge (by spoiling of that themselves) on him, 1 Pe. v. 8; at last they happened into this spacious country of Universe, and steer their course towards the town of Mansoul: and considering that that town was one of the chief works and delights of King Shaddai, what do they, but, after counsel taken, make an assault upon that! I say they knew that Mansoul belonged unto Shaddai, for they were there when he built it, and beautified it for himself.[1] So when they had found the place, they shouted horribly for joy, and roared on it as a lion upon the prey, saying, Now we have found the prize, and how to be revenged on King Shaddai for what he hath done to us. So they sat down, and called a council of war, and considered with themselves what ways and methods they had best to engage in, for the winning to themselves this famous town of Mansoul; and these four things were then propounded to be considered of. *First.* Whether they had best, all of them, to show themselves in this design to the town of Mansoul. *Second.* Whether they had best to go and sit down against Mansoul, in their now ragged and beggarly guise. *Third.* Whether they had best to show to Mansoul their intentions, and what design they came about, or whether to assault it with words and ways of deceit. *Fourth.* Whether they had not best, to some of their companions, to give out private orders to take the advantage, if they see one or more of the principal townsmen, to shoot them; if thereby they shall judge their cause and design will the better be promoted.

A council of war held by Diabolus and his fellows, against the town of Mansoul.

Proposals.

First. It was answered to the first of these proposals in the negative, to wit, that it would not be best that all should show themselves before the town, because the appearance of many of them might alarm and fright the town; whereas a few, or but one of them, was not so likely to do it. And to enforce this advice to take place, it was added further, that if Mansoul was frighted, or did take the alarm, it is impossible, said Diabolus—for he spake now—that we should take the town; for that none can enter into it without its own consent.[2] Let therefore but few or but one assault Mansoul, and in mine opinion, said Diabolus, let mo be he. Wherefore to this they all agreed, and then to the second proposal they came, namely,

To the first proposal.

Second. Whether they had best to go and sit down before Mansoul in their now ragged and beggarly guise. To which it was answered also in the negative, By no means; and that because though the town of Mansoul had been made to know and to have to do, before now, with things that are invisible, they did never as yet see any of their fellow-creatures in so sad and rascal condition as they. And this was the advice of that fierce Alecto.[3] Then said Apollyon, the advice is pertinent, for even one of us appearing to them as we are now, must needs both beget and multiply such thoughts in them as will both put them into a consternation of spirit, and necessitate them to put themselves upon their guard. And if so, said he, then, as my lord Alecto[3] said but now, it is in vain for us to think of taking the town. Then said that mighty giant Beelzebub, the advice that already is given is safe; for though the men of Mansoul have seen such things as we once were, yet hitherto they did never behold such things as we now are. And it is best, in mine opinion, to come upon them in such a guise as is common to, and most familiar among them.[4] To this, when they had consented, the next thing to be considered was, in what shape, hue, or guise, Diabolus had best to show himself, when he went about to make Mansoul his own. Then one said one thing, and another the contrary; at last Lucifer answered, that in his opinion it was best that his lordship should assume the body of some of those creatures that they of the town had dominion over. For, quoth he, these are not only familiar to them, but being under them, they will never imagine that an attempt should by them be made upon the town; and, to blind all, let him assume the body of one of these beasts that Mansoul deems to be wiser than any of the rest. Ge. iii. 1. Re. xx. 1, 2. This advice was applauded of all; so it was determined that the giant Diabolus should assume the dragon, for that he was in those days as familiar with the town of Mansoul as now is the bird with the boy. For

The second proposal.

Alecto-Apollyon.

Beelzebub.

Lucifer.

[1] Mr. Burder supposes that the fall of the angels took place after the creation of man, because Job says that at the laying the foundation of the world, 'The morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy' (xxxviii. 7). But angels in a fallen state had forfeited their high and exalted titles and glory.—(Ed.)

[2] This agrees with Milton as to the perfect freedom of the will before the fall:—

> 'God made thee perfect, not immutable;
> And good he made thee; but to persevere
> He left it in thy power; ordained thy will
> By nature free.'—(*Paradise Lost*, B. v.)

[3] It is evident that Bunyan thought that a fury, whose every hair was a living snake, ought rather to be a male than a female, as generally pictured; but, query, was it in the original manuscript *Diabolos*, mistaken by the printer for *Alecto*. He had given this advice. Some editors have altered the name; but as it is Alecto in all Bunyan's own editions, it is here continued.—(Ed.)

[4] If devils cordially unite in the work of destruction, how ought Christians to unite in their efforts to promote the kingdom of Christ. We should be 'wise as serpents,' while 'harmless as doves.'—(Ed.)

nothing that was in its primitive state was at all amazing to them.[1] Then they proceeded to the third thing, which was,

Third. Whether they had best to show their intentions or the design of his coming to Mansoul, or no. This also was answered in the negative, because of the weight that was in the former reasons, to wit, for that Mansoul were a strong people, a strong people in a strong town, whose wall and gates were impregnable, to say nothing of their castle, nor can they by any means be won but by their own consent. Besides, said Legion[2] (for he gave answer to this), a discovery of our intentions may make them send to their King for aid, and if that be done, I know quickly what time of day it will be with us. Therefore let us assault them in all pretended fairness, covering of our intentions with all manner of lies, flatteries, delusive words; feigning of things that never will be, and promising of that to them that they shall never find. This is the way to win Mansoul, and to make them, of themselves, to open their gates to us; yea, and to desire us too, to come in to them.

The third proposal.

And the reason why I think that this project will do is, because the people of Mansoul now are every one simple and innocent; all honest and true; nor do they as yet know what it is to be assaulted with fraud, guile, and hypocrisy. They are strangers to lying and dissembling lips; wherefore we cannot, if thus we be disguised, by them at all be discerned; our lies shall go for true sayings, and our dissimulations for upright dealings. What we promise them, they will in that believe us, especially if in all our lies and feigned words we pretend great love to them, and that our design is only their advantage and honour. Now there was not one bit of a reply against this; this went as current down as doth the water down a steep descent; wherefore they go to consider of the last proposal, which was,

Fourth. Whether they had not best to give out orders to some of their company, to shoot some one or more of the principal of the townsmen, if they judge that their cause may be promoted thereby.

The fourth proposal.

This was carried in the affirmative, and the man that was designed by this stratagem to be destroyed was one Mr. Resistance, otherwise called Captain Resistance. And a great man in Mansoul this Captain Resistance was; and a man that the giant Diabolus and his band more feared than they feared the whole town of Mansoul besides.[3] Now who should be the actor to do the murder, that was the next, and they appointed one Tisiphone, a fury of the lake, to do it.

Of Capt. Resistance.

They thus having ended their council of war, rose up, and essayed to do as they had determined. They marched towards Mansoul, but all in a manner invisible, save one, only one; nor did he approach the town in his own likeness, but under the shape and in the body of the dragon.[4]

The result of their council.

So they drew up, and sat down before Ear-gate, for that was the place of hearing for all without the town, as Eye-gate was the place of perspection. So, as I said, he came up with his train to the gate, and laid his ambuscado for Captain Resistance within bow-shot of the town. This done, the giant ascended up close to the gate, and called to the town of Mansoul for audience. Nor took he any with him, but one All-pause,[5] who was his orator in all difficult matters. Now, as I said, he being come up to the gate, as the manner of those times was, sounded his trumpet for audience. At which the chief of the town of Mansoul, such as my Lord Innocent, my Lord Will-be-will,[6] my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder,[7] and Captain Resistance came down to the wall to see who was there, and what was the matter. And my Lord Will-be-will, when he had looked over and saw who stood at the gate, demanded what he was, wherefore he was come, and why he roused the town of Mansoul with so unusual a sound.

Diabolus marches up to the town, and calls for audience.

The Lords of Mansoul appeared.

Diab. Diabolus then, as if he had been a lamb, began his oration, and said; Gentlemen of the famous town of Mansoul, I am, as you may perceive, no far dweller from you, but near, and one that is bound by the King to do you my homage, and what service I can; wherefore, that I may be faithful to myself, and to you, I have somewhat of concern to impart unto you. Wherefore grant me your audience, and hear me patiently. And, first, I will assure you,

Diabolus's oration.

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[1] In this infernal conference the names are well chosen. Apollyon signifies the Destroyer; Beelzebub, the Prince of Devils; Lucifer, the Morning Star, a fallen angel, the arch-devil; Alecto, a heathen name of one of the furies, whose head was covered with snakes, and who was full of vengeance; Tisiphone, another of the furies.—(Burder.)

[2] 'Legion;' a military term. Among the Romans, five thousand men. An indefinite number. Mar. v. 9.—(Mason.)

[3] Resistance to the *first* sin is of the utmost importance:—

'Sin will at first, just like a beggar, crave
One penny or one halfpenny to have;
And, if you grant its first suit, 't will aspire
From pence to pounds, and so will still mount higher
To the whole soul.'—(Bunyan's *Caution*, vol. ii. p. 575.)

[4] 'The dragon;' a scriptural name of the devil; see Re. xii. xiii.—(Ed.)

[5] In the early editions this dangerous enemy is called All-pause when *first* introduced, but always afterwards Ill-pause.—(Ed.)

[6] The will by which we determine for or against an action.

[7] The Recorder is conscience, by which we judge of an action as good or bad, according to the light we enjoy, whether by the law of nature or by the written law. Conscience records our actions; and, in the day of judgment, the book of conscience is one of those which shall be opened.—(Burder.)

it is not myself, but you; not mine, but your advantage that I seek, by what I now do, as will full well be made manifest by that I have opened my mind unto you. For, gentlemen, I am, to tell you the truth, come to show you how you may obtain great and ample deliverance from a bondage that, unawares to yourselves, you are captivated and enslaved under. At this the town of Mansoul began to prick up its ears, and what is it, pray, what is it, thought they; and he said, I have somewhat to say to you concerning your King, concerning his law, and also touching yourselves. Touching your King, I know he is great and potent, but yet all that he hath said to you is neither true, nor yet for your advantage. 1. It is not true, for that wherewith he hath hitherto awed you shall not come to pass, nor be fulfilled, though you do the thing that he hath forbidden. But if there was danger, what a slavery is it to live always in fear of the greatest of punishments, for doing so small and trivial a thing as eating of a little fruit is? 2. Touching his laws, this I say further, they are both unreasonable, intricate, and intolerable. Unreasonable, as was hinted before, for that the punishment is not proportioned to the offence. There is great difference and disproportion betwixt the life and an apple; yet the one must go for the other, by the law of your Shaddai. But it is also intricate, in that he saith, first, you may eat of all; and yet after, forbids the eating of one. And then, in the last place, it must needs be intolerable, forasmuch as that fruit which you are forbidden to eat of, if you are forbidden any, is that, and that alone, which is able, by your eating, to minister to you a good as yet unknown by you. This is manifest by the very name of the tree; it is called *the tree of knowledge of good and evil;* and have you that knowledge as yet? No, no, nor can you conceive how good, how pleasant, and how much to be desired to make one wise it is, so long as you stand by your king's commandment. Why should you be holden in ignorance and blindness? Why should you not be enlarged in knowledge and understanding? And now, ah! ye inhabitants of the famous town of Mansoul, to speak more particularly to yourselves, you are not a free people! You are kept both in bondage and slavery, and that by a grievous threat; no reason being annexed, but so I will have it, so it shall be. And is it not grievous to think on, that that very thing that you are forbidden to do, might you but do it, would yield you both wisdom and honour; for then your eyes will be opened, and you shall be as gods. Now, since this is thus, quoth he, can you be kept by any prince in more slavery, and in greater bondage, than you are under this day? You are made underlings, and are wrapped up in inconveniencies, as I have well made appear. For what bondage greater than to be kept in blindness? Will not reason tell you that it is better to have eyes than to be without them; and so to be at liberty, to be better than to be shut up in a dark and stinking cave.

Mansoul engaged.

Diabolus's subtlety made up of lies.

And just now, while Diabolus was speaking these words to Mansoul, Tisiphone shot at Captain Resistance, where he stood on the gate, and mortally wounded him in the head; so that he, to the amazement of the townsmen, and the encouragement of Diabolus, fell down dead quite over the wall.[1] Now, when Captain Resistance was dead, and he was the only man of war in the town, poor Mansoul was wholly left naked of courage, nor had she now any heart to resist. But this was as the devil would have it.[2] Then stood forth that HE,[3] Mr. Illpause, that Diabolus brought with him, who was his orator,[4] and he addressed himself to speak to the town of Mansoul: the tenor of whose speech here follows.

Captain Resistance slain.

Mr. Illpause's speech to the town of Mansoul.

ILLPAUSE. Gentlemen, quoth he, it is my master's happiness that he has this day a quiet and teachable auditory,[5] and it is hoped by us that we shall prevail with you not to cast off good advice; my master has a very great love for you, and although, as he very well knows, that he runs the hazard of the anger of King Shaddai, yet love to you will make him do more than that.[6] Nor doth there need that a word more should be spoken to confirm for truth what he hath said; there is not a word but carries with it self-evidence in its bowels; the very name of the tree may put an end to all controversy in this matter. I therefore

[1] Satan may tempt, but cannot force the soul to sin, Ja. i. 14; we are therefore commanded to *resist* the devil, that he may flee from us. To destroy this *resistance*, therefore, must be a great point with the enemy.—(Burder.)

[2] The artful speech of Diabolus is founded upon the scriptural account of the first temptation. 'Ye shall not surely die,' said the father of lies, and he still persists in it. God says, Sinner, thou shalt die; Satan says, Thou shalt not die. Which of these ought we to believe?—(Burder.)

[3] 'That HE.' According to Tyrwhitt, p. 113, HE was prefixed to proper names by the Saxons emphatically. Shakspeare thus uses it: 'I stand to answer thee, or any *he* the proudest of thy sort.' Bunyan uses it as a mark of contempt. A modern author would say, 'That fellow, Mr. Illpause.'—(ED.)

[4] Resistance failed in our first mother. She paused, and it was an *Ill-pause;* whatever contradicts God's Word should be instantly resisted as diabolical.—(Burder.)

[5] The most imminent danger to the soul is when Satan finds a death-like, quiet, teachable auditory. So it was when Whitfield and Wesley, on their godlike mission, roused the people; who, to a frightful extent, were slumbering on the brink of eternal torments.—(ED.)

[6] Beware of flattery and hypocrisy, especially of that cunning craftiness of false teachers whereby they lie in wait to deceive unwary souls, and keep them in darkness. The white devil that elates the sinner with vain confidence, is much more dangerous than the black one who instigates to lust, profaneness, and despair.—(Mason.)

at this time shall only add this advice to you, under, and by the leave of my lord (and with that he made Diabolus a very low *congé*). Consider his words, look on the tree, and the promising fruit thereof; remember also that yet you know but little, and that this is the way to know more; and if your reasons be not conquered to accept of such good counsel, you are not the men that I took you to be. But when the towns-folk saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eye, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, they did as old Illpause advised, they took and did eat thereof. Now this I should have told you before, that even then, when this Illpause was making of his speech to the townsmen, my Lord Innocency—whether by a shot from the camp of the giant, or from some sinking qualm that suddenly took him, or whether by the stinking breath of that treacherous villain old Illpause, for so I am most apt to think—sunk down in the place where he stood, nor could he be brought to life again.[1] Thus these two brave men died; brave men I call them, for they were the beauty and glory of Mansoul, so long as they lived therein; nor did there now remain any more a noble spirit in Mansoul, they all fell down, and yielded obedience to Diabolus, and became his slaves and vassals, as you shall hear.[2]

My Lord Innocency's death.

Now these being dead, what do the rest of the towns-folk, but as men that had found a fool's paradise, they presently, as afore was hinted, fall to prove the truth of the giant's words; and first they did as Illpause had taught them, they looked, they considered, they were taken with the forbidden fruit, they took thereof, and did eat; and having eaten, they became immediately drunken therewith; so they opened the gate, both Eargate and Eyegate, and let in Diabolus with all his bands, quite forgetting their good Shaddai, his law, and the judgment that he had annexed with solemn threatening to the breach thereof.[3]

The town taken, and how.

[Chapter II.]

[Contents:—Diabolus takes possession of the castle—The Lord Mayor, Mr. Understanding, is deposed, and a wall built before his house, to darken it—Mr. Conscience, the Recorder, is put out of office, and becomes very obnoxious both to Diabolus and to the inhabitants—My Lord Will-be-will, heartily espousing the cause of Diabolus, is made the principal governor of the town—The image of Shaddai defaced, and that of Diabolus set up in its stead—Mr. Lustings is made Lord Mayor, and Mr. Forget-good, Recorder—New aldermen appointed—Three forts built to defend the town against Shaddai.]

Diabolus, having now obtained entrance in at the gates of the town, marches up to the middle thereof, to make his conquest as sure as he could, and finding by this time the affections of the people warmly inclining to him, he, as thinking it was best striking while the iron is hot, made this further deceivable speech unto them, saying, Alas, my poor Mansoul! I have done thee indeed this service, as to promote thee to honour, and to greaten thy liberty, but alas! alas! poor Mansoul, thou wantest now one to defend thee, for assure thyself that when Shaddai shall hear what is done, he will come; for sorry will he be that thou hast broken his bonds, and cast his cords away from thee. What wilt thou do—wilt thou after enlargement suffer thy privileges to be invaded and taken away? or what wilt resolve with thyself? Then they all with one consent said to this bramble, Do thou reign over us. So he accepted the motion, and became the king of the town of Mansoul.

He is entertained for their king.

This being done, the next thing was to give him possession of the castle, and so of the whole strength of the town. Wherefore into the castle he goes—it was that which Shaddai built in Mansoul for his own delight and pleasure—this now was become a den and hold for the giant Diabolus.[4]

He is possessed of the castle, and fortified it for himself.

Now having got possession of this stately palace or castle, what doth he but make it a garrison for himself, and strengthens and fortifies it with all sorts of provision against the King Shaddai, or those that should endeavour the regaining of it to him and his obedience again.

This done, but not thinking himself yet secure enough, in the next place, he bethinks himself of new-modelling the town; and so he does, setting up one, and putting down another at pleasure.[5] Wherefore my Lord Mayor, whose name was my Lord Understanding, and Mr. Recorder, whose name was Mr. Conscience, those he puts out of place and power.

He new-modelleth the town.

As for my Lord Mayor, though he was an understanding man, and one too that had complied with the rest of the town of Mansoul in admitting of the giant into the town, yet Diabolus thought not fit

My Lord Mayor put out of place.

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[1] The breath of temptation, entertained for a moment, admits unbelief, and destroys primitive innocence. In a spiritual sense, man died; and, by the offence of one, judgment came upon all to condemnation. Re. v. 18.—(Burder.)

[2] ——— Then peace expired,
And every grace fell slaughter'd round her tomb.
—(Swain's *Redemption*.)

[3] ——— Her rash hand, in evil hour,
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she ate:
Earth felt the wound, and nature, from her seat,
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,
That all was lost.—(*Paradise Lost*, B. ix.)

[4] His noble passions, once the blissful seat
Of each celestial grace, became the den
Of fiends infernal.—(Swain.)

[5] God's image of holiness being obliterated, Satan, with all his horrid crew of lusts and vile affections, gained admittance; the understanding was perverted, and the affections estranged. —(Mason.)

to let him abide in his former lustre and glory, because he was a seeing man. Wherefore he darkened it not only by taking from him his office and power, but by building of a high and strong tower, just between the sun's reflections, and the windows of my lord's palace, 2 Co. x. 4, 5; by which means his house and all, and the whole of his habitation, was made as dark as darkness itself. And thus being alienated from the light, he became as one that was born blind. Ep. iv. 18, 19. To this his house my lord was confined, as to a prison; nor might he upon his parole go further than within his own bounds. And now had he had a heart to do for Mansoul, what could he do for it or wherein could he be profitable to her? So then, so long as Mansoul was under the power and government of Diabolus—and so long it was under him as it was obedient to him; which was even until by a war it was rescued out of his hands—so long my Lord Mayor was rather an impediment in, than advantage to, the famous town of Mansoul.

As for Mr. Recorder, before the town was taken he was a man well read in the laws of his King, and also a man of courage and faithfulness, to speak truth at every occasion; and he had a tongue as bravely hung as he had an head filled with judgment. Now this man, Diabolus could by no means abide, because, though he gave his consent to his coming into the town, yet he could not, by all wiles, trials, stratagems, and devices that he could use, make him wholly his own. True, he was much degenerated from his former King, and also much pleased with many of the giant's laws and service; but all this would not do, forasmuch as he was not wholly his. He would now and then think upon Shaddai, and have dread of his law upon him, and then he would speak with a voice as great against Diabolus as when a lion roareth;[1] yea, and would also at certain times when his fits were upon him—for you must know that sometimes he had terrible fits—[he would] make the whole town of Mansoul shake with his voice: and, therefore, the now king of Mansoul could not abide him.[2]

The Recorder put out of place.

He sometimes speaks for his first King.

Diabolus therefore feared the Recorder more than any that was left alive in the town of Mansoul, because, as I said, his words did shake the whole town; they were like the rattling thunder, and also like thunder-claps. Since therefore the giant could not make him wholly his own, what doth he do but studies all that he could to debauch the old gentleman; and by debauchery to stupify his mind, and more harden his heart in ways of vanity. And as he attempted, so he accomplished his design; he debauched the man, and by little and little so drew him into sin and wickedness, that at last he was not only debauched as at first, and so by consequence-defiled, but was almost, at last, I say, past all conscience of sin. And this was the furthest Diabolus could go. Wherefore he bethinks him of another project; and that was to persuade the men of the town that Mr. Recorder was mad, and so not to be regarded: and for this he urged his fits, and said, If he be himself, why doth he not do thus always? but, quoth he, as all mad folks have their fits, and in them their raving language, so hath this old and doating gentleman. Thus, by one means or another, he quickly got Mansoul to slight, neglect, and despise whatever Mr. Recorder could say.[3] For besides what already you have heard, Diabolus had a way to make the old gentleman, when he was merry, unsay and deny what he in his fits had affirmed; and, indeed, this was the next way to make himself ridiculous, and to cause that no man should regard him. Also, now he never spake freely for King Shaddai, but always by force and constraint; besides, he would at one time be hot against that at which at another he would hold his peace, so uneven was he now in his doings. Sometimes he would be as if fast asleep, and again sometimes as dead, even then when the whole town of Mansoul was in her career after vanity, and in her dance after the giant's pipe.

He is more debauched than before.

The town taken off from heeding of him.

How conscience becomes so ridiculous as with carnal men it is.

Wherefore, sometimes, when Mansoul did use to be frightened with the thundering voice of the Recorder that was, and when they did tell Diabolus of it, he would answer that what the old gentleman said was neither of love to him nor pity to them, but of a foolish fondness that he had to be prating; and so would hush, still, and put all to quiet again. And that he might leave no argument unurged that might tend to make them secure, he said, and said it often, O Mansoul! consider that notwithstanding the old gentleman's rage, and the rattle of his high and thundering words, you hear nothing of Shaddai himself, when, liar and deceiver that he was, every outcry of Mr. Recorder against the sin of Mansoul was the

[1] O sinner, listen *now* to the voice of conscience, before his awful suggestions drive thee to despair.

'——— O give it *leave* to speak,
For it *will* speak ere long! O hear it now,
While useful its advice, its accents mild.'—(Young.)

[2] The office and power of conscience, the old recorder, is beautifully described. He will sometimes speak, yea, war aloud, testifying for God, and against sin.—(Burder.)

[3] This is the old device of Satan. It was thus he treated poor Christian, in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, when first alarmed for his soul's welfare—'They thought that some frenzy distemper had got into his head.'—(Ed.)

voice of God in him to them. But he goes on and says, You see that he values not the loss, nor rebellion of the town of Mansoul, nor will he trouble himself with calling of his town to a reckoning for their giving of themselves to me. He knows that though ye were his, now you are lawfully mine; so, leaving us one to another, he now hath shaken his hands of us.[1]

Satanical rhetoric.

Moreover, O Mansoul! quoth he, consider how I have served you, even to the uttermost of my power; and that with the best that I have, could get, or procure for you in all the world: besides, I dare say, that the laws and customs that you now are under, and by which you do homage to me, do yield you more solace and content than did the paradise that at first you possessed. Your liberty also, as yourselves do very well know, has been greatly widened and enlarged by me; whereas I found you a pent-up people. I have not laid any restraint upon you; you have no law, statute, or judgment of mine to frighten you; I call none of you to account for your doings, except the madman (you know who I mean). I have granted you to live, each man, like a prince, in his own, even with as little control from me as I myself have from you.

His flatteries.

Conscience.

And thus would Diabolus hush up, and quiet the town of Mansoul, when the Recorder, that was, did at times molest them; yea, and with such cursed orations as these would set the whole town in a rage and fury against the old gentleman; yea, the rascal crew at some times would be for destroying of him. They have often wished, in my hearing, that he had lived a thousand miles off from them: his company, his words, yea, the sight of him, and especially when they remembered how in old times he did use to threaten and condemn them—for all he was now so debauched—did terrify and afflict them sore.[2]

Men sometimes angry with their consciences.

But all wishes were vain; for I do not know how, unless by the power of Shaddai, and his wisdom, he was preserved in being amongst them. Besides, his house was as strong as a castle, and stood hard to a stronghold of the town. Moreover, if at any time any of the crew or rabble attempted to make him away, he could pull up the sluices, and let in such floods, as would drown all round about him.

Ill thoughts.

Of fears.

But to leave Mr. Recorder, and to come to my Lord Will-be-will, another of the gentry of the famous town of Mansoul. This Will-be-will was as high-born as any man in Mansoul, and was as much, if not more, a freeholder than many of them were: besides, if I remember my tale aright, he had some privilege peculiar to himself in the famous town of Mansoul. Now, together with these, he was a man of great strength, resolution, and courage; nor in his occasion could any turn him away. But I say, whether he was proud of his estate, privileges, strength, or what—but sure it was through pride of something—he seorns now to be a slave in Mansoul; and therefore resolves to bear office under Diabolus, that he might, such an one as he was, be a petty ruler and governor in Mansoul.[3] And, headstrong man that he was, thus he began betimes; for this man, when Diabolus did make his oration at Ear-gate, was one of the first that was for consenting to his words, and for accepting of his counsel as wholesome, and that was for the opening of the gate, and for letting him into the town: wherefore Diabolus had a kindness for him, and therefore he designed for him a place; and perceiving the valour and stoutness of the man, he coveted to have him for one of his great ones, to act and do in matters of the highest concern.[4]

The will.

So he sent for him, and talked with him of that secret matter that lay in his breast, but there needed not much persuasion in the case; for as at first he was willing that Diabolus should be let into the town, so now he was as willing to serve him there. When the tyrant therefore perceived the willingness of my lord to serve him, and that his mind stood bending that way, he forthwith made him the captain of the castle, governor of the wall, and keeper of the gates of Mansoul; yea, there was a clause in his commission that nothing without him should be done in all the town of Mansoul. So that now, next to Diabolus himself, who but my lord Will-be-will in all the town of Mansoul; nor could anything now be done, but at his will and pleasure, throughout the town of Mansoul. He had also one Mr. Mind[5] for his clerk, a man to speak on, every way like his master; for he and

The will takes place under Diabolus.

Heart. Flesh. Senses.

Mr. Mind, my Lord's clerk.

[1] Liars ought to have good memories; just before this the devil said, 'When Shaddai shall hear what is done, he will come.' Now he tells them, 'He hath shaken his hands of us,' or entirely given us up.—(Ed.)

[2] Conscience, in natural men, is very unequal and irregular in its opposition to sin; yet by fits and starts he will cry out, and so frighten the sinner, that he wishes him 'a thousand miles off,' so as to give him no disturbance. The powers of conscience cannot be utterly defaced.—(Burder.)

[3] The will scorns to be a slave, but plunges into the worst of slavery—that to Satan and to sin; and in that slavery must perish, unless emancipated and redeemed by Christ.—(Ed.)

[4] The will is a lord, a person of great importance, a governing faculty; and there could be no sin till the will consented to the temptation. In fallen man, it is not subject to the law of God, but obstinately opposed to it, and therefore a fit deputy for the devil.—(Burder.)

[5] The mind or judgment, whereby we distinguish between good and evil, lawful and unlawful. 2 Co. iii. 14. Tit. i. 15.—(Mason.) How awfully has sin fettered man, and made him a slave.—(Ed.)

his lord were in principle one, and in practice not far asunder. Ro. viii. 7. And now was Mansoul brought under to purpose, and made to fulfil the lusts of the will and of the mind.

But it will not out of my thoughts, what a desperate one this Will-be-will was, when power was put into his hand. First, he flatly denied that he owed any suit or service to his former prince and liege lord. This done, in the next place he took an oath, and swore fidelity to his great master Diabolus, and then, being stated and settled in his places, offices, advancements, and preferments, O! you cannot think, unless you had seen it, the strange work that this workman made in the town of Mansoul!

The carnal will opposeth conscience.

First, he maligned Mr. Recorder to death; he would neither endure to see him, nor to hear the words of his mouth; he would shut his eyes when he saw him, and stop his ears when he heard him speak: also, he could not endure that so much as a fragment of the law of Shaddai should be anywhere seen in the town. For example, his clerk, Mr. Mind, had some old, rent, and torn parchments of the law of good Shaddai in his house,[1] but when Will-be-will saw them, he cast them behind his back. Ne. ix. 26. True, Mr. Recorder had some of the laws in his study, but my lord could by no means come at them: he also thought, and said, that the windows of my old Lord Mayor's house were always too light for the profit of the town of Mansoul. The light of a candle he could not endure. Now, nothing at all pleased Will-be-will but what pleased Diabolus his lord.

Corrupt will loves a dark understanding.

There was none like him to trumpet about the streets the brave nature, the wise conduct, and great glory of the King Diabolus. He would range and rove throughout all the streets of Mansoul to cry up his illustrious lord, and would make himself even as an abject, among the base and rascal crew, to cry up his valiant prince. And I say, when and wheresoever he found these vassals, he would even make himself as one of them. In all ill courses he would act without bidding, and do mischief without commandment.

Vain thoughts.

The Lord Will-be-will also had a deputy under him, and his name was Mr. Affection; one that was also greatly debauched in his principles, and answerable thereto in his life. Ro. i. 25. He was wholly given to the flesh, and therefore they called him Vile-affection. Now there was he, and one Carnal-lust, the daughter of Mr. Mind (like to like, quoth the devil to the collier) that fell in love, and made a match, and were married; and, as I take it, they had several children, as Impudent, Blackmouth, and Hate-reproof; these three were black boys. And besides these they had three daughters, as Scorntruth, and Slightgod, and the name of the youngest was Revenge; these were all married in the town, and also begot and yielded many bad brats, too many to be here inserted.[2] But to pass by this.

A match betwixt Vile-affection and Carnal-lust.

When the giant had thus ingarrisoned himself in the town of Mansoul, and had put down and set up whom he thought good; he betakes himself to defacing. Now there was in the market-place in Mansoul, and also upon the gates of the castle, an image of the blessed King Shaddai; this image was so exactly engraven, and it was engraven in gold, that it did the most resemble Shaddai himself of anything that then was extant in the world. This he basely commanded to be defaced, and it was as basely done by the hand of Mr. Notruth. Now you must know, that as Diabolus had commanded, and that by the hand of Mr. Notruth, the image of Shaddai was defaced. He likewise gave order that the same Mr. Notruth should set up in its stead the horrid and formidable image of Diabolus; to the great contempt of the former King, and debasing of his town of Mansoul.

What Notruth did.

Moreover, Diabolus made havoc of all remains of the laws and statutes of Shaddai that could be found in the town of Mansoul; to wit, such as contained either the doctrines of morals, with all civil and natural documents. Also relative severities he sought to extinguish.[3] To be short, there was nothing of the remains of good in Mansoul which he and Will-be-will sought not to destroy; for their design was to turn Mansoul into a brute, and to make it like to the sensual sow, by the hand of Mr. Notruth.[4]

All law-books destroyed that could be so.

When he had destroyed what law and good orders he could, then, further to effect his design —namely, to alienate Mansoul from Shaddai, her king—he commands and they set up his own vain edicts, statutes, and commandments, in all places of resort or concourse in Mansoul; to wit, such as gave liberty to the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of

[1] The unawakened sinner has no pleasure in the Holy Scriptures; they are to him like *old, rent, torn law parchments*, which are written in a language that he cannot understand, and he casts them away.—(Ed.)

[2] What a progeny! but they are the genuine fruits of sin, which is of an impudent, scornful, and revengeful nature; and they have made the soul an enemy to justice, mercy, and truth. —(Mason.)

[3] Relative severities are the duties we owe to God, to ourselves, and to man, as public and private prayer, obedience and affection to parents and relatives, and that duty so essential to our spirit's welfare—'self-examination.' These being neglected, the sinner becomes to every good work reprobate.—(Mason.)

[4] Satan would conceal or obliterate the sacred Scriptures, prevent the practice of duty to God or to our neighbour, and make man merely carnal and brutish. Awfully has he succeeded; so that man has become that motley monster, half-beast, half-devil, uniting in himself the sensual appetites of the former with the diabolic temper of the latter.—(Burder.)

the eyes, and the pride of life, which are not of Shaddai, but of the world. 1 Jn. ii. 16. He encouraged, countenanced, and promoted lasciviousness, and all ungodliness there. Yea, much more did Diabolus to encourage wickedness in the town of Mansoul; he promised them peace, content, joy, and bliss in doing his commands, and that they should never be called to an account for their not doing the contrary. And let this serve to give a taste to them that love to hear tell of what is done beyond their knowledge, afar off in other countries.[1]

Now Mansoul being wholly at his beck, and brought wholly to his bow, nothing was heard or seen therein but that which tended to set up him.

They have a new Lord Mayor and a new Recorder.

But now, he having disabled the Lord Mayor and Mr. Recorder from bearing of office in Mansoul, and seeing that the town, before he came to it, was the most ancient of corporations in the world; and fearing, if he did not maintain greatness, they at any time should object that he had done them an injury, therefore, I say, that they might see that he did not intend to lessen their grandeur, or to take from them any of their advantageous things, he did choose for them a Lord Mayor and a Recorder himself; and such as contented them at the heart, and such also as pleased him wondrous well.

The new Lord Mayor.

The name of the Mayor that was of Diabolus's making was the Lord Lustings; a man that had neither eyes nor ears; all that he did, whether as a man or as an officer, he did it naturally, as doth the beast.[2] And that which made him yet the more ignoble, though not to Mansoul, yet to them that beheld and were grieved for its ruins, was, that he never could savour good, but evil.

The new Recorder.

The Recorder was one whose name was Forget-good; and a very sorry fellow he was. He could remember nothing but mischief, and to do it with delight. He was naturally prone to do things that were hurtful; even hurtful to the town of Mansoul, and to all the dwellers there. These two, therefore, by their power and practice, example and smiles upon evil, did much more grammar,[3] and settle the common people in hurtful ways. For who doth not perceive, but when those that sit aloft are vile, and corrupt themselves, they corrupt the whole region and country where they are?[4]

Thoughts.

Besides these, Diabolus made several burgesses and aldermen in Mansoul; such as out of whom the town, when it needed, might choose them officers, governors, and magistrates. And these are the names of the chief of them, Mr. Incredulity, Mr. Haughty, Mr. Swearing, Mr. Whoring, Mr. Hardheart, Mr. Pitiless, Mr. Fury, Mr. Notruth, Mr. Stand-to-lies, Mr. Falsepeace, Mr. Drunkenness, Mr. Cheating, Mr. Atheism—thirteen in all. Mr. Incredulity is the eldest, and Mr. Atheism the youngest, of the company.[5]

He doth make them new aldermen, and who.

There was also an election of common councilmen, and others; as bailiffs, sergeants, constables, and others; but all of them like to those aforenamed, being either fathers, brothers, cousins, or nephews to them; whose names, for brevity's sake, I omit to mention.

He buildeth three strongholds; their names and governors.

When the giant had thus far proceeded in his work, in the next place he betook himself to build some strongholds in the town. And he built three that seemed to be impregnable. The first he called the Hold of Defiance, because it was made to command the whole town, and to keep it from the knowledge of its ancient King. The second he called Midnight-hold, because it was built on purpose to keep Mansoul from the true knowledge of itself. The third was called Sweet-sin-hold, because by that he fortified Mansoul against all desires of good. The first of these holds stood close by Eyegate, that as much as might be light might be darkened there. The second was built hard to the old castle, to the end that that might be made more blind, if possible. And the third stood in the market-place.[6]

He that Diabolus made governor over the first

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[1] Great is the danger of seeking to be wise above what is written. The Bible is the limit of all real knowledge in matters of religion. To the law and to the testimony, if any doctrine or practice is not to be found there, reject it instantly and for ever; it is poisonous, and tends to death and hell.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Neither eyes nor ears;' no regard to reason nor danger, but hurried on by mere appetite to every fleshly indulgence. —(Burder.) How degraded! Man becomes a compound of devilish and beastly lusts. 'Lord, what is man that thou should be mindful of him.'—(Ed.)

[3] To 'grammar;' to instil into the mind.—(Ed.)

[4] Nothing could evidence more intrepid faithfulness than this severe, but just, reflection upon the open licentiousness and debauchery of Charles II. and his courtiers. Nearly thirteen years of frightful imprisonment had not chilled his faithful spirit, nor cowed him in doing his duty. In serving God he was a stranger to fear.—(Ed.)

[5] 'What a vile set of wretches!' the reader will exclaim; but are you sure that they do not rule your heart? Unbelief is the first, and how natural the gradation to Atheism, the last—the scorner's seat.—(Ed.)

> 'Christ purged his temple, so must thou thy heart.
> All sinful thoughts are thieves, together met
> To cozen thee.'—(Herbert.)

[6] Thus Satan fixes his empire in the soul:—1. By enmity and aversion to Divine instruction; 2. By the blindness of the understanding, and perverseness of the will, by which the knowledge of its lamentable state and of God are concealed; and, 3. By a habit and delight in sin, rolling it as a sweet morsel under the tongue; all which, if grace prevent not, will drown men in destruction and perdition.—(Mason.) Reader, beware, these three strongholds are the greatest enemies to human happiness:—1. Indifferent carelessness; 2. Ignorance of the new birth and of spiritual religion, which is the strength of superstition—the cruel persecutor of the saints; 3. Lusts, which degrade the soul into slavery to Satan.—(Ed.)

of these, was one Spitegod, a most blasphemous wretch. He came with the whole rabble of them that came against Mansoul at first, and was himself one of themselves. He that was made the governor of Midnight-hold, was one Love-no-light. He was also of them that came first against the town. And he that was made the governor of the hold called Sweet-sin-hold, was one whose name was Loveflesh; he was also a very lewd fellow, but not of that country where the other are bound.[1] This fellow could find more sweetness when he stood sucking of a lust, than he did in all the paradise of God.

And now Diabolus thought himself safe; he had taken Mansoul; he had ingarrisoned himself therein; he had put down the old officers, and had set up new ones; he had defaced the image of Shaddai, and had set up his own; he had spoiled the old law-books, and had promoted his own vain lies; he had made him new magistrates, and set up new aldermen; he had built him new holds, and had manned them for himself.[2] And all this he did to make himself secure, in case the good Shaddai, or his Son, should come to make an incursion upon him.

Diabolus has made his nest.

[Chapter III.]

[Contents:—Information of the revolution carried to the court of King Shaddai—His great resentment of the rebellion—His gracious intention of restoring Mansoul—Some intimations of this published—Care of Diabolus to suppress them—His artifices to secure the town, and prevent its return to Shaddai.]

Now you may well think, that long before this time word, by some or other, could not but be carried to the good King Shaddai, how his Mansoul in the continent of Universe was lost; and that the renegade giant Diabolus, once one of his Majesty's servants, had, in rebellion against the King, made sure thereof for himself; yea, tidings were carried and brought to the King thereof, and that to a very circumstance.[3]

Tidings carried to the court of what had happened to Mansoul.

As first, How Diabolus came upon Mansoul—they being a simple people, and innocent—with craft, subtilty, lies, and guile. Item, That he had treacherously slain the right noble and valiant captain, their Captain Resistance, as he stood upon the gate, with the rest of the townsmen. Item, How my brave Lord Innocent fell down dead—with grief, some say, or with being poisoned with the stinking breath of one Illpause, as say others—at the hearing of his just lord and rightful prince Shaddai so abused by the mouth of so filthy a Diabolonian as that varlet Illpause was. The messenger further told, that after this Illpause had made a short oration to the townsmen, in behalf of Diabolus his master, the simple town believing that what was said was true, with one consent did open Eargate, the chief gate of the corporation, and did let him with his crew into a possession of the famous town of Mansoul. He further showed how Diabolus had served the Lord Mayor and Mr. Recorder, to wit, that he had put them from all place of power and trust. Item, He showed also that my Lord Will-be-will was turned a very rebel and renegade, and that so was one Mr. Mind, his clerk; and that they two did range and revel it all the town over, and teach the wicked ones their ways. He said, moreover, that this Will-be-will was put into great trust; and, particularly, that Diabolus had put into Will-be-will's hand all the strong places in Mansoul; and that Mr. Affection was made my Lord Will-be-will's deputy in his most rebellious affairs. Yea, said the messenger, this monster, Lord Will-be-will, has openly disavowed his King Shaddai, and hath horribly given his faith and plighted his troth to Diabolus.[4]

'Also,' said the messenger, 'besides all this, the new king, or rather rebellious tyrant, over the once famous, but now perishing, town of Mansoul, has set up a Lord Mayor and a Recorder of his own. For Mayor, he has set up one Mr Lustings, and for Recorder, Mr. Forget-good; two of the vilest of all the town of Mansoul.' This faithful messenger also proceeded, and told what a sort of new burgesses Diabolus had made, also that he had builded several strong forts, towers, and strongholds in Mansoul. He told too, the which I had almost forgot, how Diabolus had put the town of Mansoul into arms, the better to capacitate them on his behalf to make resistance against Shaddai their king, should he come to reduce them to their former obedience.

Now this tidings-teller did not deliver his relation of things in private, but in open court, the King and his Son, high lords, chief captains, and nobles, being all there present to hear. But by that they had heard the whole of the story, it would have amazed one to have seen, had he been there to

Grief at court to hear the tidings.

[1] Loveflesh was one of the corrupted Mansoulians, and, therefore, not bound to the place whence Spitegod and Love-no-light came; these were Diabolonians.—(Ed.)

[2] How awful and complete is the revolution! The understanding is darkened, the conscience debauched, the will perverted, the image of God defaced, the law of God suppressed, and lusts triumphant; while the proud sinner defies God, loves midnight darkness, and wallows in sin. What an awful, but accurate, picture of apostate man! God, be merciful to us sinners.—(Burder.)

[3] 'Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world.' 'Not a sparrow shall fall without your Father.' 'The very hairs of your head are all numbered.' Mat. x. 29, 30. —(Ed.)

[4] 'Ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement.' Is. xxviii. 15.—(Ed.)

behold it, what sorrow and grief, and compunction of spirit, there was among all sorts, to think that famous Mansoul was now taken; only the King, and his Son foresaw all this long before, yea, and sufficiently provided for the relief of Mansoul, though they told not everybody thereof. Yet, because they also would have a share in condoling of the misery of Mansoul, therefore they also did, and that at the rate of the highest degree, bewail the losing of Mansoul. The King said plainly, 'That it grieved him at his heart,' and you may be sure that his Son was not a whit behind him. Ge. vi. 5, 6. Thus gave they conviction to all about them, that they had love and compassion for the famous town of Mansoul. Well, when the King and his Son were retired into the privy-chamber, there they again consulted about what they had designed before, to wit, that as Mansoul should in time be suffered to be lost, so as certainly it should be recovered again; recovered I say, in such a way as that both the King and his Son would get themselves eternal fame and glory thereby. Wherefore after this consult, the Son of Shaddai, a sweet and comely person, and one that had always great affection for those that were in affliction, but one that had mortal enmity in his heart against Diabolus, because he was designed for it, and because he sought his crown and dignity. This Son of Shaddai, I say, having stricken hands[1] with his Father, and promised that he would be his servant to recover his Mansoul again, stood by his resolution, nor would he repent of the same. Is. xlix. 5. 1 Ti. i. 15. He. xiii. 14. The purport of which agreement was this: to wit, That at a certain time prefixed by both, the King's Son should take a journey into the country of Universe; and there, in a way of justice and equity, by making of amends for the follies of Mansoul, he should lay a foundation of her perfect deliverance from Diabolus, and from his tyranny.[2]

The secret of his purpose.

The Son of God.

A brave design on foot for the town of Mansoul.

Moreover, Emmanuel resolved to make, at a time convenient, a war upon the giant Diabolus, even while he was possessed of the town of Mansoul; and that he would fairly, by strength of hand, drive him out of his hold, his nest, and take it to himself, to be his habitation.

By the Holy Ghost.

This now being resolved upon, order was given to the Lord Chief Secretary, to draw up a fair record of what was determined, and to cause that it should be published in all the corners of the kingdom of Universe. A short breviat[3] of the contents thereof you may, if you please, take here as follows:

The Holy Scriptures.

'Let all men know who are concerned, That the Son of Shaddai, the great King, is engaged, by covenant to his Father, to bring his Mansoul to him again; yea, and to put Mansoul too, through the power of his matchless love, into a far better, and more happy condition than it was in before it was taken by Diabolus.'[4]

The Contents.

These papers, therefore, were published in several places, to the no little molestation of the tyrant Diabolus, for now, thought he, I shall be molested, and my habitation will be taken from me.

But when this matter, I mean this purpose of the King and his Son, did at first take air at court, who can tell how the high lords, chief captains, and noble princes, that were there, were taken with the business. First, they whispered it one to another, and after that it began to ring out throughout the King's palace; all wondering at the glorious design that between the King and his Son was on foot for the miserable town of Mansoul. Yea, the courtiers could scarce do any thing, either for the King or kingdom, but they would mix with the doing thereof a noise of the love of the King and his Son, that they had for the town of Mansoul.

Among the Angels.

Nor could these lords, high captains, and princes, be content to keep this news at court, yea, before the records thereof were perfected, themselves came down and told it in Universe. At last it came to the ears, as I said, of Diabolus, to his no little discontent. For you must think it would perplex him to hear of such a design against him; well, but after a few casts in his mind, he concluded upon these four things.

Diabolus perplexed at the news.

First. That this news, this good tidings, if possible, should be kept from the ears of the town of Mansoul.[5] For, said he, if they shall once come to the knowledge that Shaddai, their former King, and Emmanuel, his Son, are contriving of good for the town of Mansoul; what can be expected by me, but that Mansoul will make a revolt from under my hand and government, and return again to him.

He concluded on several things.

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[1] 'To strike hands' means to enter into agreement, make a contract, or become security. Pr. xvii. 18.—(Ed.)

[2] How astonishing is the Divine benignity! Who can express it so well as in the words of Emmanuel himself, *God so loved the world?* So loved! How much he loved, no tongue can tell, no heart conceive. It is love unsought, unparalleled, free, and everlasting.—(Burder.)

[3] 'Breviat;' a summary or epitome; a word commonly used in Bunyan's time.—(Ed.)

[4] Early intimation was given to a lost world of God's gracious designs in favour of rebel man. He was pleased to publish in his Word this benevolent purpose.—(Burder.)

[5] It is the interest of hell to keep men in ignorance of the gospel. His great instrument, in all ages and climes, has been a wicked priestcraft. All that tends to prevent anxious personal inquiry for salvation is from beneath, from the father of lies. 'I believe as the church believes, and the church believes as I believe,' is the wretched sophistry by which Satan entangles souls in his net.—(Ed.)

Now, to accomplish this his design, he renews his flattery with my Lord Will-be-will, and also gives him strict charge and command, that he should keep watch by day and by night at all the gates of the town, especially Eargate and Eyegate. For I hear of a design, quoth he, a design to make us all traitors, and that Mansoul must be reduced to its first bondage again. I hope they are but flying stories, quoth he; however, let no such news by any means be let into Mansoul, lest the people be dejected thereat; I think, my lord, it can be no welcome news to you, I am sure it is none to me. And I think that at this time it should be all our wisdoms and care, to nip the head of all such rumours as shall tend to trouble our people. Wherefore, I desire, my lord, that you will in this matter do as I say, let there be strong guards daily kept at every gate of the town. Stop also and examine from whence such come, that you perceive do from far come hither to trade; nor let them by any means be admitted into Mansoul, unless you shall plainly perceive that they are favourers of our excellent government. I command, moreover, said Diabolus, that there be spies continually walking up and down the town of Mansoul, and let them have power to suppress, and destroy, any that they shall perceive to be plotting against us, or that shall prate of what by Shaddai and Emmanuel is intended.

First, How to keep the news from Mansoul.

The will engaged against the gospel.

Good thoughts are to be kept out of the town of Mansoul.

All good thoughts and words in the town are to be suppressed.

This, therefore, was accordingly done; my Lord Will-be-will hearkened to his lord and master, went willingly after the commandment, and, with all the diligence he could, kept any that would from going out abroad, or that sought to bring this tidings to Mansoul, from coming into the town.

Secondly. This done, in the next place, Diabolus, that he might make Mansoul as sure as he could, frames and imposes a new oath and horrible covenant upon the townsfolk: to wit, 'That they should never desert him, nor his government, nor yet betray him, nor seek to alter his laws; but that they should own, confess, stand by, and acknowledge him for their rightful king, in defiance to any that do, or hereafter shall, by any pretence, law, or title whatever, lay claim to the town of Mansoul.' Thinking belike that Shaddai had not power to absolve them from this covenant with death, and agreement with hell. Is. xxviii. 15. Nor did the silly Mansoul stick or boggle at all at this most monstrous engagement, but, as if it had been a sprat in the mouth of a whale, they swallowed it without any chewing. Were they troubled at it? Nay, they rather bragged and boasted of their so brave fidelity to the tyrant, their pretended King, swearing that they would never be changelings, nor forsake their old lord for a new.[1]

A new oath imposed upon Mansoul.

Thus did Diabolus tie poor Mansoul fast; but jealousy, that never thinks itself strong enough, put him, in the next place, upon another exploit, which was yet more, if possible, to debauch this town of Mansoul. Wherefore he caused, by the hand of one Mr. Filth, an odious, nasty, lascivious piece of beastliness to be drawn up in writing, and to be set upon the castle gates; whereby he granted and gave license to all his true and trusty sons in Mansoul, to do whatsoever their lustful appetites prompted them to do, and that no man was to let, hinder, or control them, upon pain of incurring the displeasure of their prince.

Odious atheistical pamphlets, and filthy ballads and romances, full of baldry.[2]

Now this he did for these reasons:

1. That the town of Mansoul might be yet made weaker and weaker, and so more unable, should tiding come that their redemption was designed, to believe, hope, or consent to the truth thereof. For reason says, the bigger the sinner, the less grounds of hopes of mercy.[3]

Reasons of his thus doing.

2. The second reason was, If, perhaps, Emmanuel, the Son of Shaddai their king, by seeing the horrible and profane doings of the town of Mansoul, might repent, though entered into a covenant of redeeming them, of pursuing that covenant of their redemption; for he knew that Shaddai was holy, and that his Son Emmanuel was holy; yea, he knew it by woeful experience; for, for the iniquity and sin of Diabolus was he cast from the highest orbs. Wherefore, what more rational than for him to conclude, that thus for sin it might fare with Mansoul. But fearing also lest this knot should break, he bethinks himself of another, to wit:

3. To endeavour to possess all hearts in the town of Mansoul that Shaddai was raising of an army, to come to overthrow and utterly to destroy this town of Mansoul, and this he did to forestal any tidings that might come to their ears of their

[1] 'They glory in their shame,
——— reject the sustenance Divine,
To beggarly vile appetites descend;
Ask alms of earth, for guests that came from heav'n;
Sink into slaves; and sell for present hire
Their rich reversion, and (what shares its fate),
Their native freedom, to the prince who sways
The nether world.'—(Young.)

[2] 'Baldry;' obscenity. The abounding of such depraved publications affords a good criterion of the moral state of a country—China, very degraded; France, degraded; Italy, under the Pope's nose, most degraded; few, in comparison, are now to be found in England, and they hide themselves as Christian knowledge progresses. In Bunyan's time, under the depraved Charles II., they awfully abounded under the care of Mr. Filth.—(Ed.)

[3] Not so, says the Scripture, it is a saying worthy of all acceptation, that Christ came to save sinners, even the chief of sinners.—See Bunyan's *Jerusalem Sinner Saved*.—(Ed.)

deliverance; for, thought he, if I first brute[1] this, the tidings that shall come after, will all be swallowed up of this; for what else will Mansoul say, when they shall hear that they must be delivered, but that the true meaning is, Shaddai intends to destroy them; wherefore, he summons the whole town into the market-place, and there, with deceitful tongue, thus he addresses himself unto them:—

The place of hearing and of considering.

'Gentlemen, and my very good friends, You are all, as you know, my legal subjects, and men of the famous town of Mansoul; you know how, from the first day that I have been with you until now, I have behaved myself among you, and what liberty, and great privileges you have enjoyed under my government, I hope to your honour, and mine, and also to your content and delight. Now, my famous Mansoul, a noise of trouble there is abroad, of trouble to the town of Mansoul, sorry I am thereof for your sakes. For I have received but now by the post from my lord Lucifer—and he useth to have good intelligence—that your old king Shaddai is raising of an army to come against you, to destroy you root and branch:[2] and this, O Mansoul, is now the cause that at this time I have called you together; namely, to advise what in this juncture is best to be done; for my part, I am but one, and can with ease shift for myself, did I list to seek my own ease, and to leave my Mansoul in all the danger. But my heart is so firmly united to you, and so unwilling am I to leave you, that I am willing to stand and fall with you, to the utmost hazard that shall befall me.[3] What say you, O my Mansoul? Will you now desert your old friend, or do you think of standing by me?' Then as one man, with one mouth, they cried out together, 'Let him die the death that will not.'

Then said Diabolus again, 'It is in vain for us to hope for quarter, for this king knows not how to show it: true, perhaps, he at his first sitting down before us will talk of, and pretend to, mercy, that thereby, with the more ease, and less trouble, he may again make himself the master of Mansoul. Whatever therefore he shall say, believe not one syllable or tittle of it, for all such language is but to overcome us, and to make us, while we wallow in our blood, the trophies of his merciless victory. My mind is, therefore, that we resolve, to the last man, to resist him, and not to believe him upon any terms; for in at that door will come our danger.[4] But shall we be flattered out of our lives? I hope you know more of the rudiments of politics than to suffer yourselves so pitifully to be served.

Very deceivable language.

'But suppose he should, if he gets us to yield, save some of our lives, or the lives of some of them that are underlings in Mansoul, what help will that be to you that are the chief of the town; especially of you whom I have set up, and whose greatness has been procured by you through your faithful sticking to me? And suppose again, that he should give quarter to every one of you, be sure he will bring you into that bondage under which you were captivated before, or a worse; and then what good will your lives do you? Shall you with him live in pleasure as you do now? No, no, you must be bound by laws that will pinch you, and be made to do that which at present is hateful to you; I am for you, if you are for me, and it is better to die valiantly, than to live like pitiful slaves.[5] But I say, the life of a slave will be counted a life too good for Mansoul now; blood, blood, nothing but blood is in every blast of Shaddai's trumpet against poor Mansoul now.[6] Pray, be concerned, I hear he is coming up; and stand to your arms, that now while you have any leisure, I may learn you some feats of war. Armour for you I have, and by me it is; yea, and it is sufficient for Mansoul from top to toe; nor can you be hurt by what his force can do, if you shall keep it well girt and fastened about you. Come therefore to my castle, and welcome, and harness yourselves for the war. There is helmet, breastplate, sword, and shield, and what not, that will make you fight like men.

Lying language.

He is afraid of losing of Mansoul.

He puts them upon arming themselves.

'1. My helmet, otherwise called an head-piece, is hope of doing well at last, what lives soever you live. This is that which they had, who said, that they should have peace though they walked in the wickedness of their heart, 'to add drunkenness to thirst.' De. xxix. 19. A piece of approved armour this is, and whoever has it and can hold it, so long no arrow, dart,

His helmet.

[1] 'Brute,' generally spelt 'bruit;' report, rumour, fame.—*Imp. Dic.*—(Ed.)

[2] This is one of the great lies with which Satan and his emissaries would keep sinners in bondage, by leading them to think that Christ came not to save, but to destroy, and that true religion is a dull, melancholy, pursuit, tending only to misery and melancholy; the very reverse of all Christian experience and truth.—(Ed.)

[3] Well may Satan be called the father of lies; all his object is to destroy souls. He is a merciless tyrant; his service is the vilest drudgery; his wages are pain, sorrow, sickness, temporal, and eternal death. O for that spiritual wisdom from heaven by which alone we can detect his devices.—(Ed.)

[4] The strength of Satan's kingdom lies in preventing men from thinking or examining for themselves.—(Ed.)

[5] How do the most wretched slaves, even the devil's dirtiest drudges, hug their chains, and try to imagine themselves free. The believer alone knows what liberty is; Christ's service is perfect freedom, and his ways—all his ways, and none but his ways—are pleasantness and peace.—(Ed.)

[6] Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins; but with the blood-shedding of Jesus, the gospel of peace and salvation is brought to the guilty conscience. How malignantly the father of lies can pervert the plainest gospel truths. —(Ed.)

sword, or shield can hurt him; this therefore keep on, and thou wilt keep off many a blow, my Mansoul.[1]

His breastplate.

'2. My breastplate is a breastplate of iron; I had it forged in mine own country, and all my soldiers are armed therewith; in plain language it is an hard heart, an heart as hard as iron, and as much past feeling as a stone; the which if you get, and keep, neither mercy shall win you, nor judgment fright you. Re. ix. 9. This, therefore, is a piece of armour most necessary for all to put on that hate Shaddai, and that would fight against him under my banner.

His sword.

'3. My sword is a tongue that is set on fire of hell, Ps. lvii. 4, and that can bend itself to speak evil of Shaddai, his Son, his ways, and people. Ps. lxiv. 3. Use this; it has been tried a thousand times twice told; whoever hath it, keeps it, and makes that use of it as I would have him, can never be conquered by mine enemy. Ja. iii. 3–5.

His shield.

'4. My shield is unbelief, or calling into question the truth of the Word, or all the sayings that speak of the judgment that Shaddai has appointed for wicked men. Use this shield. Job xv. 26. Many attempts he has made upon it, and sometimes, it is true, it has been bruised. Ps. lxxvi. 3. But they that have writ of the wars of Emmanuel against my servants, have testified that he could do no mighty work there because of their unbelief. Mar. vi. 5, 6. Now, to handle this weapon of mine aright, it is not to believe things because they are true, of what sort or by whomsoever asserted. If he speak of judgment, care not for it; if he speak of mercy, care not for it; if he promise, if he swear that he would do to Mansoul, if it turn, no hurt but good, regard not what is said; question the truth of all; for this is to wield the shield of unbelief aright, and as my servants ought and do; and he that doth otherwise loves me not, nor do I count him but an enemy to me.[2]

'5. Another part or piece,' said Diabolus, 'of mine excellent armour is a dumb and prayerless spirit—a spirit that scorns to cry for mercy; wherefore be you, my Mansoul, sure that you make use of this.[3] What! cry for quarter, never do that if you would be mine; I know you are stout men, and am sure that I have clad you with that which is armour of proof; wherefore to cry to Shaddai for mercy, let that be far from you. Besides all this, I have a maul, fire-brands, arrows and death, all good hand-weapons, and such as will do execution.'[4]

He backs all with a speech to them.

After he had thus furnished his men with armour and arms, he addressed himself to them in such like words as these:—'Remember,' quoth he, 'that I am your rightful king, and that you have taken an oath, and entered into covenant to be true to me and my cause; I say, remember this, and show yourselves stout and valiant men of Mansoul. Remember also the kindness that I have always showed to you, and that without your petition: I have granted to you external things, wherefore the privileges, grants, immunities, profits and honours wherewith I endowed you, do call for at your hands returns of loyalty, my lion-like men of Mansoul; and when so fit a time to show it as when another shall seek to take my dominion over you, into their own hands? One word more, and I have done, Can we but stand, and overcome this one shock or brunt, I doubt not but in little time all the world will be ours; and when that day comes, my true hearts, I will make you kings, princes, and captains, and what brave days shall we have then?'[5]

They of Mansoul show their loyalty to the giant.

Diabolus having thus armed, and fore-armed his servants and vassals in Mansoul, against their good and lawful king Shaddai; in the next place, he doubleth his guards at the gates of the town, and he takes himself to the castle, which was his strong hold. His vassals also, to show their wills, and supposed, but ignoble, gallantry, exercise themselves in their arms every day, and teach one another feats of war; they also defied their enemies, and sang up the praises of their tyrant; they threatened also what men they would be, if ever things should rise so high as a war between Shaddai and their king.[6]

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[1] How many baptized infidels perish in a vain hope that Divine mercy will be extended to impenitent, unawakened sinners; forgetting that 'a God all mercy, is a God unjust.' —(Ed.)

[2] This shield of the devil is used to an extent that few persons imagine. All the impenitent disbelieve the punishment of sin, and use this shield to ward off conviction; and how many of the children of God, when in a state of doubt, use the same shield, to prevent the entrance of those promises which would bring consolation to their wounded souls! Strangely has sin perverted the faculties of Mansoul.—(Ed.)

[3] How skilfully Satan plies his suggestions, to keep poor sinners from their knees. He knows that he cannot withstand godly, fervent, prayer.—(Ed.)

[4] Reader, we have here presented to our view the whole armour of the devil—presumption, hardness of heart, a blasphemous tongue, unbelief, and a prayerless spirit. This is Satan's armour; the very reverse of that which God has provided for Christian soldiers.—(Burder.)

[5] Thus Satan deceiveth the world, promising liberty and pleasure, while slavery and destruction are his only aim. 'All these things,' said he to our Lord, 'will I give thee, if thou wilt worship me.' O that we may be enabled to say, 'Get thee behind me, Satan.'—(Burder.) Satan first beguiles, then destroys, and lastly torments; he flatters only to betray and ruin.—(Mason.)

[6] Reader, having accompanied Bunyan thus far in his Holy War, pause and consider whether you understand his spiritual meaning: the original perfection of human nature — the temptations of the enemy of souls—the loss of innocency—the admission of Diabolus into the heart of Mansoul—his reign of sin—the first intimations of Divine mercy—Satan's precautions to prevent it—to resist the grace of God—and to keep the soul in slavery,—have I felt all this in my own experience?—(Ed.)

[Chapter IV.]

[Contents:—Shaddai sends an army of forty thousand to reduce Mansoul, under the direction of four captains, Boanerges, Conviction, Judgment, and Execution, who address the inhabitants with great energy, but to little purpose—Diabolus, Incredulity, Illpause, and others, interfere to prevent submission — Prejudice defends Eargate with a guard of sixty deaf men.]

Shaddai preparеth an army for the recovery of Mansoul.

Now all this time, the good King, the King Shaddai was preparing to send an army to recover the town of Mansoul again, from under the tyranny of their pretended king Diabolus. But he thought good, at the first, not to send them by the hand and conduct of brave Emmanuel his Son, but under the hand of some of his servants, to see first, by them, the temper of Mansoul; and whether by them they would be won to the obedience of their King. The army consisted of above forty thousand, all true men; for they came from the King's own court, and were those of his own choosing.

The words of God.

They came up to Mansoul under the conduct of four stout generals, each man being a captain of ten thousand men, and these are their names, and their signs. The name of the first was Boanerges; the name of the second was Captain Conviction; the name of the third was Captain Judgment; and the name of the fourth was Captain Execution. These were the captains that Shaddai sent to regain Mansoul.[1]

The captains' names.

These four captains, as was said, the King thought fit, in the first place, to send to Mansoul, to make an attempt upon it; for indeed, generally in all his wars he did use to send these four captains in the van, for they were very stout and rough-hewn men, men that were fit to break the ice, and to make their way by dint of sword, and their men were like themselves.[2] Ps. lx. 4.

To each of these captains the King gave a banner that it might be displayed, because of the goodness of his cause, and because of the right that he had to Mansoul. First to Captain Boanerges, for he was the chief; to him, I say, was given ten thousand men. His ensign was Mr. Thunder; he bare the black colours, and his escutcheon was three burning thunderbolts. Mar. iii. 17. The second captain was Captain Conviction; to him was also given ten thousand men. His ensign's name was Mr. Sorrow; he did bear the pale colours, and his escutcheon was the book of the law wide open, from whence issued a flame of fire. De. xxxiii. 2. The third captain was Captain Judgment; to him was given ten thousand men. His ensign's name was Mr. Terror; he bare the red colours, and his escutcheon was a burning fiery furnace. Mat. xiii. 40, 41. The fourth captain was Captain Execution; to him was given ten thousand men. His ensign was one Mr. Justice; he also bare the red colours, and his escutcheon was a fruitless tree, with an axe lying at the root thereof. Mat. iii. 10.

These four captains, as I said, had every one of them under his command ten thousand men; all of good fidelity to the King, and stout at their military actions.[3]

Well, the captains, and their forces, their men and under-officers, being had upon a day by Shaddai into the field, and there called all over by their names, were then and there put into such harness[4] as became their degree, and that service that now they were going about for their King.[5]

Now, when the King had mustered his forces—for it is he that mustereth the host to the battle—he gave unto the captains their several commissions, with charge and commandment, in the audience of all the soldiers, that they should take heed faithfully and courageously to do and execute the same. Their commissions were, for the substance of them, the same in form; though as to name, title, place, and degree of the captains, there might be some, but very small variation. And here let me give you an account of the matter and sum contained in their commission.

A commission from the great Shaddai, King of Mansoul, to his trusty and noble captain, the Captain Boanerges,[6] for his making war upon the town of Mansoul.

Their commission.

'O thou Boanerges, one of my stout and thundering captains, over one ten thousand of my valiant and faithful

[1] The army of forty thousand terrors of the law was not so fearful as one threatening of the new covenant. Read carefully *Grace Abounding*, No. 246.—(Ed.)

[2] Mansoul's spirit is first to be broken by the terrors of the law; there is no difficulty in understanding the very appropriate names of the captains. But why forty thousand convictions and terrors, unless from that number of valiant men 'prepared for war,' that went up with Joshua, who was feared 'as they feared Moses?' Jos. iv. 13. The margin says, 'The words of God.' There are in the Bible 810,697 words, so that the 40,000 and above may refer to the number of those passages intended to convince of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment to come.—(Ed.)

[3] 'Boanerges,' a powerful awakening ministry; 'Conviction,' an awful display of the requirements of the law; 'Judgment,' the dreadful expectation of the great day; 'Execution,' the destruction of impenitent sinners. These are means of conviction, although in many cases, as that of Lydia, the heart is gently opened to admit Emmanuel.—(Ed.)

[4] 'Harness;' dress or equipments for fighting men, or for horses.—(Ed.)

[5] These are the usual means of conviction and conversion, but not the only means. Some are gently led to the Saviour, to others 'in a dream, in a vision of the night; he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction.' Job xxxiii. 15, 16. The great question is, Do I love the Lord? Does that love lead to obedience?—(Ed.)

[6] A son of thunder, meaning a powerful proclamation of the gospel, which, when made effectual in the heart by the Holy Ghost, becomes the power of God to salvation.—(Mason.)

servants; go thou in my name, with this thy force, to the miserable town of Mansoul; and when thou comest thither, offer them first conditions of peace, Mat. x. 11. Luke x. 5. and command them, that casting off the yoke and tyranny of the wicked Diabolus, they return to me, their rightful Prince and Lord; command them, also, that they cleanse themselves from all that is his in the town of Mansoul, and look to thyself that thou hast good satisfaction touching the truth of their obedience. Thus when thou hast commanded them, if they in truth submit thereto, then do thou, to the uttermost of thy power, what in thee lies, to set up for me a garrison in the famous town of Mansoul; nor do thou hurt the least native that moveth or breatheth therein, if they will submit themselves to me, but treat thou such as if they were thy friend or brother—for all such I love, and they shall be dear unto me—and tell them that I will take a time to come unto them, and to let them know that I am merciful. 1 Th. ii. 7–11.

'But if they shall—notwithstanding thy summons, and the production of thy authority—resist, stand out against thee, and rebel, then do I command thee to make use of all thy cunning, power, might, and force, to bring them under by strength of hand. Farewell.'

Thus you see the sum of their commissions, for, as I said before, for the substance of them they were the same that the rest of the noble captains had.

Wherefore they having received each commander his authority, at the hand of their King, the day being appointed, and the place of their rendezvous prefixed, each commander appeared in such gallantry as became his cause and calling. So, after a new entertainment from Shaddai, with flying colours, they set forward to march towards the famous town of Mansoul. Captain Boanerges led the van; Captain Conviction and Captain Judgment made up the main body, and Captain Execution brought up the rear. Eph. ii. 13, 17. They then having a long way to go, for the town of Mansoul was far off from the court of Shaddai, they marched through the regions and countries of many people, not hurting or abusing any, but blessing wherever they came. They also lived upon the King's cost in all the way they went.[1]

They prepare for a march.

Having travelled thus for many days,[2] at last they came within sight of Mansoul; the which, when they saw, the captains could for their hearts do no less than for a while bewail the condition of the town, for they quickly saw how that it was prostrate to the will of Diabolus, and to his ways and designs. Well, to be short, the captains came up before the town, march up to Eargate, sit down there, for that was the place of hearing. So, when they had pitched their tents and intrenched themselves, they addressed themselves to make their assault.

Now the townsfolk at first, beholding so gallant a company, so bravely accoutered, and so excellently disciplined, having on their glittering armour, and displaying of their flying colours, could not but come out of their houses and gaze. But the cunning fox, Diabolus, fearing that the people, after this sight, should on a sudden summons, open the gates to the captains, came down with all haste from the castle, and made them retire into the body of the town, who, when he had them there, made this lying and deceivable speech unto them:—

The world are convinced by the well-ordered life of the godly.

'Gentlemen,' quoth he, 'although you are my trusty and well-beloved friends, yet I cannot but a little chide you for your late unadvisedness in going out to gaze on that great and mighty force that but yesterday sat down before, and have now intrenched themselves, in order to the maintaining of a siege against, the famous town of Mansoul. Do you know who they are, whence they come, and what is their purpose in setting down before the town of Mansoul? They are they of whom I have told you long ago, that they would come to destroy this town, and against whom I have been at the cost to arm you with *cap-a-pie*[3] for your body, besides great fortifications for your mind. Wherefore, then, did you not rather, even at the first appearance of them, cry out, fire the beacons, and give the whole town an alarm concerning them, that we might all have been in a posture of defence, and been ready to have received them with the highest acts of defiance, then had you showed yourselves men to my liking; whereas, by what you have done, you have made me half-afraid; I say half-afraid, that when they and we shall come to push a pike, I shall find you want courage to stand it

Diabolus alienates their minds from them.

That's false, Satan.

Satan greatly afraid of God's ministers, that they will set Mansoul against him.

[1] Although Bunyan was not a hireling preacher, but for a great portion of his life maintained himself and his family by the labour of his hands, yet he plainly intimates that itinerating and missionary labourers in the Lord's vineyard must be maintained at the King's cost while away from home.—(Ed.)

[2] The distance to which man has fallen from God, is well set forth in the *Church Homily* on the Nativity: 'Before he was beloved, now he is abhorred; before he was most beautiful and precious, now he is vile and wretched. Instead of the image of God, he is now the image of the devil; instead of being the citizen of heaven, he is the bond-slave of hell; having no one part of his former purity and cleanness, but is altogether spotted and defiled, and is nothing but a lump of sin, and condemned to everlasting death.' What strange ideas must pass over the mind of an unconverted clergyman, who prides himself on the dignity of human nature, and yet reads this to his congregation.—(Ed.)

[3] '*Cap-a-pie*;' armed all over from head to feet.—(*Imp. Dic.*)

out any longer. Wherefore have I commanded a watch, and that you should double your guards at the gates? Wherefore have I endeavoured to make you as hard as iron, and your hearts as a piece of the nether millstone? Was it, think you, that you might show yourselves women, and that you might go out like a company of innocents to gaze on your mortal foes? Fy, fy, put yourselves into a posture of defence, beat up the drum, gather together in warlike manner, that our foes may know that, before they shall conquer this corporation there are valiant men in Mansoul.

He stirs them up to bid defiance to the ministers of the Word

'I will leave off now to chide,[1] and will not further rebuke you; but I charge you that henceforwards you let me see no more such actions. Let not henceforward a man of you, without order first obtained from me, so much as show his head over the wall of the town of Mansoul. You have now heard me, do as I have commanded, and you shall cause me that I dwell securely with you, and that I take care as for myself, so for your safety and honour also. Farewell.'[1]

Now were the townsmen strangely altered; they were as men stricken with a panic fear; they ran to and fro through the streets of the town of Mansoul, crying out, 'Help, help! the men that turn the world upside down are come hither also;' nor could any of them be quiet after, but still, as men bereft of wit, they cried out, 'The destroyers of our peace and people are come.' This went down with Diabolus. 'Aye!' quoth he to himself, 'this I like well, now it is as I would have it; now you show your obedience to your prince, hold you but here, and then let them take the town if they can.'

When sinners hearken to Satan, they are set in a rage against godliness.

Well, before the King's forces had sat before Mansoul three days, Captain Boanerges commanded his trumpeter to go down to Eargate, and there, in the name of the great Shaddai, to summons Mansoul to give audience to the message that he, in his Master's name, was to them commanded to deliver. So the trumpeter, whose name was Take-heed-what-you-hear, went up, as he was commanded, to Ear-gate, and there sounded his trumpet for a hearing; but there was none that appeared that gave answer or regard; for so had Diabolus commanded. So the trumpeter returned to his captain, and told him what he had done, and also how he had sped. Whereat the captain was grieved, but bid the trumpeter go to his tent.

The King's trumpet sounded at Eargate.

They will not hear.

Again Captain Boanerges sendeth his trumpeter to Eargate, to sound, as before, for a hearing. But they again kept close, came not out, nor would they give him an answer, so observant were they of the command of Diabolus their king.[2]

A second summons repulsed.

Then the captains, and other field-officers, called a council of war,[3] to consider what further was to be done for the gaining of the town of Mansoul, and, after some close and thorough debate upon the contents of their commissions, they concluded yet to give to the town, by the hand of the fore-named trumpeter, another summons to hear; but if that shall be refused, said they, and that the town shall stand it out still, then they determined, and bid the trumpeter tell them so, that they would endeavour, by what means they could, to compel them by force to the obedience of their King. Lu. xiv. 23.

A council of war.

So Captain Boanerges commanded his trumpeter to go up to Eargate again, and, in the name of the great King Shaddai, to give it a very loud summons, to come down without delay to Eargate, there to give audience to the King's most noble captains. So the trumpeter went and did as he was commanded. He went up to Eargate and sounded his trumpet, and gave a third summons to Mansoul; he said, moreover, that if this they should still refuse to do, the captains of his Prince would with might come down upon them, and endeavour to reduce them to their obedience by force. Is. lviii. 1.

A third summons.

Then stood up my Lord Will-be-will, who was the governor of the town; this Will-be-will was that apostate of whom mention was made before, and the keeper of the gates of Mansoul. He, therefore, with big and ruffling words, demanded of the trumpeter who he was, whence he came, and what was the cause of his making so hideous a noise at the gate, and speaking such insufferable words against the town of Mansoul?

The Lord Will-be-will: his speech to the trumpeter.

The trumpeter answered, 'I am servant to the most noble captain, Captain Boanerges, general of the forces of the great King Shaddai, against whom both thyself, with the whole town of Mansoul, have rebelled, and lift up the heel; and my master, the captain, hath a special mes-

The trumpeter.

[1] To alarm and to persuade are the two principal means by which the devil tempts men; and it is not uncommon among Christians to feel the influence of both on one occasion. Now, as two things so dissimilar are not likely to arise out of the self-same mind, is not this an evidence of the power of some foreign and infernal influence over the human heart? Let us, then, be always awake to a sense of our danger, and put on the whole armour of God.—(Mason.)

[2] 'Faith cometh by hearing;' but, alas! how often, at the instigation of Satan, is the ear shut against the messages of grace. The Christian inquirer's duty is to hear and search all things, and hold fast that which is good.—(Ed.)

[3] The knowledge which Bunyan displays upon all subjects is very surprising. He had an opportunity, when in the army, of hearing about councils of war, at which, in that day, captains may have assisted; but now a captain is not called 'a field-officer.'—(Ed.)

sage to this town, and to thee as a member thereof; the which, if you of Mansoul shall peaceably hear, so;[1] and if not, you must take what follows.'

Then said the Lord Will-be-will, 'I will carry thy words to my lord, and will know what he will say.'[2] But the trumpeter soon replied, saying, 'Our message is not to the giant Diabolus, but to the miserable town of Mansoul. Nor shall we at all regard what answer by him is made, nor yet by any for him. We are sent to this town to recover it from under his cruel tyranny, and to persuade it to submit, as in former times it did, to the most excellent King Shaddai.'

Will-be-will.

The trumpeter.

Then said the Lord Will-be-will, 'I will do your errand to the town.' The trumpeter then replied, 'Sir, do not deceive us, lest in so doing, you deceive yourselves much more.' He added, moreover, 'For we are resolved, if in peaceable manner you do not submit yourselves, then to make a war upon you, and to bring you under by force. And of the truth of what I now say, this shall be a sign unto you: you shall see the black flag, with its hot-burning thunder-bolts, set upon the mount to-morrow, as a token of defiance against your prince, and of our resolutions to reduce you to your Lord and rightful King.'

Will-be-will.

The trumpeter.

So the said Lord Will-be-will returned from off the wall, and the trumpeter came into the camp. When the trumpeter was come into the camp, the captains and officers of the mighty King Shaddai came together to know if he had obtained a hearing, and what was the effect of his errand. So the trumpeter told, saying, 'When I had sounded my trumpet,[3] and had called aloud to the town for a hearing, my Lord Will-be-will, the governor of the town, and he that hath charge of the gates, came up, when he heard me sound, and looking over the wall, he asked me what I was, whence I came, and what was the cause of my making this noise? So I told him my errand, and by whose authority I brought it. Then, said he, I will tell it to the governor and to Mansoul; and then I returned to my Lords.'

The trumpeter returns to the camp.

Then said the brave Boanerges, 'Let us yet for a while lie still in our trenches, and see what these rebels will do.' Now when the time drew nigh that audience by Mansoul must be given to the brave Boanerges and his companions, it was commanded that all the men of war, throughout the whole camp of Shaddai, should as one man stand to their arms, and make themselves ready, if the town of Mansoul shall hear, to receive it forthwith to mercy, but if not, to force a subjection. So the day being come, the trumpeters sounded, and that throughout the whole camp, that the men of war might be in a readiness for that which then should be the work of the day. But when they that were in the town of Mansoul heard the sound of the trumpets throughout the camp of Shaddai, and thinking no other but that it must be in order to storming the corporation, they at first were put to great consternation of spirit; but after they were a little settled again, they also made what preparation they could for a war, if they did storm, else to secure themselves.

Carnal souls make a wrong interpretation of the design of a gospel ministry.

Well, when the utmost time was come, Boanerges was resolved to hear their answer; wherefore he sent out his trumpeter again, to summons Mansoul to a hearing of the message that they had brought from Shaddai. So he went and sounded, and the townsmen came up, but made Eargate as sure as they could. Zec. vii. 11. Now when they were come up to the top of the wall, Captain Boanerges desired to see the Lord Mayor, but my Lord Incredulity was then Lord Mayor, for he came in the room of my Lord Lustings. So Incredulity he came up and showed himself over the wall; but when the Captain Boanerges had set his eyes upon him, he cried out aloud, 'This is not he, where is my Lord Understanding, the ancient Lord Mayor of the town of Mansoul, for to him I would deliver my message?'

Boanerges refuses to make Incredulity a judge of what he had to deliver to the famous town of Mansoul.

Then said the giant—for Diabolus was also come down—to the captain, 'Mr. Captain, you have by your boldness given to Mansoul, at least, four summons to subject herself to your King, by whose authority I know not, nor will I dispute that now; I ask, therefore, what is the reason of all this ado, or what would you be at, if you knew yourselves?'

Boanerges obtains a hearing.

Then Captain Boanerges, whose was the black colours, and whose escutcheon was the three burning thunder-bolts, taking no notice of the giant or of his speech, thus addressed himself to the town of Mansoul: 'Be it known unto you, O unhappy and rebellious Mansoul, that the most gracious King, the great King Shaddai, my master, hath sent me unto you with commission,' and so he showed to the town his broad seal, 'to reduce you to his

His speech.

[1] 'So;' let it be so; let it be in that manner. 'There is Percy; if your father will do me any honour, so; if not, let him kill the next Percy himself.'—Shak.; *Imp. Dic.*—(Ed.)

[2] How wretchedly are poor sinners enslaved to the devil, 'led captive by him at his will,' and not daring to listen to God without his [the devil's] leave.—(Burder.)

[3] The trumpeters are the ministers of the everlasting gospel of peace; they proclaim the glad tidings of salvation through the blood-shedding and finished work of the Son of God.—(Mason.)

obedience. And he hath commanded me, in case you yield upon my summons, to carry it to you as if you were my friends, or brother; but he also hath bid, that if after summons to submit, you still stand out and rebel, we should endeavour to take you by force.'

The speech of Captain Conviction.

Then stood forth Captain Conviction, and said —his was the pale colours, and for an escutcheon, he had the book of the law wide open [from whence issued a flame of fire]—'Hear, O Mansoul! Thou, O Mansoul, wast once famous for innocency, but now thou art degenerated into lies and deceit. Ro. iii. 3, 10–23; xvi. 17, 18. Thou hast heard what my brother the Captain Boanerges hath said; and it is your wisdom, and will be your happiness, to stoop to, and accept of, conditions of peace and mercy when offered; especially when offered by one against whom thou hast rebelled, and one who is of power to tear thee in pieces, for so is Shaddai our King; nor, when he is angry, can anything stand before him. Ps. i. 21, 22. If you say you have not sinned, nor acted rebellion against our King, the whole of your doings, since the day that you cast off his service—and there was the beginning of your sin—will sufficiently testify against you. What else means your hearkening to the tyrant, and your receiving him for your king? What means else your rejecting of the laws of Shaddai, and your obeying of Diabolus? Yea, what means this your taking up of arms against, and the shutting of your gates upon us, the faithful servants of your King? Be ruled then, and accept of my brother's invitation, and overstand not the time of mercy, but agree with thine adversary quickly. Lu. xii. 58, 59. Ah, Mansoul, suffer not thyself to be kept from mercy, and to be run into a thousand miseries, by the flattering wiles of Diabolus. Perhaps that piece of deceit may attempt to make you believe that we seek our own profit in this our service;[1] but know, it is obedience to our King, and love to your happiness, that is the cause of this undertaking of ours.

'Again, I say to thee, O Mansoul, consider if it be not amazing grace that Shaddai should so humble himself as he doth. Now, he by us reasons with you, in a way of entreaty and sweet persuasions, that you would subject yourselves to him. Has he that need of you, that we are sure you have of him? No, no; but he is merciful, and will not that Mansoul should die, but turn to him and live.' 2 Co. v. 18–21.

Then stood forth Captain Judgment, whose was the red colours, and for an escutcheon he had the burning fiery furnace, and he said, 'O ye, the inhabitants of the town of Mansoul, that have lived so long in rebellion and acts of treason against the King Shaddai; know that we come not to-day to this place, in this manner, with our message of our own minds, or to revenge our own quarrel; it is the King, my master, that hath sent us to reduce you to your obedience to him, the which if you refuse in a peaceable way to yield, we have commission to compel you thereto. And never think of yourselves, nor yet suffer the tyrant Diabolus to persuade you to think, that our King, by his power, is not able to bring you down, and to lay you under his feet; for he is the former of all things, and if he touches the mountains, they smoke. Nor will the gate of the King's clemency stand always open; for the day that shall burn like an oven is before him, yea, it hasteth greatly, it slumbereth not. Mal. iv. 1. 2 Pe. iii. 3.

Captain Judgment, his speech to Mansoul.

'O Mansoul! Is it little in thine eyes that our King doth offer thee mercy, and that, after so many provocations? Yea, he still holdeth out his golden sceptre to thee, and will not yet suffer his gate to be shut against thee. Wilt thou provoke him to do it? If so, consider of what I say:—To thee it is opened no more for ever. Job xxxvi. 14. If thou sayest thou shalt not see him, yet judgment is before him; therefore trust thou in him. Yea, "because *there is* wrath, *beware* lest he take thee away with *his* stroke; then a great ransom cannot deliver thee." ver. 18. Will he esteem thy riches? No; not gold, nor all the forces of strength. "He hath prepared his throne for judgment." Ps. ix. 7. For "he will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire." Is. lxvi. 15. Therefore, O Mansoul, take heed, lest after thou hast fulfilled the judgment of the wicked, justice and judgment should take hold of thee.'

Now, while the Captain Judgment was making of this oration to the town of Mansoul, it was observed by some that Diabolus trembled.[2] But he proceeded in his parable, and said, 'O thou woful town of Mansoul! wilt thou not yet set open thy gate to receive us, the deputies of thy King, and those that would rejoice to see thee live? "Can thine heart endure, or can thine hands be strong, in the days that he shall deal" in judgment "with thee?" Eze. xxii. 14. I say, canst thou endure to be forced to drink, as one would drink sweet wine, the sea of wrath that our King has prepared for Diabolus and his angels? Consider betimes, consider.'

[1] Godly ministers cannot be too careful in their conduct to guard against the appearance of preferring the fleece to the flock. The worldling has, alas, continual proofs that many are influenced by their own profit instead of love to immortal souls.—(Ed.)

[2] 'The devils believe and tremble;' so when Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled. Alas! many tremble who never turn.—(Burder.)

Then stood forth the fourth captain, the noble Captain Execution, and said: 'O town of Mansoul! once famous, but now like the fruitless bough; once the delight of the high ones, but now a den for Diabolus: hearken also to me, and to the words that I shall speak to thee in the name of the great Shaddai. Behold "the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire." Mat. iii. 7-10.

The speech of Captain Execution.

'Thou, O town of Mansoul! hath hitherto been this fruitless tree; thou bearest nought but thorns and briars. Thy evil fruit fore-bespeaks thee not to be a good tree. Thy "grapes *are* grapes of gall, thy clusters *are* bitter." De. xxxii. 32. Thou hast rebelled against thy King, and lo! we, the power and force of Shaddai, are the axe that is laid to thy roots. What sayest thou, wilt thou turn? I say again, tell me before the first blow is given, wilt thou turn? Our axe must first be laid *to* thy root, before it be laid *at* thy root; it must first be laid *to* thy root in a way of threatening, before it is laid *at* thy root by way of execution; and between these two is required thy repentance, and this is all the time that thou hast. What wilt thou do? wilt thou turn, or shall I smite? If I fetch my blow, Mansoul, down you go; for I have commission to lay my axe *at*, as well as *to* thy roots, nor will anything but yielding to our King prevent doing of execution. What art thou fit for, O Mansoul, if merey preventeth not, but to be hewn down, and cast into the fire and burned?

'O Mansoul! patience and forbearance do not act for ever; a year or two, or three, they may; but if thou provoke by a three years' rebellion—and thou hast already done more than this—then what follows but cut it down? Nay, "after that thou shalt cut it down." Lu. xiii. 9. And dost thou think that these are but threatenings, or that our King has not power to execute his words? O Mansoul! thou wilt find that in the words of our King, when they are by sinners made little or light of, there is not only threatening, but burning coals of fire. Thou hast been a cumber-ground[1] long already, and wilt thou continue so still? Thy sin has brought this army to thy walls, and shall it bring it in judgment to do execution into thy town? Thou hast heard what the captains have said, but as yet thou shuttest thy gates; speak out, Mansoul, wilt thou do so still, or wilt thou accept of conditions of peace?'[2]

These brave speeches of these four noble captains the town of Mansoul refused to hear, yet a sound thereof did beat against Eargate, though the force thereof could not break it open. In fine, the town desired a time to prepare their answer to these demands. The captains then told them, 'That if they would throw out to them one Illpause, that was in the town, that they might reward him according to his works, then they would give them time to consider; but if they would not cast him to them over the wall of Mansoul, then they would give them none; for,' said they, 'we know that so long as Illpause draws breath in Mansoul, all good consideration will be confounded, and nothing but mischief will come thereon.'

Mansoul desires time to make answer.

Upon what conditions the captains would give them time.

Then Diabolus, who was there present, being loth to lose his Illpause, because he was his orator, (and yet be sure he had, could the captains have laid their fingers on him,) was resolved at this instant to give them answer by himself; but then, changing his mind, he commanded the then Lord Mayor, the Lord Incredulity, to do it, saying, 'My Lord, do you give these runagates an answer; and speak out, that Mansoul may hear, and understand you.'

Diabolus interrupts them, and sets Incredulity to answer them.

So Incredulity, at Diabolus's command, began and said: 'Gentlemen, you have here, as we do behold, to the disturbance of our prince, and the molestation of the town of Mansoul, camped against it: but from whence you come we will not know, and what you are we will not believe. Indeed, you tell us in your terrible speech that you have this authority from Shaddai; but by what right he commands you to do it, of that we shall yet be ignorant. You have also, by the authority aforesaid, summoned this town to desert her lord; and for protection, to yield up herself to the great Shaddai, your King; flatteringly telling her, that if she will do it, he will pass by, and not charge her with her past offences. Further, you have also, to the terror of the town of Mansoul, threatened, with great and sore destructions, to punish this corporation, if she consents not to do as your wills would have her.

His speech.

'Now, captains, from whencesoever you come, and though your designs be never so right, yet know ye, that neither my lord Diabolus, nor I his servant Incredulity, nor yet our brave Mansoul, doth regard either your persons, message, or the King that you say hath sent you: his power, his greatness, his vengeance, we fear not; nor will we yield at all to your summons.

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[1] 'Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?' Lu. xiii. 7. 'A cumber-ground professor is not only a provocation to God, a stumbling-block to the world, and a blemish to religion, but a snare to his own soul also.'—Bunyan's *Barren Fig Tree, Preface.*—(Ed.)

[2] There is much energy in this speech; pungent addresses to the conscience are often blessed of God to the conversion of souls. O sinner! consult not flesh and blood—throw over that old Illpause; nor let procrastination or 'a more convenient season' destroy thy soul.—(Ed.)

'As for the war that you threaten to make upon us, we must therein defend ourselves as well as we can; and know ye, that we are not without wherewithal to bid defiance to you. And, in short, for I will not be tedious, I tell you that we take you to be some vagabond runagate crew, that, having shaken off all obedience to your King, have gotten together in tumultuous manner, and are ranging from place to place to see if, through the flatteries you are skilled to make on the one side, and threats wherewith you think to fright on the other, to make some silly town, city, or country, to desert their place and leave it to you; but Mansoul is none of them. To conclude, we dread you not, we fear you not, nor will we obey your summons: our gates we keep shut upon you, our place we will keep you out of; nor will we long thus suffer you to sit down before us. Our people must live in quiet; your appearance doth disturb them (Lu. xi. 21.); wherefore arise with bag and baggage, and begone, or we will let fly from the walls against you.'[1]

Flesh.

This oration, made by old Incredulity, was seconded by desperate Will-be-will, in words to this effect: 'Gentlemen, we have heard your demands, and the noise of your threats, and have heard the sound of your summons, but we fear not your force; we regard not your threats, but will still abide as you found us. And we command you, that in three days' time you cease to appear in these parts, or you shall know what it is once to dare offer to rouse the lion Diabolus, when asleep in his town of Mansoul.'

The speech of the Lord Will-be-will.

The Recorder, whose name was Forget-good, he also added as followeth: 'Gentlemen, my Lords, as you see, have, with mild and gentle words, answered your rough and angry speeches; they have, moreover, in my hearing, given you leave quietly to depart as you came. Wherefore, take their kindness, and begone. We might have come out with force upon you, and have caused you to feel the dint of our swords; but as we love ease and quiet ourselves, so we love not to hurt or molest others.'[2]

The speech of Forget-good the Recorder.

Then did the town of Mansoul shout for joy; as if, by Diabolus and his crew, some great advantage had been gotten of the captains. They also rang the bells, and made merry, and danced upon the walls. Diabolus also returned to the castle, and the Lord Mayor and Recorder to their place; but the Lord Will-be-will took special care that the gates should be secured with double guards, double bolts, and double locks and bars. And that Eargate especially might the better be looked to—for that was the gate in at which the King's forces sought most to enter—the Lord Will-be-will made one old Mr. Prejudice, an angry and ill-conditioned fellow, captain of the ward at that gate, and put under his power sixty men, called Deafmen;[3] men advantageous for that service, forasmuch as they mattered no words of the captains, nor of their soldiers.[4]

The town resolved to withstand the captains.

The band of deaf men set to keep Eargate.

[CHAPTER V.]

[CONTENTS:—The captains resolve to give them battle—The town resolutely resists, and the captains retire to winter quarters—Tradition, Human-wisdom, and Man's-invention enlist under Boanerges, but are taken prisoners, and carried to Diabolus; they are admitted soldiers for him, under Captain Anything—Hostilities are renewed, and the town much molested—A famine and mutiny in Mansoul—The town sounds a parley—Propositions made and rejected—Understanding and Conscience quarrel with Incredulity—A skirmish ensues, and mischief is done on both sides.]

Now, when the captains saw the answer of the great ones, and that they could not get a hearing from the old natives of the town, and that Mansoul was resolved to give the King's army battle, they prepared themselves to receive them, and to try it out by the power of the arm. And first, they made their force more formidable against Eargate; for they knew that unless they could penetrate that, no good could be done upon the town. This done, they put the rest of their men in their places; after which they gave out the word, which was, 'YE MUST BE BORN AGAIN.'[5] Then they sounded the trumpet; then they in the town made them answer, with shout against shout, charge against charge, and so the battle began. Now they in the town had planted upon the tower over Eargate, two great guns, the one called Highmind, and the other Heady. Unto these two guns they trusted

The captains resolved to give them battle.

The battle begun.

Two guns planted upon Eargate.

[1] Thus reasons the flesh—We *will* not know; we *will* not believe; we *will* not submit; we must not be disturbed; therefore begone ye faithful teachers, or we will persecute you.—(Burder.)

[2] If the Holy Spirit would let sinners sleep on, all mankind would lie in carnal security until plunged into destruction and perdition. 'Go into the highways and compel them to come in,' is the command of Divine mercy and irresistible grace.—(ED.)

[3] How admirably is that great enemy 'Prejudice' pictured; old, angry, ill-conditioned, with Deafness under his command.—(ED.)

[4] How often do poor mistaken sinners rejoice in their sins and misery—glorying in their shame. Small cause for joy have they who reject the counsel of God against themselves. Miserable is the state of that man whose ears are shut against the gospel of salvation; who is deaf to all the calls of God.—(Burder.)

[5] As our Lord began with Nicodemus, so it behoves his followers to commence with sinners. How startling the cry, Ye must be born again, or perish everlastingly. 'If thou hast anything less than regeneration, believe me, thou canst never see heaven. There is no hope of heaven till then, till thou art born again.'—(Archbishop Usher's Sermons.)—(ED.)

much; they were cast in the castle by Diabolus's founder, whose name was Mr. Puffup; and mischievous pieces they were.[1] But so vigilant and watchful, when the captains saw them, were they, that though sometimes their shot would go by their ears with a whiz, yet they did them no harm. By these two guns the towns-folk made no question but greatly to annoy the camp of Shaddai, and well enough to secure the gate, but they had not much cause to boast of what execution they did, as by what follows will be gathered.

The famous Mansoul had also some other small pieces in it, of the which they made use against the camp of Shaddai.

They from the camp also did as stoutly, and with as much of that as may in truth be called valour, let fly as fast at the town and at Eargate: for they saw that unless they could break open Eargate, it would be but in vain to batter the wall. Now the King's captains had brought with them several slings, and two or three battering-rams; with their slings, therefore, they battered the houses and people of the town, and with their rams they sought to break Eargate open.

The sentence and power of the Word.

The camp and the town had several skirmishes, and brisk encounters, while the captains, with their engines, made many brave attempts to break open, or beat down, the tower that was over Eargate, and at the said gate to make their entrance. But Mansoul stood it out so lustily, through the rage of Diabolus, the valour of the Lord Will-be-will, and the conduct of old Incredulity, the Mayor, and Mr. Forget-good, the Recorder, that the charge and expense of that summer's wars, on the King's side, seemed to be almost quite lost, and the advantage to return to Mansoul. But when the captains saw how it was, they made a fair retreat, and intrenched themselves in their winter quarters. Now in this war, you must needs think there was much loss on both sides, of which be pleased to accept of this brief account following:—[2]

The town stoutly stands out, and the captains return to their winter quarters.

The King's captains, when they marched from the court to come up against Mansoul to war, as they came crossing over the country, they happened to light upon three young fellows that had a mind to go for soldiers; proper men they were, and men of courage and skill, to appearance. Their names were Mr. Tradition, Mr. Human-wisdom, and Mr. Man's-invention. So they came up to the captains, and proffered their services to Shaddai. The captains then told them of their design, and bid them not to be rash in their offers; but the young men told them they had considered the thing before, and that hearing they were upon their march for such a design, came hither on purpose to meet them, that they might be listed under their excellencies. Then Captain Boanerges, for that they were men of courage, listed them into his company, and so away they went to the war.

An account of this war, with reference to the loss on both sides.

Three new soldiers.

Now when the war was begun, in one of the briskest skirmishes, so it was, that a company of the Lord Will-be-will's men sallied out at the sally-port, or postern of the town, and fell in upon the rear of Captain Boanerges's men, where these three fellows happened to be, so they took them prisoners, and away they carried them into the town; where they had not lain long in durance, but it began to be noised about the streets of the town what three notable prisoners the Lord Will-be-will's men had taken, and brought in prisoners out of the camp of Shaddai. At length tidings thereof were carried to Diabolus to the castle, to wit, what my Lord Will-be-will's men had done, and whom they had taken prisoners.

They are taken prisoners.

Then Diabolus called for Will-be-will, to know the certainty of this matter. So he asked him, and he told him; then did the giant send for the prisoners, who, when they were come, demanded of them who they were, whence they came, and what they did in the camp of Shaddai; and they told him. Then he sent them to ward again. Not many days after, he sent for them to him again, and then asked them if they would be willing to serve him against their former captains. They then told him that they did not so much live by religion, as by the fates of fortune; and that since his lordship was willing to entertain them, they should be willing to serve him. Now while things were thus in hand, there was one Captain Anything, a great doer in the town of Mansoul, and to this Captain Anything did Diabolus send these men, with a note under his hand to receive them into his company; the contents of which letter were thus:—

They are brought before Diabolus, and are content to fight under his banner.

Anything.

He therefore sends them to Anything, with a letter.

'Anything, my darling, the three men that are the bearers of this letter have a desire to serve me in the war, nor know I better to whose conduct to commit them than to thine; receive them, therefore, in my name, and, as need shall require, make

[1] Pride and vain conceit puff up multitudes in every class of society. My soul, art thou thus puffed up, or hast thou fallen into the arms of Divine mercy? Almighty grace can bring the mountain low, and exalt the valley. A learned persecuting Saul may become a chosen vessel.—(Ed.)

[2] The opposition of a raging devil and inbred lusts would lead the most able ministers to despair of success, but for the promise, 'I am with you always,' and 'All that the Father giveth me SHALL come to me.'—(Mason.)

use of them against Shaddai and his men. Fare-well.' So they came, and he received them; and he made of two of them serjeants, but he made Mr. Man's-invention his armour-bearer. But thus much for this, and now to return to the camp.[1]

Anything receives them into his service.

They of the camp did also some execution upon the town, for they did beat down the roof of the old Lord Mayor's house, and so laid him more open than he was before. They had almost, with a sling, slain my Lord Will-be-will outright; but he made a shift to recover again. But they made a notable slaughter among the aldermen, for with one only shot they cut off six of them; to wit, Mr. Swearing, Mr. Whoring, Mr. Fury, Mr. Stand-to-lies, Mr. Drunkenness, and Mr. Cheating.[2]

The roof of old Incredulity's house beat down.

Six aldermen slain.

They also dismounted the two guns that stood upon the tower over Eargate, and laid them flat in the dirt.[3] I told you before, that the King's noble captains had drawn off to their winter quarters, and had there intrenched themselves and their carriages, so as with the best advantage to their King, and the greatest annoyance to the enemy, they might give seasonable and warm alarms to the town of Mansoul. And this design of them did so hit, that, I may say, they did almost what they would to the molestation of the corporation.

The two great guns dismounted.

For now could not Mansoul sleep securely as before, nor could they now go to their debaucheries with that quietness as in times past. For they had from the camp of Shaddai such frequent, warm, and terrifying alarms; yea, alarms upon alarms, first at one gate, and then at another, and again at all the gates at once, that they were broken as to former peace. Yea, they had their alarms so frequently, and that when the nights[4] were at longest, the weather coldest, and so consequently the season most unseasonable; that that winter was to the town of Mansoul a winter by itself. Sometimes the trumpets would sound, and sometimes the slings would whirl the stones into the town. Sometimes ten thousand of the King's soldiers would be running round the walls of Mansoul at midnight, shouting, and lifting up the voice for the battle. Sometimes, again, some of them in the town would be wounded, and their cry and lamentable voice would be heard, to the great molestation of the now languishing town of Mansoul. Yea, so distressed with those that laid siege against them were they, that, I dare say, Diabolus their king had, in these days, his rest much broken.

Continual alarms given to Mansoul.

The effects of convictions, though common, unabiding.

The town much molested.

In these days, as I was informed, new thoughts, and thoughts that began to run counter one to another, began to possess the minds of the men of the town of Mansoul. Some would say, 'There is no living thus;' others would then reply, 'This will be over shortly.' Then would a third stand up and answer, 'Let us turn to the King Shaddai, and so put an end to these troubles.' And a fourth would come in with a fear, saying, 'I doubt he will not receive us.'[5] The old gentleman too, the Recorder, that was so before Diabolus took Mansoul, he also began to talk aloud; and his words were now to the town of Mansoul as if they were great claps of thunder. No noise now so terrible to Mansoul as was his, with the noise of the soldiers, and shoutings of the captains.

Change of thoughts in Mansoul.

Conscience speaks.

Also, things began to grow scarce in Mansoul; now the things that her soul lusted after were departing from her. Upon all her pleasant things there was a blast, and burning instead of beauty. Wrinkles now, and some shows of the shadow of death, were upon the inhabitants of Mansoul.[6] And now, O how glad would Mansoul have been to have enjoyed quietness and satisfaction of mind, though joined with the meanest condition in the world![7]

A famine in Mansoul.

The captains also, in the deep of this winter, did send, by the mouth of Boanerges's trumpeter, a summons to Mansoul to yield up herself to the King, the great King Shaddai. They said it once, and twice, and thrice; not knowing but that at sometimes there might be in Mansoul some willingness to surrender up themselves unto them, might they but have

They are summoned again to yield.

[1] Tradition, Human Wisdom, and Man's Invention have too often been enlisted into the service of religion, but they are in their element when engaged on the contrary side. Let Diabolus and his Captain Anything have them, and welcome; the gospel of Jesus needs no such services.—(Burder.)

[2] It is curious to note the order in which open profanity hides its ugly heads under the powerful alarms of conscience. Outward reformation gives up very gross sins, but change of heart abhors them all.—(Ed.)

[3] Called 'Highmind and Heady,' founded by Mr. Puffup. —(Ed.)

[4] Under awful convictions of sin, Bunyan suffered alarms in the night.—See *Grace Abounding*, No. 139.—(Ed.)

[5] Six aldermen, or great vices, slain; Heady and Highmind dismounted, or pride laid in the dirt; conscience within and a faithful ministry without, shaking Mansoul with terror upon terror. How plainly is all this exhibited in Bunyan's startling experience, published in *Grace Abounding*. Poor soul, mercy will prevail over all thy stubbornness.—(Ed.)

[6] A famine in Mansoul; the pleasures of sin fail; the prodigal would be glad of the meanest service in his father's house; the dreary winter of affliction succeeds the summer of gaicty; the messages of mercy are renewed, but unbelief yet prevails. —(Ed.)

[7] 'Now was I both a burden and a terror to myself, weary of life, afraid to die; gladly would I have been anything but a man.' 'I counted the state of a dog and toad far better than mine.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 104 and 149. Painful and most distressing were the feelings of Bunyan, but it was 'the bitter before the sweet, to make the sweet the sweeter.'—(Ed.)

the colour of an invitation to do it under. Yea, so far as I could gather, the town had been surrendered up to them before now, had it not been for the opposition of old Incredulity, and the fickleness of the thoughts of my Lord Will-be-will. Diabolus also began to rave, wherefore Mansoul, as to yielding, was not yet all of one mind, therefore, they still lay distressed under these perplexing fears.[1]

Mansoul in distress.

I told you but now that they of the King's army had this winter sent three times to Mansoul, to submit herself.

First. The first time the trumpeter went, he went with words of peace, telling of them, 'That the captains, the noble captains of Shaddai, did pity and bewail the misery of the now perishing town of Mansoul; and was troubled to see them so much to stand in the way of their own deliverance.' He said, moreover, 'That the captains bid him tell them, that if now poor Mansoul would humble herself, and turn, her former rebellions and most notorious treasons should, by their merciful King, be forgiven them, yea, and forgotten too.' And having bid them 'beware that they stood not in their own way, that they opposed not themselves, nor made themselves their own losers,' he returned again into the camp.

The contents of the first summons.

Second. The second time the trumpeter went, he did treat them a little more roughly. For after sound of trumpet, he told them, 'That their continuing in their rebellion did but chafe and heat the spirit of the captains, and that they were resolved to make a conquest of Mansoul, or to lay their bones before the town walls.'

The contents of the second summons.

Third. He went again the third time, and dealt with them yet more roughly; telling of them, 'That now, since they had been so horribly profane, he did not know—not certainly know—whether the captains were inclined to mercy or judgment; only,' said he, 'they commanded me to give you a summons to open the gates unto them.' So he returned, and went into the camp.

The contents of the third summons.

These three summons, and especially the two last, did so distress the town, that they presently called a consultation; the result of which was this, that my Lord Will-be-will should go up to Eargate, and there, with sound of trumpet, call to the captains of the camp for a parley. Well, the Lord Will-be-will sounded upon the wall, so the captains came up in their harness,[2] with their ten thousands at their feet. The townsmen then told the captains that they had heard and considered their summons, and would come to an agreement with them, and with their King Shaddai, upon such certain terms, articles, and propositions as, with and by the order of their Prince, they to them were appointed to propound—to wit, they would agree upon these grounds to be one people with them.

The town sounds for a parley.

They propound conditions of agreement.

'1. If that those of their own company, as the now Lord Mayor, and their Mr. Forget-good, with their brave Lord Will-be-will, might, under Shaddai, be still the governors of the town, castle, and gates of Mansoul. 2. Provided that no man that now serveth under their great giant Diabolus, be by Shaddai cast out of house, harbour, or the freedom that he hath hitherto enjoyed in the famous town of Mansoul. 3. That it shall be granted them, that they of the town of Mansoul shall enjoy certain of their rights and privileges—to wit, such as have formerly been granted them; and that they have long lived in the enjoyment of, under the reign of their king Diabolus, that now is, and long has been, their only lord, and great defender. 4. That no new law, officer, or executioner of law or office, shall have any power over them, without their own choice and consent.

Proposition the first.

Proposition the second.

Proposition the third.

Proposition the fourth.

'These be our propositions or conditions of peace; and upon these terms,' said they, 'we will submit to your King.'[3]

But when the captains had heard this weak and feeble offer of the town of Mansoul, and their high and bold demands, they made to them again, by their noble captain, the Captain Boanerges, this speech following:—

'O ye inhabitants of the town of Mansoul, when I heard your trumpet sound for a parley with us, I can truly say I was glad; but when you said you were willing to submit yourselves to our King and Lord, then I was yet more glad. But when by your silly provisoes, and foolish cavils, you lay the stumbling-block of your iniquity before your own faces, then was my gladness turned into sorrows, and my hopeful beginnings of your return into languishing, fainting fears.

Boanerges, his answer.

'I count that old Illpause, the ancient enemy of Mansoul, did draw up those proposals that now you present us with as terms of an agreement, but they deserve not to be admitted to sound in the ear of any man that pretends to have service for Shaddai. We do, therefore, jointly, and that

[1] 'O the unthought of imaginations, frights, fears, and terrors, that are effected by a thorough application of guilt, yielding to desperation.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 186.—(Ed.)

[2] Harness, warlike equipments, and accoutrements.—(Ed.)

[3] Sinners, when alarmed by the fears of hell, are willing to become religious *externally*, provided they may retain their lordly lusts: they are ready to assume the form of godliness, but dislike its power.—(Burder.)

with the highest disdain, refuse and reject such things as the greatest of iniquities.[1] 2 Ti. ii. 19.

'But, O Mansoul! If you will give yourselves into our hands, or rather into the hands of our King; and will trust him to make such terms with, and for you, as shall seem good in his eyes—and I dare say they shall be such as you shall find to be most profitable to you—then we will receive you, and be at peace with you. But if you like not to trust yourselves in the arms of Shaddai our King, then things are but where they were before, and we know also what we have to do.'

Then cried out old Incredulity, the Lord Mayor, and said, 'And who, being out of the hands of their enemies, as you see we are now, will be so foolish as to put the staff out of their own hands, into the hand of they know not who? I, for my part, will never yield to so unlimited a proposition. Do we know the manner and temper of their King? It is said by some, that he will be angry with his subjects if but the breadth of a hair they chance to step out of the way; and of others, that he requireth of them much more than they can perform. Wherefore it seems, O Mansoul, to be thy wisdom, to take good heed what thou dost in this matter; for if you once yield, you give up yourselves to another, and so you are no more your own! Wherefore to give up yourselves to an unlimited power, is the greatest folly in the world. For now you indeed may repent; but can never justly complain. But do you indeed know, when you are his, which of you he will kill, and which of you he will save alive; or whether he will not cut off every one of us, and send out of his own country, another new people, and cause them to inhabit this town?'[2]

Old Incredulity's reply.

Unbelief never is profitable in talk, but always speaks mischievously.

This speech of the Lord Mayor undid all, and threw flat to the ground their hopes of an accord. Wherefore the captains returned to their trenches, to their tents, and to their men, as they were; and the Mayor to the castle, and to his king.

This speech undid all, but it did please the devil.

Now Diabolus had waited for his return, for he had heard that they had been at their points. So when he was come into the chamber of state, Diabolus saluted him with 'Welcome, my lord, how went matters betwixt you to day?' So the Lord Incredulity, with a low *congé*,[3] told him the whole of the matter, saying, Thus and thus said the Captains of Shaddai, and thus and thus said I. The which when it was told to Diabolus, he was very glad to hear it, and said, 'My Lord Mayor, my faithful Incredulity, I have proved thy fidelity above ten times already, but never yet found thee false. I do promise thee, if we rub over this brunt, to prefer thee to a place of honour, a place far better than to be Lord Mayor of Mansoul. I will maké thee my Universal Deputy, and thou shalt, next to me, have all nations under thy hand; yea, and thou shalt lay bands upon them that they may not resist thee, nor shall any of our vassals walk more at liberty, but those that shall be content to walk in thy fetters.'

Now came the Lord Mayor out from Diabolus, as if he had obtained a favour indeed; wherefore to his habitation he goes in great state, and thinks to feed himself well enough with hopes, until the time came that his greatness should be enlarged.

But now, though the Lord Mayor and Diabolus did thus well agree, yet this repulse to the brave captains put Mansoul into a mutiny. For while old Incredulity went into the castle to congratulate his lord with what had passed, the old Lord Mayor that was so before Diabolus came to the town, to wit, my Lord Understanding, and the old Recorder Mr. Conscience, getting intelligence of what had passed at Eargate, for you must know that they might not be suffered to be at that debate, lest they should then have mutinied for the captains. But, I say, they got intelligence what had passed there, and were much concerned therewith, wherefore, they, getting some of the town together, began to possess them with the reasonableness of the noble captains' demands, and with the bad consequences that would follow upon the speech of old Incredulity, the Lord Mayor—to wit, how little reverence he showed therein, either to the captains, or to their King; also, how he implicitly charged them with unfaithfulness, and treachery: for what less, quoth he, could be made of his words, when he said he would not yield to their proposition, and added, moreover, a supposition that he would destroy us when before he had sent us word that he would show us mercy.[4] The multitude being now possessed with the conviction of the evil that old Incredulity had done, began to run together by companies in all places, and in every corner of the

The understanding and conscience begin to receive conviction; and they set the soul in a hubbub.

A mutiny in Mansoul.

[1] In the uproar which soon after followed, upon Lord Understanding's speech, we find a plain declaration of the third of these terms of peace; it was, that Mansoul should still live in all lewdness and vanity. This occasioned Boanerges, with the highest disdain, to give his decided refusal, referring to 2 Ti. ii. 19.—(Ed.)

[2] Unbelief ever suggests hard thoughts of God, and represents his service as an intolerable burden. This is hateful to God, but pleaseth the devil.—(Burder.)

[3] 'A low *congé*,' a low flattering servile salutation or bow; thus, in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, when Byeends meets Hold-the-world and Moneylove, he made them a very low *congé*, and they also gave him a compliment.'—(Ed.)

[4] Unbelief slanders the gospel, as though it proclaimed nothing but wrath, whereas, while it denounces destruction to the obstinately rebellious, it proclaims free, sovereign, boundless mercy and everlasting love, through Jesus Christ, to sensible returning sinners.—(Mason.)

streets of Mansoul; and first they began to mutter, then to talk openly, and after that they run to and fro, and cried as they run, 'O the brave captains of Shaddai! Would we were under the government of the captains, and of Shaddai their King.'[1] When the Lord Mayor had intelligence that Mansoul was in an uproar, down he comes to appease the people, and thought to have quashed their heat with the bigness and the show of his countenance. But when they saw him, they came running upon him, and had doubtless done him a mischief, had he not betaken himself to house. However, they strongly assaulted the house where he was, to have pulled it down about his ears; but the place was too strong, so they failed of that. So he taking some courage addressed himself, out at a window, to the people in this manner:—

'Gentlemen, what is the reason that there is here such an uproar to day?'

UND. Then answered my Lord Understanding:

Incredulity seeks to quiet the people. My Lord Understanding answers him.

'It is even because that thou and thy master have carried it not rightly, and as you should, to the captains of Shaddai; for in three things you are faulty:—First, In that you would not let Mr. Conscience and myself be at the hearing of your discourse. Secondly, In that you propounded such terms of peace, to the captains, that by no means could be granted, unless they had intended that their Shaddai should have been only a titular prince, and that Mansoul should still have had power by law, to have lived in all lewdness and vanity before him, and so by consequence Diabolus should still here be king in power, and the other only King in name. Thirdly, For that thou didst thyself, after the captains had showed us upon what conditions they would have received us to mercy, even undo all again with thy unsavoury, and unseasonable, and ungodly speech.'

INCRED. When old Incredulity had heard this

Sin and the soul at odds.

speech, he cried out, 'Treason, treason: To your arms, to your arms, O ye, the trusty friends of Diabolus in Mansoul.'[2]

UND. 'Sir, you may put upon my words what meaning you please, but I am sure that the captains of such a high Lord as theirs is, deserves a better treatment at your hands.'

INCRED. Then said old Incredulity, 'This is but

They chide on both sides.

little better. But Sir,' quoth he, 'what I spake, I spake for my prince, for his government, and the quieting of the people, whom by your unlawful actions you have this day set to mutiny against us.'

CONS. Then replied the old Recorder, whose name was Mr. Conscience, and said, 'Sir, you ought not thus to retort upon what my Lord Understanding hath said. It is evident enough that he hath spoken the truth, and that you are an enemy to Mansoul; be convinced, then, of the evil of your saucy and malapert language, and of the grief that you have put the captains to; yea, and of the damages that you have done to Mansoul thereby. Had you accepted of the conditions, the sound of the trumpet and the alarm of war had now ceased about the town of Mansoul; but that dreadful sound abides, and your want of wisdom in your speech has been the cause of it.'

INCRED. Then said old Incredulity: 'Sir, If I live I will do your errand to Diabolus, and there you shall have an answer to your words. Meanwhile we will seek the good of the town, and not ask council of you.'

UND. 'Sir, your prince and you are both foreigners to Mansoul, and not the natives thereof. And who can tell but that when you have brought us into greater straits, when you also shall see that yourselves can be safe by no other means than by flight, you may leave us and shift for yourselves, or set us on fire, and go away in the smoke, or by the light of our burning, and so leave us in our ruins.'

INCRED. 'Sir, you forget that you are under a governor, and that you ought to demean yourself like a subject,[3] and know ye, when my Lord the King shall hear of this day's work, he will give you but little thanks for your labour.'

Now while these gentlemen were thus in their chiding words, down come, from the walls and gates of the town, the Lord Will-be-will, Mr. Prejudice, Old Illpause, and several of the new-made aldermen and burgesses, and they asked the reason of the hubbub and tumult. And with that every man began to tell his own tale, so that nothing could be heard distinctly. Then was a silence commanded, and the old fox Incredulity began to speak. 'My Lord,' quoth he, 'here are a couple of peevish gentlemen, that have, as a fruit of their bad dispositions, and, as I fear, through the advice of one Mr. Discontent, tumultuously gathered this company against me this day; and also attempted to run the town into acts of rebellion against our prince.'

Men of arms come down.

[1] See *Grace Abounding*, No. 46. 'I was never out of the Bible, either by reading or meditation, still crying out to God, that I might know the truth, and way to heaven and glory.'—(ED.)

[2] This is a blessed mutiny; unbelief is opposed and the hope of pardoning mercy cherished, then as the margin says, 'Sin and the soul are at odds.'—(Burder.)

[3] This is the true langnage of antichrist to this day; when governors or laws infringe upon the rights of conscience in matters of the soul's health, and salvation; it is the Christian's duty to resist such wicked statutes. The answer is, 'It is the law, and whether right or wrong, if it even lead your souls to perdition, you must obey; "demean yourself like a *subject*."'—(ED.)

Then stood up all the Diabolonians that were present, and affirmed these things to be true.

A great confusion.

Now when they that took part with my Lord Understanding, and with Mr. Conscience, perceived that they were like to come to the worst, for that force and power was on the other side, they came in for their help and relief. So a great company was on both sides.[1] Then they on Incredulity's side would have had the two old gentlemen presently away to prison; but they on the other side said they should not. Then they began to cry up parties again; the Diabolonians cried up old Incredulity, Forget-good, the new aldermen, and their great one Diabolus; and the other party, they as fast cried up Shaddai, the captains, his laws, their mercifulness, and applauded their conditions and ways. Thus the bickerment went a while, at last they passed from words to blows, and now there were knocks on both sides. The good old gentleman, Mr. Conscience, was knocked down twice by one of the Diabolonians, whose name was Mr. Benumming. And my Lord Understanding had like to have been slain with a harquebus, but that he that shot wanted to take his aim aright. Nor did the other side wholly escape, for there was one Mr. Rashhead, a Diabolonian, that had his brains beaten out by Mr. Mind, the Lord Will-be-will's servant; and it made me laugh to see how old Mr. Prejudice was kicked and tumbled about in the dirt. For though a while since he was made captain of a company of the Diabolonians, to the hurt and damage of the town; yet now they had got him under their feet; and I will assure you he had by some of the Lord Understanding's party his crown soundly cracked to boot. Mr. Anything also, he became a brisk man in the broil, but both sides were against him, because he was true to none. Yet he had for his malapertness one of his legs broken, and he that did it wished it had been his neck. Much harm more was done on both sides, but this must not be forgotten, it was now a wonder to see my Lord Will-be-will so indifferent as he was; he did not seem to take one side more than another, only it was perceived that he smiled to see how old Prejudice was tumbled up and down in the dirt. Also when Captain Anything came halting up before him, he seemed to take but little notice of him.[2]

They fall from words to blows.

A hot skirmish.

Harm done on both sides.

[Chapter VI.]

[Contents:—Lord Understanding and Mr. Conscience imprisoned as authors of the disturbance—A conference of the besieging officers, who agree to petition Shaddai for further assistance—The petition approved at court—Emmanuel, the King's son, is appointed to conquer the town—Marches with a great army and surrounds Mansoul, which is strongly fortified against him.]

Now when the uproar was over, Diabolus sends for my Lord Understanding, and Mr. Conscience, and claps them both up in prison, as the ring-leaders and managers of this most heavy riotous rout in Mansoul. So now the town began to be quiet again, and the prisoners were used hardly; yea, he thought to have made them away, but that the present juncture did not serve for that purpose, for that war was in all their gates.[3] But let us return again to our story. The captains, when they were gone back from the gate, and were come into the camp again, called a council of war, to consult what was further for them to do. Now some said, Let us go up presently and fall upon the town, but the greatest part thought rather better it would be to give them another summons to yield; and the reason why they thought this to be best was, because, that so far as could be perceived, the town of Mansoul now was more inclinable than heretofore. And if, said they, while some of them are in a way of inclination, we should by ruggedness give them distaste, we may set them further from closing with our summons, than we would be willing they should.[4]

The two old gentlemen put in prison, as the authors of this revel rout.

The captains call a council and consult what to do.

Wherefore to this advice they agreed, and called a trumpeter, put words into his mouth, set him his time, and bid him God speed. Well, many hours were not expired before the trumpeter addressed himself to his journey. Wherefore, coming up to the wall of the town, he steereth his course to Eargate, and there sounded, as he was commanded. They, then, that were within came out to see what was the matter, and the trumpeter made them this speech following:—

The result is, they send another trumpeter to summon the town to yield.

'O hard-hearted, and deplorable town of Mansoul, how long wilt thou love thy sinful, sinful simplicity, and ye fools delight in your scorning? As yet despise you the offers of peace, and deliverance? As yet will ye

The summons itself.

[1] See this solemn inward struggle faithfully narrated in *Grace Abounding*, No. 86.

[2] No small advantage is gained when sinful *rashness* is destroyed, *prejudice* thrown down into the dirt, and *indifference* about religion is discarded; while the will, that before was wholly on the part of Satan, begins rather to take the other side.—(Burder.)

[3] The efforts of an enlightened understanding and a renewed conscience are offensive to Satan, as threatening to subvert his authority in the soul, and he would kill them if he could, but where the good work of grace is begun, they cannot be destroyed.—(Burder.)

[4] Ministers should deal gently with awakened sinners. Their great Master 'will not break the bruised reed,' nor should they. Roughness discourages—gentleness attracts.—(Burder.)

refuse the golden offers of Shaddai, and trust to the lies and falsehoods of Diabolus? Think you when Shaddai should have conquered you, that the remembrance of these your carriages towards him, will yield you peace and comfort: or that, by ruffling language, you can make him afraid as a grasshopper? Doth he entreat you, for fear of you? Do you think that you are stronger than he? Look to the heavens, and behold, and consider the stars, how high are they? Can you stop the sun from running his course, and hinder the moon from giving her light? Can you count the number of the stars, or stay the bottles of heaven? Can you call for the waters of the sea, and cause them to cover the face of the ground? Can you behold every one that is proud, and abase him, and bind their faces in secret?[1] Yet these are some of the works of our King, in whose name, this day, we come up unto you, that you may be brought under his authority. In his name, therefore, I summon you again, to yield up yourselves to his captains.'

At this summons the Mansoulians seemed to be at a stand, and knew not what answer to make; wherefore Diabolus forthwith appeared, and took upon him to do it himself, and thus he begins, but turns his speech to them of Mansoul:—

The town at a stand.

'Gentlemen,' quoth he, 'and my faithful subjects, if it is true that this summoner hath said concerning the greatness of their King, by his terror you will always be kept in bondage, and so be made to sneak. Yea, how can you now, though he is at a distance, endure to think of such a mighty one? And if not to think of him, while at a distance, how can you endure to be in his presence? I, your prince, am familiar with you, and you may play with me as you would with a grasshopper. Consider, therefore, what is for your profit, and remember the immunities that I have granted you. Farther, if all be true that this man hath said, how comes it to pass that the subjects of Shaddai are so enslaved in all places where they come? None in the universe so unhappy as they, none so trampled upon as they.[2] Consider, my Mansoul. Would thou wert as loth to leave me, as I am loth to leave thee! But consider, I say, the ball is yet at thy foot; liberty you have, if you know how to use it; yea, a king you have too, if you can tell how to love and obey him.'

Diabolus makes a speech to the town; and endeavours to terrify it with the greatness of God.

Upon this speech, the town of Mansoul did again harden their hearts yet more against the captains of Shaddai. The thoughts of his greatness did quite quash them, and the thoughts of his holiness sunk them in despair.[3] Wherefore, after a short consultation, they, of the Diabolonian party they were, sent back this word by the trumpeter, 'That, for their parts, they were resolved to stick to their king; but never to yield to Shaddai.' So it was but in vain to give them any further summons, for they had rather die upon the place than yield. And now things seemed to be gone quite back, and Mansoul to be out of reach or call; yet the captains, who knew what their Lord could do, would not yet be beat out of heart. They therefore send them another summons, more sharp and severe than the last; but the oftener they were sent to, to be reconciled to Shaddai, the further off they were. '*As* they called them, so they went from them:' yea, 'though they called them to the most High.' Ho. xi. 2, 7.

He drives Mansoul into despair.

Mansoul grows worse and worse.

So they ceased that way to deal with them any more, and inclined to think of another way. The captains, therefore, did gather themselves together, to have free conference among themselves, to know what was yet to be done to gain the town, and to deliver it from the tyranny of Diabolus. And one said after this manner, and another after that. Then stood up the right noble, the Captain Conviction, and said, 'My brethren, mine opinion is this:—

The captains leave off to summons, and betake themselves to prayer.

'*First.* That we continually play our slings into the town, and keep it in a continual alarm, molesting of them day and night; by thus doing we shall stop the growth of their rampant spirit. For a lion may be tamed by continual molestations.[4]

'*Second.* This done, I advise that, in the next place, we, with one consent, draw up a petition to our Lord Shaddai; by which, after we have showed our King the condition of Mansoul, and of affairs here, and have begged his pardon for our no better success, we will earnestly implore his Majesty's help, and that he will please to send us more force and power; and some gallant and well-spoken commander to head them; that so his Majesty may not lose the benefit of these his good beginnings, but may complete his conquest upon the town of Mansoul.'[5]

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[1] Most of this language is from the book of Job.—(Ed.)

[2] This old slander of the father of lies was well answered by the poor boy, while sweeping a chimney, who sung—

'The sorrow of the mind,
Be banish'd from this place,
Religion never was designed,
To make our pleasures less.'

[3] This is exemplified in Bunyan's experience. 'By the strong and unusual assaults of the tempter was my soul like a broken vessel, driven as with the wind, and tossed sometimes headlong into despair.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 185.—(Ed.)

[4] This is exemplified in *Grace Abounding*, No. 139 and 140. —(Ed.)

[5] Paul may plant and Apollos water, but God alone can give the increase. To him, therefore, they wisely apply for further assistance.—(Burder.)

To this speech of the noble Captain Conviction, they, as one man, consented; and agreed that a petition should forthwith be drawn up, and sent by a fit man, away to Shaddai with speed. The contents of the petition were thus:—

'Most gracious and glorious King, the Lord of the best world, and the builder of the town of Mansoul: We have, dread Sovereign, at thy commandment, put our lives in jeopardy, and at thy bidding made a war upon the famous town of Mansoul. When we went up against it, we did, according to our commission, first offer conditions of peace unto it. But they, great King, set light by our counsel, and would none of our reproof. Mat. xxii. 5. Pr. i. 25–30. Zec. x. 11, 12. They were for shutting of their gates, and for keeping us out of the town. They also mounted their guns, they sallied out upon us, and have done us what damage they could; but we pursued them, with alarm upon alarm, requiting of them with such retribution as was meet, and have done some execution upon the town. Diabolus, Incredulity, and Will-be-will are the great doers against us; now we are in our winter quarters, but so as that we do yet with an high hand molest and distress the town. Once, as we think, had we had but one substantial friend in the town, such as would but have seconded the sound of our summons as they ought, the people might have yielded themselves. But there were none but enemies there, nor any to speak in behalf of our Lord to the town; wherefore, though we have done as we could, yet Mansoul abides in a state of rebellion against thee.[1] Now, King of kings, let it please thee to pardon the unsuccessfulness of thy servants, who have been no more advantageous in so desirable a work as the conquering of Mansoul is; and send, Lord, as we now desire, more forces to Mansoul, that it may be subdued; and a man to head them, that the town may both love and fear. We do not thus speak because we are willing to relinquish the wars—for we are for laying of our bones against the place—but that the town of Mansoul may be won for thy Majesty. We also pray thy Majesty for expedition in this matter, that, after their conquest, we may be at liberty to be sent about other thy gracious designs. Amen.'

The petition thus drawn up was sent away with haste to the King, by the hand of that good man, Mr. Love-to-mansoul.

Who carried this petition.

When this petition was come to the palace of the King, who should it be delivered to but to the King's Son. So he took it and read it, and because the contents of it pleased him well, he mended, and also in some things, added to the petition himself. So after he had made such amendments and additions as he thought convenient, with his own hand, he carried it in to the King; to whom when he had with obeisance delivered it, he put on authority, and spake to it himself.[2]

To whom it was delivered.

The King receives it with gladness.

Now the King, at the sight of the petition, was glad; but how much more think you, when it was seconded by his Son? It pleased him also to hear that his servants that camped against Mansoul were so hearty in the work, and so steadfast in their resolves, and that they had already got some ground upon the famous town of Mansoul.

Wherefore the King called to him Emmanuel his Son, who said, Here am I, my Father. Then said the King, Thou knowest, as I do myself, the condition of the town of Mansoul, and what we have purposed, and what thou hast done to redeem it. Come now, therefore, my Son, and prepare thyself for the war, for thou shalt go to my camp at Mansoul. Thou shalt also there prosper, and prevail, and conquer the town of Mansoul.

The King calls his Son, and tells him that he shall go to conquer the town of Mansoul, and he is pleased at it.

Then said the King's Son, Thy law is within my heart. I delight to do thy will. He. x. This is the day that I have longed for, and the work that I have waited for all this while. Grant me, therefore, what force thou shalt in thy wisdom think meet, and I will go, and will deliver from Diabolus, and from his power, thy perishing town of Mansoul. My heart has been often pained within me for the miserable town of Mansoul; but now it is rejoiced, but now it is glad. And with that he leaped over the mountains for joy; saying, I have not, in my heart, thought anything too dear for Mansoul; the day of vengeance is in mine heart for thee, my Mansoul; and glad am I that thou, my Father, hast made me the Captain of their salvation. He. ii. 10. And I will now begin to plague all those that have been a plague to my town of Mansoul, and will deliver it from their hand.

He shaceth himself with the thoughts of this work.

When the King's Son had said thus to his Father, it presently flew like lightning round about at court; yea, it there became the only talk what Emmanuel was to go to do for the famous town of Mansoul. But you cannot think how the courtiers too were taken with this design of the Prince. Yea, so affected

The highest peer in the kingdom covets to go on this design.

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[1] Bishop Wilkins, in his *Gift of Prayer*, gives an awful picture of man's total depravity and departure from God by the fall. 'What a world of mischief,' says he, 'is there in our several parts! our wills, our affections, our tongues, and eyes! And yet all these are but as little rivulets; the fountain, or rather the sea, that feeds them, is our corrupted nature.'—(Mason.)

[2] Jesus Christ is our great advocate above. He receives, amends, and presents our prayers; and those petitions which have the glory of God for their object, cannot but be acceptable to him.—(Burder.)

were they with this work, and with the justness of the war, that the highest lord and greatest peer of the kingdom did covet to have commissions under Emmanuel, to go to help to recover again to Shaddai the miserable town of Mansoul.[1]

Then was it concluded that some should go and carry tidings to the camp that Emmanuel was to come to recover Mansoul, and that he would bring along with him so mighty, so impregnable a force, that he could not be resisted. But O, how ready were the high ones at court to run like lackeys to carry these tidings to the camp that was at Mansoul! Now when the captains perceived that the King would send Emmanuel his Son, and that it also delighted the Son to be sent on this errand by the great Shaddai, his Father, they also, to show how they were pleased at the thoughts of his coming, gave a shout that made the earth rend at the sound thereof. Yea, the mountains did answer again by echo, and Diabolus himself did totter and shake.

The camp shouts for joy when they hear the tidings.

For you must know, that though the town of Mansoul itself was not much, if at all, concerned with the project—for, alas for them, they were wofully besotted, for they chiefly regarded their pleasure and their lusts—yet Diabolus their governor was; for he had his spies continually abroad, who brought him intelligence of all things, and they told him what was doing at court against him, and that Emmanuel would shortly certainly come with a power to invade him. Nor was there any man at court, nor peer of the kingdom, that Diabolus so feared as he feared this Prince. For if you remember, I showed you before that Diabolus had felt the weight of his hand already. So that, since it was he that was to come, this made him the more afraid. Well, you see how I have told you that the King's Son was engaged to come from the court to save Mansoul, and that his Father had made him the Captain of the forces. The time, therefore, of his setting forth being now expired, he addressed himself for his march, and taketh with him, for his power, five noble captains and their forces.[2]

Diabolus afraid at the news of his coming.

The Prince addresses himself for his journey.

The first was that famous captain, the noble Captain Credence. His were the red colours, and Mr. Promise bore them, and for a scutcheon he had the holy lamb and golden shield. And he had ten thousand men at his feet. Jn. i. 29. Ep. vi. 16.

The second was that famous captain, the Captain Goodhope. His were the blue colours, his standard-bearer was Mr. Expectation, and for a scutcheon he had the three golden anchors.[3] And he had ten thousand men at his feet. He. vi. 19.

The third captain was that valiant captain, the Captain Charity. His standard-bearer was Mr. Pitiful, his were the green colours, and for his scutcheon he had three naked orphans embraced in the bosom. And he had ten thousand men at his feet. 1 Co. xiii.

The fourth was that gallant commander, the Captain Innocent. His standard-bearer was Mr. Harmless, his were the white colours, and for his scutcheon he had the three golden doves. He. x. 16.

The fifth was the truly loyal and well-beloved captain, the Captain Patience. His standard-bearer was Mr. Suffer-long, his were the black colours, and for a scutcheon he had three arrows through the golden heart. He. vi. 12.

These were Emmanuel's captains, these their standard-bearers, their colours, and their scutcheons,[4] and these the men under their command. So, as was said, the brave Prince took his march to go to the town of Mansoul. Captain Credence led the van, and Captain Patience brought up the rear. So the other three, with their men, made up the main body; the Prince himself riding in his chariot at the head of them.[5]

Faith and Patience do the work.

But when they set out for their march, O how the trumpets sounded, their armour glittered, and how the colours waved in the wind! The Prince's armour was all of gold, and it shone like the sun in the firmament. The captains' armour was of proof, and was in appearance like the glittering stars. There were also

Their march.

[1] How honourable a work is it to make known the gospel! Every saint is thus honoured, if by his walk and converse he wins souls to Christ; all disciples are priests under the new covenant; they are made 'Kings and priests unto God.' The angels desire to look into these things. 'The highest peer in heaven covets to go on this design.' How does God honour his saints! The pious mother, nurse, or servant, the godly artizan or mechanic, the humble Christian merchant or nobleman 'that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever and ever?' Can we wonder that some proud men should vainly boast themselves as possessing a monopoly of this glory?—(Ed.)

[2] The powerful influences, gifts and graces, of the Holy Spirit, Faith, Hope, Charity, Innocence, and Patience, under the immediate command of Christ, lead on the new covenant forces to conquer Mansoul, after it had been convinced and alarmed by the terrors of the laws.—(Ed.)

[3] 'The three golden anchors.' When Christiana was at the house of the Interpreter, she had a golden anchor given to her, for, said they, you shall have it with you, for it is of absolute necessity that you may lay hold of *that* within the veil, and stand steadfast in turbulent weather. Joel iii. 16; He. vi. 19. Here we find two golden anchors, but where is the third?—(Ed.)

[4] These standards are all scriptural: Faith in the holy Lamb that was slain; Hope, the anchor of the soul, He. vi. 9; Charity and the orphan Innocent with the doves; Patience and his arrows in the heart. Ps. xxxviii. 2. Bunyan had seen the use of standards in the civil war.—(Ed.)

[5] When Jesus comes to effect the conquest of the human soul, he is gloriously attended with these heavenly graces, faith, hope, love, innocence, and patience. Faith leads the van; patience brings up the rear; Jesus, the Captain of salvation, leads the noble army. Ride prosperously, gracious Majesty, conquering and to conquer.—(Burder.)

some from the court that rode reformades,[1] for the love that they had to the King Shaddai, and for the happy deliverance of the town of Mansoul.[2]

Emmanuel also, when he had thus set forward to go to recover the town of Mansoul, took with him, at the commandment of his Father, forty-four battering rams, and twelve slings, to whirl stones withal. Every one of these was made of pure gold; and these they carried with them in the heart and body of their army, all along as they went to Mansoul.

The Holy Bible, containing 66 books.[3]

So they marched till they came within less than a league of the town. And there they lay till the first four captains came thither, to acquaint him with matters. Then they took their journey to go to the town of Mansoul, and unto Mansoul they came. But when the old soldiers that were in the camp saw that they had new forces to join with, they again gave such a shout before the walls of the town of Mansoul, that it put Diabolus into another fright. So they sat down before the town, not now as the other four captains did, to wit, against the gates of Mansoul only; but they environed it round on every side, and beset it behind and before; so that now, let Mansoul look which way it will, it saw force and power lie in siege against it. Besides, there were mounts cast up against it.

The forces joined with rejoicing.

Mansoul beleaguered round.

The Mount Gracious was on the one side, and Mount Justice was on the other; further, there were several small banks and advance-ground—as Plaintruth Hill, and No-sin Banks—where many of the slings were placed against the town. Upon Mount Gracious were planted four, and upon Mount Justice were planted as many; and the rest were conveniently placed in several parts round about the town. Five of the best battering rams—that is, of the biggest of them—were placed upon Mount Hearken; a mount cast up hard by Eargate, with intent to break that open.[4]

Mounts cast up against it.

Now, when the men of the town saw the multitude of the soldiers that were come up against the place, and the rams and slings, and the mounts on which they were planted, together with the glittering of the armour and the waving of their colours, they were forced to shift and shift, and again to shift their thoughts, but they hardly changed for thoughts more stout, but rather for thoughts more faint. For though before they thought themselves sufficiently guarded, yet now they began to think that no man knew what would be their hap or lot.

The heart of Mansoul begins to fail.

When the good Prince Emmanuel had thus beleaguered Mansoul; in the first place he hangs out the white flag, which he caused to be set up among the golden slings that were planted upon Mount Gracious. And this he did for two reasons: 1. To give notice to Mansoul that he could and would yet be gracious if they turned to him. 2. And that he might leave them the more without excuse, should he destroy them, they continuing in their rebellion.

The white flag hung out.

So the white flag, with the three golden doves on it, was hanged out for two days together, to give them time and space to consider. But they, as was hinted before, as if they were unconcerned, made no reply to the favourable signal of the Prince. Then he commanded, and they set the red flag upon that mount called Mount Justice. It was the red flag of Captain Judgment, whose scutcheon was the burning fiery furnace, and this also stood waving before them in the wind for several days together. But look how they carried it under the white flag when that was hanged out, so did they also when the red one was, and yet he took no advantage of them.

The red flag hung out.

Then he commanded again that his servants would hang out the black flag of defiance against them, whose scutcheon was the three burning thunder-bolts. But as unconcerned was Mansoul at this as at those that went before. But when the Prince saw that neither mercy, nor judgment, nor execution of judgment, would or could come near the heart of Mansoul, he was touched with much compunction, and said, 'Surely this strange carriage of the town of Mansoul doth rather arise from ignorance of the manner and feats of war, than from a secret defiance of us, and abhorrence of their own lives; or, if they know the manner of the war of their own, yet not the rites and ceremonies of the wars in which we are concerned, when I make wars upon mine enemy Diabolus.'

The black flag hung out.

Christ makes not war as the world does.

[1] 'Reformades,' angel volunteer officers, not attached to any troop or company.—(Ed.)

[2] No sigh, no murmur, his elect shall hear,
From ev'ry face he'll wipe off ev'ry tear;
In adamantine chains shall death be bound,
And hell's grim tyrant feel th' eternal wound.
(*Messiah.*)

[3] The text states forty-four battering-rams and twelve slings, which the margin interprets to mean the *sixty-six* books of the Holy Bible. It would be a task for Aquinas to discover which are rams and which the slings. The whole of this paragraph was omitted in the second edition, 1684, but is re-inserted in later copies. In one printed at Edinburgh, 1742, the text is altered to 'fifty-four battering-rams,' and this emendation is contained in all the modern editions. Perhaps the error was in the printer mistaking Mr. Bunyan's figures, 22 for 12. This would make the 39 books of the Old Testament, with the Gospels and Acts, the 44 battering-rams, and the 22 Epistles and Revelations the slings. Mighty weapons for pulling down the strong holds of the devil.—(Ed.)

[4] The Lord, the eternal Spirit, must first give the hearing ear, and the understanding heart, ere any saving work can be begun.—(Mason.)

Therefore, he sent to the town of Mansoul, to let them know what he meant by those signs and ceremonies of the flag, and also to know of them which of the things they would choose, whether grace and mercy, or judgment and the execution of judgment. All this while they kept their gates shut with locks, bolts, and bars, as fast as they could; their guards, also, were doubled, and their watch made as strong as they could. Diabolus also did pluck up what heart he could to encourage the town to make resistance.

He sends to know if they would have mercy or justice.

The townsmen also made answer to the Prince's messenger, in substance, according to that which follows:—

'Great Sir, as to what by your messenger you have signified to us, whether we will accept of your mercy or fall by your justice, we are bound by the law and custom of this place, and can give you no positive answer. For it is against the law, government, and the prerogative royal of our king, to make either peace or war without him. But this we will do, we will petition that our prince will come down to the wall, and there give you such treatment as he shall think fit, and profitable for us.'

The townsfolk's answer.

When the good Prince Emmanuel heard this answer, and saw the slavery and bondage of the people, and how much content they were to abide in the chains of the tyrant Diabolus, it grieved him at the heart. And, indeed, when at any time he perceived that any were contented under the slavery of the giant, he would be affected with it.

Emmanuel grieved at the folly of Mansoul.

But to return again to our purpose. After the town had carried this news to Diabolus, and had told him, moreover, that the Prince that lay in the leaguer[1] without the wall, waited upon them for an answer, he refused, and huffed as well as he could, but in heart he was afraid. Then, said he, I will go down to the gates myself, and give him such an answer as I think fit. So he went down to Mouthgate, and there addressed himself to speak to Emmanuel, but in such language as the town understood not, the contents whereof were as follows:—

Diabolus afraid.

'O thou great Emmanuel, Lord of all the world, I know thee that thou art the Son of the great Shaddai! Wherefore art thou come to torment me, and to cast me out of my possession? This town of Mansoul, as thou very well knowest, is mine, and that by twofold right. 1. It is mine by right of conquest, I won it in the open field. And shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or the lawful captive be delivered? 2. This town of Mansoul is mine also by their subjection. They have opened the gates of their town unto me, they have sworn fidelity to me, and have openly chosen me to be their king. They have also given their castle into my hands; yea, they have put the whole strength of Mansoul under me. Moreover, this town of Mansoul hath disavowed thee; yea, they have cast thy law, thy name, thy image, and all that is thine, behind their back, and have accepted, and set up in their room, my law, my name, mine image, and all that ever is mine. Ask else thy captains, and they will tell thee that Mansoul hath, in answer to all their summons, shown love and loyalty to me; but always disdain, despite, contempt, and scorn to thee and thine. Now thou art the Just One, and the Holy, and shouldest do no iniquity; depart then, I pray thee, therefore, from me, and leave me to my just inheritance, peaceably.'

His speech to the Prince.

Heart.

This oration was made in the language of Diabolus himself. For although he can, to every man, speak in their own language—else he could not tempt them all as he does—yet he has a language proper to himself, and it is the language of the infernal cave, or black pit.

Wherefore the town of Mansoul, poor hearts, understood him not, nor did they see how he crouched and cringed, while he stood before Emmanuel their prince. Yea, they all this while took him to be one of that power and force that by no means could be resisted. Wherefore, while he was thus intreating that he might yet have his residence there, and that Emmanuel would not take it from him by force, the inhabitants boasted even of his valour, saying, 'Who is able to make war with him?'

Well, when this pretended king had made an end of what he would say, Emmanuel, the golden Prince, stood up and spake, the contents of whose words follow:—

'Thou deceiving one,' said he, 'I have in my Father's name, in mine own name, and on the behalf and for the good of this wretched town of Mansoul, somewhat to say unto thee. Thou pretendest a right, a lawful right, to the deplorable town of Mansoul, when it is most apparent to all my Father's court, that the entrance which thou hast obtained in at the gates of Mansoul was through thy lies and falsehood. Thou beliedst my Father, thou beliedst his law, and so deceivedst the people of Mansoul. Thou pretendest that the people have accepted thee for their king, their captain, and right liege-lord, but that also was by the exercise of deceit and guile. Now, if lying wiliness, sinful craft, and all manner of horrible hypocrisy, will go in my Father's court for equity and right, in which court thou must be tried, then will I confess unto thee that thou hast made a lawful conquest. But alas, what thief,

[Emmanuel's answer to Diabolus.]

[1] 'Leaguer,' the camp and trenches in which a besieging army are sheltered.—(Ed.)

what tyrant, what devil is there that may not conquer after this sort? But I can make it appear, O Diabolus, that thou, in all thy pretences to a conquest of Mansoul, hast nothing of truth to say. Thinkest thou this to be right, that thou didst put the lie upon my Father, and madest him, to Mansoul, the greatest deluder in the world. And what sayest thou to thy perverting, knowingly, the right purport and intent of the law? Was it good also that thou madest a prey of the innocency and simplicity of the now miserable town of Mansoul? Yea, thou didst overcome Mansoul by promising to them happiness in their transgressions against my Father's law, when thou knewest, and couldest not but know, hadst thou consulted nothing but thine own experience, that that was the way to undo them. Thou hast also thyself—O thou master of enmity, of despite—defaced my Father's image in Mansoul, and set up thy own in its place, to the great contempt of my Father, the heightening of thy sin, and to the intolerable damage of the perishing town of Mansoul. Thou hast, moreover —as if all these were but little things with thee— not only deluded and undone this place, but, by thy lies and fraudulent carriage hast set them against their own deliverance. How hast thou stirred them up against my Father's captains, and made them to fight against those that were sent of him to deliver them from their bondage! All these things and very many more thou hast done against thy light, and in contempt of my Father and of his law; yea, and with design to bring under his displeasure for ever the miserable town of Mansoul. I am therefore come to avenge the wrong that thou hast done to my Father, and to deal with thee for the blasphemies wherewith thou hast made poor Mansoul blaspheme his name. Yea, upon thy head, thou prince of the infernal cave, will I require it.

'As for myself, O Diabolus, I am come against thee by lawful power, and to take, by strength of hand, this town of Mansoul out of thy burning fingers. For this town of Mansoul is mine, O Diabolus, and that by undoubted right, as all shall see that will diligently search the most ancient and most authentic records, and I will plead my title to it, to the confusion of thy face.

'*First.* For the town of Mansoul, my Father built and did fashion it with his hand. The palace also that is in the midst of that town, he built it for his own delight. This town of Mansoul therefore is my Father's, and that by the best of titles; and he that gainsays the truth of this must lie against his soul.

'*Second.* O thou master of the lie, this town of Mansoul is mine.

'1. For that I am my Father's heir, his first-born, and the only delight of his heart. I am therefore come up against thee in mine own right, even to recover mine own inheritance out of thine hand. He. i. 2; Jn. xvi. 15.

'2. But further, as I have a right and title to Mansoul, by being my Father's heir, so I have also by my Father's donation. His it was, and he gave it me (Jn. xvii.); nor have I at any time offended my Father, that he should take it from me and give it to thee. Nor have I been forced by playing the bankrupt to sell, or set to sale to thee, my beloved town of Mansoul. Is. i. 1. Mansoul is my desire, my delight, and the joy of my heart. But,

'3. Mansoul is mine by right of purchase. I have bought it, O Diabolus, I have bought it to myself. Now, since it was my Father's and mine, as I was his heir; and since also I have made it mine by virtue of a great purchase, it followeth, that by all lawful right the town of Mansoul is mine, and that thou art an usurper, a tyrant, and traitor, in thy holding possession thereof. Now, the cause of my purchasing of it was this: Mansoul had trespassed against my Father; now my Father had said, that in the day that they broke his law they should die. Now it is more possible for heaven and earth to pass away, than for my Father to break his word. Mat. v. 18. Wherefore, when Mansoul had sinned indeed by hearkening to thy lie, I put in and became a surety to my Father, body for body, and soul for soul, that I would make amends for Mansoul's transgressions; and my Father did accept thereof. So when the time appointed was come, I gave body for body, soul for soul, life for life, blood for blood, and so redeemed my beloved Mansoul.

O sweet Prince, Emmanuel.

'4. Nor did I do this to the halves; my Father's law and justice that were both concerned in the threatening upon transgression, are both now satisfied, and very well content that Mansoul should be delivered.

'5. Nor am I come out this day against thee but by commandment of my Father; it was he that said unto me, Go down and deliver Mansoul.

'Wherefore, be it known unto thee, O thou fountain of deceit, and be it also known to the foolish town of Mansoul, that I am not come against thee this day without my Father.

'And now,' said the golden-headed Prince, 'I have a word to the town of Mansoul;' but as soon as mention was made that he had a word to speak to the besotted town of Mansoul, the gates were double guarded, and all men commanded not to give him audience, so he proceeded, and said, 'O unhappy town of Mansoul, I cannot but be touched with pity and compassion for thee. Thou hast accepted of Diabolus for thy king, and art become a nurse and minister of Diabolonians against thy Sovereign Lord. Thy gates thou hast opened to him, but hast shut them fast against me; thou hast given

A word from Emmanuel to Mansoul.

him a hearing, but hast stopped thine ears at my cry; he brought to thee thy destruction, and thou didst receive both him and it: I am come to thee bringing salvation, but thou regardest me not. Besides, thou hast, as with sacrilegious hands, taken thyself with all that was mine in thee, and hast given all to my foe, and to the greatest enemy my Father has. You have bowed and subjected yourselves to him; you have vowed and sworn yourselves to be his. Poor Mansoul! what shall I do unto thee? Shall I save thee? shall I destroy thee? What shall I do unto thee? shall I fall upon thee and grind thee to powder, or make thee a monument of the richest grace? What shall I do unto thee? Hearken, therefore, thou town of Mansoul, hearken to my word, and thou shalt live. I am merciful, Mansoul, and thou shalt find me so; shut me not out of thy gates. Ca. v. 2.

'O Mansoul, neither is my commission, nor inclination, at all to do thee any hurt; why fliest thou so fast from thy friend, and stickest so close to thine enemy? Indeed, I would have thee, because it becomes thee, to be sorry for thy sin; but do not despair of life, this great force is not to hurt thee, but to deliver thee from thy bondage, and to reduce thee to thy obedience. Lu. ix. 56. Jn. xii. 47.

'My commission, indeed, is to make a war upon Diabolus thy king, and upon all Diabolonians with him; for he is the strong man armed that keeps the house, and I will have him out; his spoils I must divide,[1] his armour I must take from him, his hold I must cast him out of, and must make it an habitation for myself. And this, O Mansoul, shall Diabolus know, when he shall be made to follow me in chains, and when Mansoul shall rejoice to see it so.

'I could, would I now put forth my might, cause that forthwith he should leave you and depart; but I have it in my heart so to deal with him, as that the justice of the war that I shall make upon him may be seen and acknowledged by all. He hath taken Mansoul by fraud, and keeps it by violence and deceit; and I will make him bare and naked in the eyes of all observers. All my words are true, I am mighty to save, and will deliver my Mansoul out of his hand.'[2]

This speech was intended chiefly for Mansoul, but Mansoul would not have the hearing of it. They shut up Eargate, they barricaded it up, they kept it locked and bolted; they set a guard thereat, and commanded that no Mansoulonian should go out to him, nor that any from the camp should be admitted into the town; all this they did, so horribly had Diabolus enchanted them to do, and seek to do for him, against their rightful Lord and Prince; wherefore no man, nor voice, nor sound of man that belonged to the glorious host, was to come into the town.[3]

[Chapter VII.]

[Contents:—Emmanuel prepares to make war upon Mansoul—Diabolus sends Mr. Loth-to-stoop with proposals for peace—These proposals being dishonourable to Emmanuel, are all rejected—Again Diabolus proposes to patch up a peace by reformation, offering to become Emmanuel's deputy in that business—This proposal also rejected—New preparations made for battle—Diabolus, expecting to be obliged to abandon the town, does much mischief—Eargate, violently assaulted by the battering-rams, at length gives way, and is broken to pieces—Emmanuel's forces enter the town, and take possession of the Recorder's house—Several mischievous Diabolonians are killed.]

Emmanuel prepares to make war upon Mansoul.

So when Emmanuel saw that Mansoul was thus involved in sin, he calls his army together, since now also his words were despised, and gave out a commandment throughout all his host to be ready against the time appointed. Now, forasmuch as there was no way lawfully to take the town of Mansoul, but to get in by the gates, and at Eargate as the chief, therefore he commanded his captains and commanders to bring their rams, their slings, and their men, and place them at Eyegate and Eargate, in order to his taking the town.

When Emmanuel had put all things in readiness to give Diabolus battle, he sent again to know of the town of Mansoul if in peaceable manner they would yield themselves, or whether they were yet resolved to put him to try the utmost extremity.

Diabolus sends by the hand of his servant, Mr. Loth-to-stoop, and by him he propounds conditions of peace.[4]

Then they together, with Diabolus their king, called a council of war, and resolved upon certain propositions that should be offered to Emmanuel, if he will accept thereof, so they agreed; and then the next was who should be sent on this errand. Now there was in the town of Mansoul an old man, a Diabolonian, and his name was Mr. Loth-to-stoop, a stiff man in his way, and a great doer for Diabolus; him there-

[1] This reference to Is. liii. 12 must not be misunderstood by our youthful readers. It does not mean that Emmanuel would divide the spoil with Diabolus, but that he would take it all from him, and divide it at his (Emmanuel's) pleasure.—(Ed.)

[2] Here Emmanuel discovers the true character of Satan—a liar, a deceiver, a blasphemer, an usurper, the malicious enemy of God and man. Emmanuel claims the human soul as his own, his workmanship, his delight, his inheritance, his purchase. How well does this gracious address deserve the most cordial acceptation!—(Burder.)

[3] Infatuated sinners! rejecting the counsel of God against themselves. Reader, is this thy case? Pause and examine. Remember 'faith cometh by hearing.' Hear, then, and your soul shall live.—(Burder.)

[4] These terms may be found in *Grace Abounding*, No. 16. 'Desires to reform my vicious life; to go to church twice a day, and say and sing with the foremost; yet retaining my vicious life.'—(Ed.)

fore they sent, and put into his mouth what he should say. So he went, and came to the camp to Emmanuel; and when he was come, a time was appointed to give him audience. So at the time he came, and after a Diabolonian ceremony or two, he thus began, and said, 'Great Sir, that it may be known unto all men how good-natured a prince my master is, he hath sent me to tell your Lordship that he is very willing, rather than to go to war, to deliver up into your hands one-half of the town of Mansoul. Tit. i. 16. I am therefore to know if your Mightiness will accept of this proposition.'

Mark this.[1]

Then said Emmanuel, 'The whole is mine by gift and purchase, wherefore I will never lose one-half.'

Then said Mr. Loth-to-stoop, 'Sir, my master hath said, that he will be content that you shall be the nominal and titular Lord of all, if he may possess but a part.' Lu. xiii. 25.

Mark this.

Then Emmanuel answered, 'The whole is mine really; not in name and word only: wherefore I will be the sole Lord and possessor of all, or of none at all of Mansoul.'

Then Mr. Loth-to-stoop said again, 'Sir, behold the condescension of my master! He says that he will be content, if he may but have assigned to him some place in Mansoul as a place to live privately in, and you shall be Lord of all the rest.' Ac. v. 1–5.

Mark this.

Then said the golden Prince, 'All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me; and of all that he hath given me I will lose nothing, no, not a hoof, nor a hair. I will not therefore grant him, no, not the least corner in Mansoul to dwell in, I will have all to myself.'

Then Loth-to-stoop said again, 'But, Sir, suppose that my lord should resign the whole town to you, only with this proviso, that he sometimes, when he comes into this country, may, for old acquaintance sake, be entertained as a way-faring man for two days, or ten days, or a month, or so; may not this small matter be granted?'

Mark this.

Then said Emmanuel, 'No: he came as a way-faring man to David, nor did he stay long with him, and yet it had like to have cost David his soul. 2 Sa. xii. 1–5. I will not consent that he ever should have any harbour more there.'

Then said Mr. Loth-to-stoop, 'Sir, you seem to be very hard. Suppose my master should yield to all that your Lordship hath said, provided that his friends and kindred in Mansoul may have liberty to trade in the town, and

Sins and carnal lusts.

to enjoy their present dwellings; may not that be granted, Sir?'

Then said Emmanuel. 'No: that is contrary to my Father's will; for all, and all manner of Diabolonians that now are, or that at any time shall be found in Mansoul, shall not only lose their lands and liberties, but also their lives.' Ro. vi. 13. Ga. v. 24. Col. iii. 5.

Then said Mr. Loth-to-stoop again, 'But, Sir, may not my master, and great lord, by letters, by passengers, by accidental opportunities, and the like, maintain, if he shall deliver up all unto thee, some kind of old friendship with Mansoul.' Jn. x. 8.

Mark this.

Emmanuel answered, 'No, by no means; forasmuch as any such fellowship, friendship, intimacy, or acquaintance in what way, sort or mode soever maintained, will tend to the corrupting of Mansoul, the alienating of their affections from me, and the endangering of their peace with my Father.'

Mr. Loth-to-stoop yet added further; saying, 'But, great Sir, since my master hath many friends, and those that are dear to him in Mansoul, may he not, if he shall depart from them, even of his bounty and good nature, bestow upon them, as he sees fit, some tokens of his love and kindness, that he had for them, to the end that Mansoul, when he is gone, may look upon such tokens of kindness once received from their old friend, and remember him who was once their King, and the merry times that they sometimes enjoyed one with another, while he and they lived in peace together.'

Mark this.

Then said Emmanuel, 'No; for if Mansoul come to be mine, I shall not admit of, nor consent that there should be the least scrap, shred, or dust of Diabolus left behind, as tokens or gifts bestowed upon any in Mansoul, thereby to call to remembrance the horrible communion that was betwixt them and him.' Ro. vi. 12, 13.

'Well Sir,' said Mr. Loth-to-stoop, 'I have one thing more to propound, and then I am got to the end of my commission. Suppose that when my master is gone from Mansoul, any that yet shall live in the town should have such business of high concerns to do, that if they be neglected the party shall be undone; and suppose, Sir, that nobody can help in that case so well as my master and lord; may not now my master be sent for upon so urgent an occasion as this? Or if he may not be admitted into the town, may not he and the person concerned meet in some of the villages near Mansoul, and there lay their heads together, and there consult of matters?'[2] 2 Ki. i. 3, 6, 7.

Mark this.

[1] Mark this. A cold, lifeless profession, without possessing Christ, the hope of glory, is not Christianity; an almost Christian is a very infidel. We cannot serve two masters, God and Mammon. Jesus is worthy of all our love and service; in him are treasured up every needful blessing for time and eternity.—(Mason.)

[2] The proud heart of man is *loth to stoop* to that absolute submission and entire obedience to Christ which he justly requires. They will allow him to be a lord in name, but not in

This was the last of these ensnaring propositions that Mr. Loth-to-stoop had to propound to Emmanuel on behalf of his master Diabolus; but Emmanuel would not grant it, for he said, 'There can be no case, or thing, or matter, fall out in Mansoul, when thy master shall be gone, that may not be salved[1] by my Father; besides, it will be a great disparagement to my Father's wisdom and skill to admit any from Mansoul to go out to Diabolus for advice, when they are bid before, in everything, by prayer and supplication, to let their request be made known to my Father. 1 Sa. xxviii. 15; 2 Ki. i. 2, 3. Further, this, should it be granted, would be to grant that a door should be set open for Diabolus and the Diabolonians in Mansoul, to hatch, and plot, and bring to pass treasonable designs, to the grief of my Father and me, and to the utter destruction of Mansoul.'[2]

When Mr. Loth-to-stoop had heard this answer, he took his leave of Emmanuel and departed, saying, that he would do word to his master concerning this whole affair. So he departed and came to Diabolus to Mansoul, and told him the whole of the matter, and how Emmanuel would not admit, no, not by any means, that he, when he was once gone out, should for ever have anything more to do, either in, or with any that are of, the town of Mansoul. When Mansoul and Diabolus had heard this relation of things, they with one consent concluded to use their best endeavour to keep Emmanuel out of Mansoul, and sent old Illpause, of whom you have heard before, to tell the Prince and his captains so. So the old gentleman came up to the top of Eargate, and called to the camp for a hearing; who, when they gave audience, he said, 'I have in commandment from my high Lord to bid you to tell it to your Prince Emmanuel, that Mansoul and their King are resolved to stand and fall together, and that it is in vain for your Prince to think of ever having of Mansoul in his hand, unless he can take it by force.' So some went and told to Emmanuel what old Illpause, a Diabolonian in Mansoul, had said. Then said the Prince, 'I must try the power of my sword, for I will not, for all the rebellions and repulses that Mansoul has made against me, raise my siege and depart, but will assuredly take my Mansoul, and deliver it from the hand of her enemy.' Ep. vi. 17. And with that he gave out a commandment that Captain Boanerges, Captain Conviction, Captain Judgment, and Captain Execution, should forthwith march up to Eargate with trumpets sounding, colours flying, and with shouting for the battle. Also he would that Captain Credence should join himself with them. Emmanuel, moreover, gave order that Captain Goodhope and Captain Charity should draw themselves up before Eyegate. He bid also that the rest of his Captains, and their men, should place themselves for the best of their advantage against the enemy, round about the town, and all was done as he had commanded. Then he bid that the word should be given forth, and the word was at that time 'Emmanuel'. Then was an alarm sounded, and the battering-rams were played, and the slings did whirl stones into the town amain, and thus the battle began. Now Diabolus himself did manage the townsmen in the war, and that at every gate; wherefore their resistance was the more forcible, hellish, and offensive to Emmanuel. Thus was the good Prince engaged and entertained by Diabolus and Mansoul for several days together. And a sight worth seeing it was, to behold how the captains of Shaddai behaved themselves in this war.

Loth-to-stoop departs.

A speech of Old Illpause to the camp.

They must fight.

Preparations to the battle.

And first for Captain Boanerges, not to undervalue the rest, he made three most fierce assaults, one after another, upon Eargate, to the shaking of the posts thereof. Captain Conviction, he also made up as fast with Boanerges as possibly he could, and both discerning that the gate began to yield, they commanded that the rams should still be played against it. Now Captain Conviction going up very near to the gate, was with great force driven back, and received three wounds in the mouth. And those that rode Reformades, they went about to encourage the captains.

Boanerges plays the man.

Conviction wounded.

Angels.

For the valour of the two captains made mention of before, the Prince sent for them to his pavilion, and commanded that a while they should rest themselves, and that with somewhat they should be refreshed. Care also was taken for Captain Conviction, that he should be healed of his wounds. The Prince also gave to each of them a chain of gold, and bid them yet be of good courage. Nor did Captain Goodhope nor Captain Charity come behind in this most desperate fight, for they so well did behave themselves at Eyegate, that they had

Goodhope and Charity play the men at Eyegate.

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authority. They would serve Jesus in general, if permitted to indulge in sin occasionally; all such partial submission is rejected. To be only 'almost a Christian' is to be no Christian at all. To show the importance of this, the author repeatedly gives a marginal note, 'Mark this.'—(Burder.)

[1] The word 'salved,' as used in Bunyan's time, means helped, remedied, saved, healed, rescued. Thus, in his *Come and Welcome*, he says, 'Such questions would have been, but *fools' babbles about*, instead of a sufficient *salve* to, so weighty a question.' Now, the word *solved* would be used.—(Ed.)

[2] Reader, 'mark' these proposals of Loth-to-stoop. All the unconverted cherish this evil spirit; call to mind, with shame, the time when you felt its influences in keeping your soul from Christ; nor would you ever have overcome your pride and your love of sin, but that the Holy Spirit conquered you by his love and mercy.—(Ed.)

almost broken it quite open.[1] These also had a reward from their Prince, as also had the rest of the captains, because they did valiantly round about the town.[2]

In this engagement several of the officers of Diabolus were slain, and some of the townsmen wounded. For the officers, there was one Captain Boasting slain. This Boasting thought that nobody could have shaken the posts of Eargate, nor have shaken the heart of Diabolus. Next to him there was one Captain Secure slain; this Secure used to say that the blind and lame in Mansoul were able to keep the gates of the town against Emmanuel's army. 2 Sa. v. 6. This Captain Secure did Captain Conviction cleave down the head with a two-handed sword, when he received himself three wounds in his mouth. Besides these, there was one Captain Bragman, a very desperate fellow, and he was captain over a band of those that threw fire-brands, arrows, and death; he also received, by the hand of Captain Goodhope at Eyegate, a mortal wound in the breast.

Captain Boasting slain.

Captain Secure slain.

Captain Bragman slain.

There was, moreover, one Mr. Feeling, but he was no captain, but a great stickler to encourage Mansoul to rebellion, he received a wound in the eye by the hand of one of Boanerges' soldiers, and had by the captain himself been slain, but that he made a sudden retreat.

Mr. Feeling hurt.

But I never saw Will-be-will so daunted in all my life: he was not able to do as he was wont; and some say that he also received a wound in the leg, and that some of the men in the Prince's army have certainly seen him limp, as he afterwards walked on the wall.[3]

Will-be-will hurt.

I shall not give you a particular account of the names of the soldiers that were slain in the town, for many were maimed and wounded, and slain; for when they saw that the posts of Eargate did shake, and Eyegate was well nigh broken quite open; and also that their captains were slain, this took away the hearts of many of the Diabolonians; they fell also by the force of the shot that were sent by the golden slings into the midst of the town of Mansoul.[4]

Many of the soldiers in Mansoul slain.

Of the townsmen there was one Love-no-good, he was a townsman, but a Diabolonian, he also received his mortal wound in Mansoul, but he died not very soon. Mr. Illpause also, who was the man that came along with Diabolus when at first he attempted the taking of Mansoul, he also received a grievous wound in the head, some say that his brain-pan was cracked; this I have taken notice of, that he was never after this able to do that mischief to Mansoul as he had done in times past. Also old Prejudice and Mr. Anything fled.[5]

Love-no-good wounded.

Illpause wounded.

Now when the battle was over, the Prince commanded that yet once more the white flag should be set upon Mount Gracious, in sight of the town of Mansoul; to show that yet Emmanuel had grace for the wretched town of Mansoul.

The white flag hung out again.

When Diabolus saw the white flag hanging out again, and knowing that it was not for him, but Mansoul, he cast in his mind to play another prank, to wit, to see if Emmanuel would raise his siege and be gone, upon promise of a reformation.[6] So he comes down to the gate one evening, a good while after the sun was gone down, and calls to speak with Emmanuel, who presently came down to the gate, and Diabolus saith unto him:

Diabolus's new prank.

'Forasmuch as thou makest it appear by thy white flag, that thou art wholly given to peace and quiet; I thought meet to acquaint thee that we are ready to accept thereof upon terms which thou mayest admit.

His speech to Emmanuel.

'I know that thou art given to devotion, and that holiness pleases thee; yea, that thy great end in making a war upon Mansoul is that it may be an holy habitation. Well, draw off thy forces from the town, and I will bend Mansoul to thy bow.

'[Thus] I will lay down all acts of hostility against thee, and will be willing to become thy deputy, and will, as I have formerly been against thee, now serve thee in the town of Mansoul. And more particularly—1. I will persuade Mansoul to

Diabolus would be Emmanuel's deputy, and he would turn reformer.

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[1] 'The serpents that bit the people of old were types of guilt and sin. Now these were fiery serpents, and such as, I think, could fly. Is. xiv. 29. Wherefore, in my judgment, they stung the people about their faces, and so swelled up their eyes, which made it the more difficult for them to look up to the brazen serpent, which was the type of Christ.' Jn. iii 14.—(Bunyan on *Justification*, vol. i. p. 320.) How fitly are Goodhope and Charity qualified to gain such a post.—(Ed.)

[2] It is worthy of notice, that, while warnings and convictions attack the ear, hope and love are exhibited to the eye. This was Bunyan's mode of proclaiming the gospel, and it is well worthy of universal imitation by preachers of all denominations.—(Ed.)

[3] The will may be called the feet of the soul; because by that the soul, yea, the whole man, is carried hither and thither, or else held back, and kept from moving. While my Lord Will-be-will was so active in the service of Diabolus, he is, very properly, 'wounded in the leg.'—(Ed.)

[4] Portions of the Word, probably from the sacred epistles of the New Testament.—(Ed.)

[5] Prejudice and Anything have fled; Illpause has his brain-pan cracked—there can be no more procrastination; Love-no-good is slain—the will is wounded; the feeling is painfully wounded; Bragman and carnal security are slain; Mansoul trembles; and in great mercy the white flag is hung out in token of grace, but the heart does not yet surrender.—(Ed.)

[6] This is exemplified by Bunyan's experience, in *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 30–36.

receive thee for their Lord, and I know that they will do it the sooner when they shall understand that I am thy deputy. 2. I will show them wherein they have erred, and that transgression stands in the way to life. 3. I will show them the holy law unto which they must conform, even that which they have broken. 4. I will press upon them the necessity of a reformation according to thy law. 5. And, moreover, that none of these things may fail, I myself, at my own proper cost and charge, will set up and maintain a sufficient ministry, besides lecturers, in Mansoul.[1] 6. Thou shalt receive, as a token of our subjection to thee continually, year by year, what thou shalt think fit to lay and levy upon us, in token of our subjection to thee.'[2]

The answer.

Then said Emmanuel to him, 'O full of deceit, how movable are thy ways! How often hast thou changed and rechanged, if so be thou mightest still keep possession of my Mansoul, though, as has been plainly declared before, I am the right heir thereof? Often hast thou made thy proposals already, nor is this last a whit better than they. And failing to deceive when thou showedst thyself in thy black, thou hast now transformed thyself into an angel of light, and wouldest, to deceive, be now as a minister of righteousness. 2 Co. xi. 14.

'But know thou, O Diabolus, that nothing must be regarded that thou canst propound, for nothing is done by thee but to deceive; thou neither hast conscience to God, nor love to the town of Mansoul; whence then should these thy sayings arise, but from sinful craft and deceit? He that can of list and will propound what he pleases, and that wherewith he may destroy them that believe him, is to be abandoned with all that he shall say. But if righteousness be such a beauty-spot in thine eyes now, how is it that wickedness was so closely stuck to by thee before. But this is by the by. Thou talkest now of a reformation in Mansoul, and that thou thyself, if I will please, will be at the head of that reformation, all the while knowing that the greatest proficiency that man can make in the law, and the righteousness thereof, will amount to no more for the taking away of the curse from Mansoul than just nothing at all; for a law being broken by Mansoul, that had before, upon a supposition of the breach thereof, a curse pronounced against him for it of God, can never, by his obeying of the law, deliver himself therefrom. To say nothing of what a reformation is like to be set up in Mansoul, when the devil is become the corrector of vice. Thou knowest that all that thou hast now said in this matter is nothing but guile and deceit; and is, as it was the first, so is it the last card that thou hast to play. Many there be that do soon discern thee when thou showest them thy cloven foot; but in thy white, thy light, and in thy transformation thou art seen but of a few. But thou shalt not do thus with my Mansoul, O Diabolus, for I do still love my Mansoul.

Diabolus has no conscience to God, nor love to Mansoul.

He knows that that will do no good, which yet he propounds for the health of Mansoul.

'Besides, I am not come to put Mansoul upon works to live thereby—should I do so, I should be like unto thee—but I am come that by me, and by what I have and shall do for Mansoul, they may to my Father be reconciled, though by their sin they have provoked him to anger, and though by the law they cannot obtain mercy.

'Thou talkest of subjecting of this town to good, when none desireth it at thy hands. I am sent by my Father to possess it myself, and to guide it by the skilfulness of my hands into such a conformity to him as shall be pleasing in his sight. I will therefore possess it myself, I will dispossess and cast thee out: I will set up mine own standard in the midst of them: I will also govern them by new laws, new officers, new motives, and new ways. Yea, I will pull down this town, and build it again, and it shall be as though it had not been, and it shall then be the glory of the whole universe.'[3]

All things must be new in Mansoul.

When Diabolus heard this, and perceived that he was discovered in all his deceits, he was confounded and utterly put to a non-plus; but having in himself the fountain of iniquity, rage and malice against both Shaddai and his Son, and the beloved town of Mansoul, what doth he but strengthen himself what he could, to give fresh battle to the noble Prince Emmanuel? So then, now we must have another fight before the town of Mansoul is taken. Come up then to the mountains you that love to see military actions, and behold by both sides how the fatal blow is given: while one seeks to hold, and the other seeks to make himself master of the famous town of Mansoul.

Diabolus confounded.

Diabolus, therefore, having withdrawn himself from the wall to his force that was in the heart of the town of Mansoul, Emmanuel also returned to the camp; and both of them, after their divers ways, put themselves into a posture fit to bid battle one to another.

New preparations for to fight.

[1] Reader, the devil offers to set up ministers and lecturers! Take heed what ye hear.—(Ed.)

[2] How common is it with sinners, under conviction and the fear of hell, to be content with mending their lives; they are willing to be reformed, but not to be justified and saved by grace.—(Burder.)

[3] What a volume of evangelical truth is contained in these words! Old things must pass away, all must become new; we must be buried with Christ in baptism, and rise again to newness of life. No man is a Christian till Christ is formed in him the hope of glory. We must be in Christ, complete in his righteousness, then will love constrain him to good works. In Christ he becomes the glory of the universe.—(Ed.)

Diabolus despairs of holding of Mansoul, and therefore contrives to do it what mischief he can.

Diabolus, as filled with despair of retaining in his hands the famous town of Mansoul, resolved to do what mischief he could, if indeed he could do any, to the army of the Prince, and to the famous town of Mansoul; for, alas! it was not the happiness of the silly town of Mansoul that was designed by Diabolus, but the utter ruin and overthrow thereof; as now is enough in view. Wherefore he commands his officers that they should then, when they see that they could hold the town no longer, do it what harm and mischief they could; rending and tearing of men, women, and children. Mar. ix. 26, 27. For, said he, we had better quite demolish the place, and leave it like a ruinous heap, than so leave it that it may be an habitation for Emmanuel.[1]

Emmanuel again, knowing that the next battle would issue in his being made master of the place, gave out a royal commandment to all his officers, high captains, and men of war, to be sure to show themselves men of war against Diabolus, and all Diabolonians; but favourable, merciful, and meek to all the old inhabitants of Mansoul. Bend, therefore, said the noble Prince, the hottest front of the battle against Diabolus and his men.

So the day being come, the command was given, and the Prince's men did bravely stand to their arms; and did, as before, bend their main force against Eargate, and Eyegate. The word was then, 'Mansoul is won,' so they made their assault upon the town. Diabolus also, as fast as he could with the main of his power, made resistance from within, and his high lords and chief captains for a time fought very cruelly against the Prince's army.

The battle joined, and they fight on both sides fiercely.

But after three or four notable charges by the Prince, and his noble captains, Eargate was broken open, and the bars and bolts wherewith it was used to be fast shut up against the Prince, were broken into a thousand pieces. Then did the Prince's trumpets sound, the captains shout, the town shake, and Diabolus retreat to his hold. Well, when the Prince's forces had broken open the gate, himself came up and did set his throne in it; also he set his standard thereby, upon a mount, that before by his men was cast up to place the mighty slings thereon.[2] The mount was called Mount Hearwell; there, therefore, the Prince abode, to wit, hard by the going in at the gate. He commanded also that the golden slings should yet be played upon the town, especially against the castle, because for shelter thither was Diabolus retreated. Now from Eargate the street was strait, even to the house of Mr. Recorder that so was before Diabolus took the town, and hard by his house stood the castle, which Diabolus for a long time had made his irksome den. The captains, therefore, did quickly clear that street by the use of their slings, so that way was made up to the heart of the town. Then did the Prince command that Captain Boanerges, Captain Conviction, and Captain Judgment should forthwith march up the town to the old gentleman's* gate. Then did the captains in most warlike manner enter into the town of Mansoul, and marching in with flying colours, they came up to the Recorder's house, and that was almost as strong as was the castle. Battering rams they took also with them, to plant against the castle-gates. When they were come to the house of Mr. Conscience, they knocked and demanded entrance. Now the old gentleman, not knowing as yet fully their design, kept his gates shut all the time of this fight. Wherefore Boanerges demanded entrance at his gates, and no man making answer, he gave it one stroke with the head of a ram, and this made the old gentleman shake, and his house to tremble and totter. Then came Mr. Recorder down to the gate, and, as he could, with quivering lips, he asked who was there. Boanerges answered, We are the captains and commanders of the great Shaddai, and of the blessed Emmanuel his Son, and we demand possession of your house for the use of our noble Prince. And with that the battering-ram gave the gate another shake; this made the old gentleman tremble the more, yet durst he not but open the gate. Then the King's forces marched in, namely, the three brave captains mentioned before. Now the Recorder's house was a place of much convenience for Emmanuel, not only because it was near to the castle, and strong, but also because it was large, and fronted the castle, the den where now Diabolus was: for he was now afraid to come out of his hold. As for Mr. Recorder, the captains carried it very reservedly to him; as yet he knew nothing of the great designs of Emmanuel; so that he did not know what judgment to make, nor what would be the end of such thundering beginnings. It was

* Conscience.

They go up to the Recorder's house.

They demand entrance.

They go in.

They do keep themselves reserved from the Recorder.

Eargate broken open.

The Prince's standard set up, and the slings are played still at the castle.

[1] When Satan can no longer keep his dominion over the soul, he will endeavour to ruin it by temptations to despair, or to some abominable vices; as the poor trembling creature in the gospel, desirous of approaching Christ, 'as he was yet a coming, the devil threw him down and tare *him*.' Lu. ix. 42. —(Burder.)

[2] Thus was the promise fulfilled, 'In that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book,' Is. xxix. 18; and, 'The ears of the deaf shall be unstopped,' xxxv. 5. What a blessing to be able to say, 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.' The way is strait from Eargate to Conscience, the house of the Recorder, and to the Heart, the castle. 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.' May God bestow 'the hearing ear' upon every reader.—(Burder.)

also presently noised in the town, how the Recorder's house was possessed, his rooms taken up, and his palace made the seat of the war; and no sooner was it noised abroad, but they took the alarm as warmly, and gave it out to others of his friends, and you know as a snow-ball loses nothing by rolling, so in little time the whole town was possessed that they must expect nothing from the Prince but destruction; and the ground of the business was this. The Recorder was afraid, the Recorder trembled, and the captains carried it strangely to the Recorder, so many came to see; but when they with their own eyes did behold the captains in the palace, and their battering rams ever playing at the castle-gates to beat them down, they were riveted in their fears, and it made them as in amaze. And, as I said, the man of the house would increase all this, for whoever came to him, or discoursed with him, nothing would he talk of, tell them, or hear, but that death and destruction now attended Mansoul.[1]

His house the seat of war.

The office of conscience when he is awakened.

'For,' quoth the old gentleman, 'you are all of you sensible that we all have been traitors to that once despised, but now famously victorious and glorious Prince Emmanuel. For he now, as you see, doth not only lie in close siege about us, but hath forced his entrance in at our gates; moreover, Diabolus flees before him, and he hath, as you behold, made of my house a garrison against the castle, where he is. I, for my part, have transgressed greatly, and he that is clean it is well for him. But, I say, I have transgressed greatly in keeping of silence when I should have spoken, and in perverting of justice when I should have executed the same. True, I have suffered something at the hand of Diabolus, for taking part with the laws of King Shaddai; but that, alas! what will that do? Will that make compensation for the rebellions and treasons that I have done, and have suffered without gainsaying, to be committed in the town of Mansoul? O, I tremble to think what will be the end of this so dreadful and so ireful a beginning!'

Now, while these brave captains were thus busy in the house of the old Recorder, Captain Execution was as busy in other parts of the town, in securing the back streets, and the walls. He also hunted the Lord Will-be-will sorely; he suffered him not to rest in any corner. He pursued him so hard, that he drove his men from him, and made him glad to thrust his head into a hole. Also, this mighty warrior did cut three of the Lord Will-be-will's officers down to the ground; one was old Mr. Prejudice, he that had his crown cracked in the mutiny; this man was made by Lord Will-be-will keeper of Eargate, and fell by the hand of Captain Execution. There was also one Mr. Backward-to-all-but-naught, and he also was one of Lord Will-be-will's officers, and was the captain of the two guns that once were mounted on the top of Eargate, he also was cut down to the ground by the hands of Captain Execution. Besides these two there was another, a third, and his name was Captain Treacherous, a vile man this was, but one that Will-be-will did put a great deal of confidence in; but him also did this Captain Execution cut down to the ground with the rest.[2]

The brave exploits of Captain Execution.

Old Prejudice slain.

Backward-to-all-but-naught slain.

Treacherous slain.

He also made a very great slaughter among my Lord Will-be-will's soldiers, killing many that were stout and sturdy, and wounding of many that for Diabolus were nimble and active. But all these were Diabolonians; there was not a man, a native of Mansoul, hurt.[3]

Other feats of war were also likewise performed by other of the captains, as at Eyegate,[4] where Captain Goodhope and Captain Charity had a charge, was great execution done; for the Captain Goodhope, with his own hands, slew one Captain Blindfold, the keeper of that gate; this Blindfold was captain of a thousand men, and they were they that fought with mauls; he also pursued his men, slew many, and wounded more, and made the rest hide their heads in corners.

Captain Goodhope doth slay Captain Blindfold.

There was also at that gate Mr. Illpause, of whom you have heard before; he was an old man, and had a beard that reached down to his girdle: the same was he that was orator to Diabolus; he did much mischief in the town of Mansoul, and fell by the hand of Captain Goodhope.

And old Illpause.

What shall I say, the Diabolonians in these days lay dead in every corner, though too many yet were alive in Mansoul.[5]

[1] When the soul listens to the threatenings of the holy law, conscience fears and quakes; and till enlightened with the knowledge of the gospel, and the gracious designs of God, it can think and talk of nothing but 'death and destruction.'—(Burder.) See this part of the *Holy War*, in Bunyan's experience, recorded in *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 84–88.—(Ed.)

[2] Bunyan's relief from a state of intense misery was by an assault on Eargate. It was under a sermon upon Christ's love—'Thou art fair, my love;' then was old Prejudice slain, and his officers; although other fears afterwards terrified him, yet Prejudice was slain. Read the narrative in *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 89–92.—(Ed.)

[3] No faculty or power of the soul can be injured by a death unto sin and a life unto holiness. Peace and happiness increase as we live near to God. My young friends, if Satan tells you that religion is a dull or melancholy thing, call to mind the happiness, nay, ecstacies of Paul and David when living under its holy influences.—(Ed.)

[4] See *Grace Abounding*, No. 113.—(Ed.)

[5] Conversion proceeds. The carnal will has no rest; Prejudice is slain; Aversion-to-good, Treachery, Blindness, and

[Chapter VIII.]

[Contents:—The principal inhabitants hold a conference, and agree to petition the Prince for their lives—The castle gates broken open—Emmanuel marches into Mansoul—Diabolus is made prisoner, and bound in chains—The inhabitants, greatly distressed, petition again and again—At length a free pardon is obtained, and universal joy succeeds.]

The old townsmen meet and consult.

Now the old Recorder, and my Lord Understanding, with some others of the chief of the town, to wit, such as knew they must stand and fall with the famous town of Mansoul, came together upon a day, and after consultation had, did jointly agree to draw up a petition, and to send it to Emmanuel, now while he sat in the gate of Mansoul. So they drew up their petition to Emmanuel, the contents whereof were this, That they, the old inhabitants of the now deplorable town of Mansoul, confessed their sin, and were sorry that they had offended his princely Majesty, and prayed that he would spare their lives.[1]

The town does petition, and are answered with silence.

Upon this petition he gave no answer at all, and that did trouble them yet so much the more. Now all this while the captains that were in the Recorder's house were playing with the battering-rams at the gates of the castle, to beat them down. So after some time, labour, and travail, the gate of the castle that was called Impregnable was beaten open, and broken into several splinters; and so a way made to go up to the hold in which Diabolus had hid himself.[2] Then was tidings sent down to Eargate, for Emmanuel still abode there, to let him know that a way was made in at the gates of the castle of Mansoul. But O! how the trumpets at the tidings sounded throughout the Prince's camp, for that now the war was so near an end, and Mansoul itself of being set free.[3]

The castle gates broke open.

Then the Prince arose from the place where he was, and took with him such of his men of war as were fittest for that expedition, and marched up the street of Mansoul to the old Recorder's house.

Emmanuel marches into Mansoul.

Now the Prince himself was clad all in armour of gold, and so he marched up the town with his standard borne before him; but he kept his countenance much reserved all the way as he went, so that the people could not tell how to gather to themselves love or hatred by his looks. Now as he marched up the street, the townsfolk came out at every door to see, and could not but be taken with his person, and the glory thereof, but wondered at the reservedness of his countenance; for as yet he spake more to them by his actions and works, than he did by words or smiles. But also poor Mansoul, as in such cases all are apt to do, they interpreted the carriages of Emmanuel to them, as did Joseph's brethren his to them, even all the quite contrary way. For, thought they, if Emmanuel loved us, he would show it to us by word or carriage; but none of these he doth, therefore Emmanuel hates us. Now if Emmanuel hates us, then Mansoul shall be slain, then Mansoul shall become a dung-hill. They knew that they had transgressed his Father's law, and that against him they had been in with Diabolus his enemy. They also knew that the Prince Emmanuel knew all this; for they were convinced that he was as an Angel of God, to know all things that are done in the earth. And this made them think that their condition was miserable, and that the good Prince would make them desolate.

How they interpret Emmanuel's carriages.

And, thought they, what time so fit to do this in as now, when he has the bridle of Mansoul in his hand. And this I took special notice of, that the inhabitants, notwithstanding all this, could not; no, they could not, when they see him march through the town, but cringe, bow, bend, and were ready to lick the dust of his feet. They also wished a thousand times over, that he would become their Prince and Captain, and would become their protection. They would also one to another talk of the comeliness of his person, and how much for glory and valour he outstript the great ones of the world. But, poor hearts, as to themselves their thoughts would change, and go upon all manner of extremes; yea, through the working of them backward and forward, Mansoul became as a ball tossed, and as a rolling thing before the whirlwind.[4] Is. xvii. 13; xxii. 18.

Now when he was come to the castle gates, he commanded Diabolus to appear, and to surrender himself into his hands. But O! how loth was the beast to appear! How he stuck at it! how he shrunk! aye, how he cringed! Yet out he came to the prince. Then Emmanuel commanded, and they took Diabolus and bound him fast in

He comes up to the castle, and commands Diabolus to surrender himself.

that most dangerous foe to the soul, old Illpause, with his traditions, antiquity and longbeard, are slain. All these were Diabolonians, not one native power of the soul was injured.—(Burder.)

[1] 'Behold he prayeth.' Prayer is the first sign of spiritual life; Emmanuel was *in* Mansoul; the answer may be deferred, but praying breath was never spent in vain.—(Ed.)

[2] When the conscience is alarmed, and sends its battering-rams against the heart or affections, the castle, and so the whole soul, will be quickly reduced, and fall into the arms of Divine mercy.—(Ed.)

[3] There is joy in heaven over the repenting sinner. The heart, which was deemed *impregnable*, is taken by invincible grace.—(Burder.)

[4] Bunyan was for seven or eight weeks in this painful state. Peace in and out twenty times a day; comfort now, and trouble presently; peace now, and before I could go a furlong as full of fear and guilt as ever heart could hold.—*Grace Abounding*, No. 205—(Ed.)

chains, the better to reserve him to the judgment that he had appointed for him. But Diabolus stood up to entreat for himself, that Emmanuel would not send him into the deep, but suffer him to depart out of Mansoul in peace.

When Emmanuel had taken him and bound him in chains, he led him into the market-place, and there, before Mansoul, stripped him of his armour in which he boasted so much before. This now was one of the acts of triumph of Emmanuel over his enemy; and all the while that the giant was stripping, the trumpets of the golden Prince did sound amain; the captains also shouted, and the soldiers did sing for joy. Then was Mansoul called upon to behold the beginning of Emmanuel's triumph over him in whom they so much had trusted, and of whom they so much had boasted in the days when he flattered them.

He is taken and bound in chains

Mansoul must behold it.

Thus having made Diabolus naked in the eyes of Mansoul, and before the commanders of the Prince, in the next place he commands that Diabolus should be bound with chains to his chariot-wheels. Then leaving of some of his forces, to wit, Captain Boanerges, and Captain Conviction, as a guard for the castle gates, that resistance might be made on his behalf, if any that heretofore followed Diabolus should make an attempt to possess it, he did ride in triumph over him quite through the town of Mansoul, and so out at, and before the gate called Eyegate, to the plain where his camp did lie. Ep. iv.

He is bound to his chariot wheels.

The Prince rides in triumph over him in the sight of Mansoul.

But you cannot think unless you had been there, as I was, what a shout there was in Emmanuel's camp when they saw the tyrant bound by the hand of their noble Prince, and tied to his chariot-wheels! And they said, He hath led captivity captive; he hath spoiled principalities and powers; Diabolus is subjected to the power of his sword, and made the object of all derision![1]

They sing.

Those also that rode Reformades, and that came down to see the battle, they shouted with that greatness of voice, and sung with such melodious notes, that they caused them that dwell in the highest orbs to open their windows, put out their heads, and look down to see the cause of that glory. Lu. xv. 7–10.[2]

The Reformades' joy.

The townsmen also, so many of them as saw this sight, were as it were, while they looked, betwixt the earth and the heavens. True, they could not tell what would be the issue of things as to them, but all things were done in such excellent methods; and I cannot tell how, but things in the management of them seemed to cast a smile towards the town, so that their eyes, their heads, their hearts, and their minds, and all that they had, were taken and held, while they observed Emmanuel's order.[3]

The men of Mansoul taken with Emmanuel

So when the brave Prince had finished this part of his triumph over Diabolus his foe, he turned him up in the midst of his contempt and shame, having given him a charge no more to be a possessor of Mansoul. Then went he from Emmanuel, and out of the midst of his camp to inherit the parched places in a salt land, seeking rest but finding none. Mat. xii. 43.

Now Captain Boanerges and Captain Conviction were both of them men of very great majesty, their faces were like the faces of lions, [1 Ch. xii. 8.] and their words like the roaring of the sea; [Is. v. 29–30.] and they still quartered in Mr. Conscience's house, of whom mention was made before. When therefore the high and mighty Prince had thus far finished his triumph over Diabolus, the townsmen had more leisure to view and to behold the actions of these noble captains. But the captains carried it with that terror and dread in all that they did, and you may be sure that they had private instructions so to do, that they kept the town under continual heart-aching, and caused, in their apprehension, the well-being of Mansoul for the future, to hang in doubt before them, so that, for some considerable time, they neither knew what rest, or ease, or peace, or hope meant.[4]

The carriage of Boanerges and of Captain Conviction, do crush the spirit of Mansoul.

Nor did the Prince himself, as yet, abide in the town of Mansoul, but in his royal pavillion in the camp, and in the midst of his Father's forces. So at a time convenient, he sent special orders to Captain Boanerges to summons Mansoul, the whole of the townsmen, into the castle-yard, and then and there, before their faces, to take my Lord Understanding, Mr. Conscience, and that notable one the Lord Will-be-will, and put them all three in ward, and that they should set a strong guard upon them there, until his pleasure concerning them were further known. The which orders, when the captains had put them in execution, made no small addition to the fears of the town of Mansoul; for now, to their thinking, were their

The Prince commands, and the captains put the three chief of Mansoul in ward.

[1] At our Lord's ascension, when he triumphed over all the force of death and hell, obtained eternal redemption for us, and received all power in heaven and earth for his elect, till their number is accomplished. Then will be the everlasting triumph.—(Mason.)

[2] By the Reformades we are to understand the angel volunteers, who desire to look into the wonders of salvation, and who rejoice over every sinner who finds salvation in Christ. It is here very strikingly and beautifully expressed.—(Ed.)

[3] Compare this, and the two following paragraphs, with the *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 189–192.—(Ed.)

[4] Sin-sick soul, Christ is an all-sufficient physician: only follow his advice, and the efficacious prescriptions of his Word. Ho. vi. 3.—(Mason.)

former fears of the ruin of Mansoul confirmed. Now, what death they should die, and how long they should be in dying, was that which most perplexed their heads and hearts. Yea, they were afraid that Emmanuel would command them all into the deep, the place that the prince Diabolus was afraid of; for they knew that they had deserved it. Also to die by the sword in the face of the town, and in the open way of disgrace, from the hand of so good and so holy a Prince, that, too, troubled them sore. The town was also greatly troubled for the men that were committed to ward, for that they were their stay and their guide, and for that they believed that if those men were cut off, their execution would be but the beginning of the ruin of the town of Mansoul.[1] Wherefore what do they, but together with the men in prison, draw up a petition to the Prince, and sent it to Emmanuel by the hand of Mr. Wouldlive. So he went and came to the Prince's quarters, and presented the petition; the sum of which was this:—

Mansoul greatly distressed.

They send a petition to Emmanuel, by the hand of Mr. Wouldlive.

'Great and wonderful potentate, victor over Diabolus, and conqueror of the town of Mansoul, We, the miserable inhabitants of that most woful corporation, do humbly beg that we may find favour in thy sight, and remember not against us former transgressions, nor yet the sins of the chief of our town, but spare us according to the greatness of thy mercy, and let us not die, but live in thy sight; so shall we be willing to be thy servants, and if thou shalt think fit, to gather our meat under thy table.[2] Amen.'

So the petitioner went as was said with his petition to the Prince, and the Prince took it at his hand, but sent him away with silence. This still afflicted the town of Mansoul, but yet considering that now they must either petition, or die—for now they could not do anything else—therefore they consulted again, and sent another petition, and this petition was much after the form and method of the former.

They are answered with silence.

But when the petition was drawn up, by whom should they send it was the next question; for they would not send this by him by whom they sent the first, for they thought that the Prince had taken some offence at the manner of his deportment before him; so they attempted to make Captain Conviction their messenger with it, but he said that he neither durst, nor would petition Emmanuel for traitors; nor be to the Prince an advocate for rebels. Yet withal, said he, our Prince is good, and you may adventure to send it by the hand of one of your town, provided he went with a rope about his head, and pleaded nothing but mercy.[3]

They petition again.

They cannot tell by whom to send it.

Well, they made, through fear, their delays as long as they could, and longer than delays were good; but fearing at last the dangerousness of them, they thought, but with many a fainting in their minds, to send their petition by Mr. Desires-awake; so they sent for Mr. Desires-awake. Now he dwelt in a very mean cottage in Mansoul, and he came at his neighbours' request. So they told him what they had done, and what they would do concerning petitioning, and that they did desire of him that he would go therewith to the Prince.

Then said Mr. Desires-awake, why should not I do the best I can to save so famous a town as Mansoul from deserved destruction? They therefore delivered the petition to him, and told him how he must address himself to the Prince, and wished him ten thousand good speeds. So he comes to the Prince's pavilion, as the first, and asked to speak with his Majesty; so word was carried to Emmanuel, and the Prince came out to the man. When Mr. Desires-awake saw the Prince, he fell flat with his face to the ground, and cried out, O that Mansoul might live before thee! and with that he presented the petition. The which when the Prince had read, he turned away for a while and wept, but, refraining himself, he turned again to the man, who all this while lay crying at his feet as at the first, and said to him, Go thy way to thy place, and I will consider of thy requests.

Mr. Desires-awake goes with the petition to the Prince.

His entertainment.

Now you may think that they of Mansoul that had sent him, what with guilt, and what with fear, lest their petition should be rejected, could not but look with many a long look, and that too with strange workings of heart, to see what would become of their petition. At last, they saw their messenger coming back; so, when he was come, they asked him how he fared, what Emmanuel said, and what was become of the petition. But he told them that he would be silent till he came to the prison to my Lord Mayor, my Lord Will-be-will, and Mr. Recorder. So he went forwards towards the prison-house, where the men of Mansoul lay bound. But

His return, and answer to them that sent him.

[1] It is common with convinced sinners, before they obtain clear views of the gospel, to remain in terror and alarm. They feel themselves condemned by the faithful preaching of the Word; but all will be well—will issue in fervent prayer and happy peace.—(Burder.)

[2] Neither the bearer of this petition, nor the prayer itself, can be acceptable. It is the language of those who have been conquered by terror and power, and not by love; thus it ends with the words of Adonibezek, relative to the seventy kings that he had brought down to slavery. Ju. i. 7.—(Ed.)

[3] Heady and Highmind are long since slain—Mansoul feels her misery. As a condemned malefactor, expecting execution, what can she sue for but mercy? 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' For the ropes about their heads, see 1 Ki. xx. 31.—(Ed.)

O! what a multitude flocked after to hear what the messenger said. So when he was come and had shown himself at the grate of the prison, my Lord Mayor himself looked as white as a clout, the Recorder also did quake; but they asked and said, Come, good Sir, what did the great Prince say to you? Then said Mr. Desires-awake, when I came to my Lord's pavilion, I called, and he came forth; so I fell prostrate at his feet, and delivered to him my petition, for the greatness of his person, and the glory of his countenance would not suffer me to stand upon my legs. Now as he received the petition, I cried, O that Mansoul might live before thee! So when for a while he had looked thereon, he turned him about and said to his servant, Go thy way to thy place again, and I will consider of thy requests. The messenger added moreover, and said, The Prince to whom you sent me is such a one for beauty and glory, that whoso sees him must both love and fear him; I, for my part, can do no less; but I know not what will be the end of these things.[1] At this answer they were all at a stand; both they in prison, and they that followed the messenger thither to hear the news; nor knew they what or what manner of interpretation to put upon what the Prince had said. Now, when the prison was cleared of the throng, the prisoners among themselves began to comment upon Emmanuel's words. My Lord Mayor said that the answer did not look with a rugged face; but Will-be-will said it betokened evil; and the Recorder, that it was a messenger of death. Now, they that were left, and that stood behind, and so could not so well hear what the prisoners said, some of them catched hold of one piece of a sentence, and some on a bit of another; some took hold of what the messenger said, and some of the prisoners' judgment thereon; so none had the right understanding of things; but you cannot imagine what work these people made, and what a confusion there was in Mansoul now.[2]

Mansoul confounded at the answer.

The prisoners' judgment upon the Prince's answer.

Misgiving thoughts breed confusion in Mansoul.

For presently they that had heard what was said, flew about the town; one crying one thing, and another the quite contrary, and both were sure enough they told true, for they did hear, they said, with their ears what was said, and therefore could not be deceived. One would say, We must all be killed; another would say, We must all be saved; and a third would say that the Prince would not be concerned with Mansoul; and a fourth that the prisoners must be suddenly put to death. And as I said, every one stood to it that he told his tale the rightest, and that all others but he were out. Wherefore Mansoul had now molestation upon molestation, nor could any man know on what to rest the sole of his foot; for one would go by now, and as he went, if he heard his neighbour tell his tale, to be sure he would tell the quite contrary, and both would stand in it that he told the truth. Nay, some of them had got this story by the end, that the Prince did intend to put Mansoul to the sword. And now it began to be dark; wherefore poor Mansoul was in sad perplexity all that night until the morning.[3]

Mansoul in perplexity.

But, so far as I could gather, by the best information that I could get, all this hubbub came through the words that the Recorder said, when he told them that in his judgment the Prince's answer was a messenger of death. It was this that fired the town, and that began the fright in Mansoul, for Mansoul, in former times, did use to count that Mr. Recorder was a seer, and that his sentence was equal to the best of oracles, and thus was Mansoul a terror to itself.

What will guilt do?

And now did they begin to feel what was the effects of stubborn rebellion, and unlawful resistance against their Prince. I say they now began to feel the effects thereof by guilt and fear, that now had swallowed them up, and who more involved in the one, but they who were most in the other; to wit, the chief of the town of Mansoul.

To be brief, when the fame[4] of the fright was out of the town, and the prisoners had a little recovered themselves, they take to themselves some heart, and think to petition the Prince for life again. So they did draw up a third petition, the contents whereof were this:—

They resolve to petition again.

'Prince Emmanuel the Great, Lord of all worlds, and master of mercy, We, thy poor, wretched, miserable, dying town of Mansoul, do confess unto thy great and glorious majesty that we have sinned against thy Father and thee, and are no more worthy to be called thy Mansoul, but rather to be cast into the pit. If thou wilt slay us, we have deserved it. If thou wilt condemn us to the deep, we cannot but say thou art righteous. We cannot complain, whatever thou dost, or however thou carriest it towards us. But O! let mercy reign; and let it be extended

Their petition.

[1] It is a token of true conversion when the soul can, as it were, with one eye, behold its total defilement by sin, and abhor itself in dust and ashes; and with the other be struck with the glory and excellency of Christ's person and work, and the all-sufficiency of his salvation.—(Mason.)

[2] See *Grace Abounding*, No. 186.—(Ed.)

[3] No unconverted person can imagine with what rapidity these ideas pass through the mind of the convinced sinner, nor the distraction and misery of such a state of wretched uncertainty. The recollection of these feelings is the only key to the forty-second Psalm. 'Deep calleth unto deep, all thy waves and thy billows are gone over me.'—(Ed.)

[4] 'Fame,' or rumour, or public report; thus, Ge. xlv. 16.

to us! O let mercy take hold upon us, and free us from our transgressions, and we will sing of thy mercy and of thy judgment. Amen.'

Prayer attended with difficulty.

This petition, when drawn up, was designed to be sent to the Prince as the first, but who should carry it, that was the question. Some said, Let him do it that went with the first; but others thought not good to do that, and that because he sped no better. Now there was an old man in the town, and his name was Mr. Goodheed; a man that bare only the name, but had nothing of the nature of the thing. Now some were for sending of him, but the Recorder was by no means for that, for, said he, we now stand in need of, and are pleading for mercy, wherefore to send our petition by a man of his name will seem to cross the petition itself. Should we make Mr. Goodheed our messenger when our petition cries for mercy?

Old Goodheed propounded as a fit person to carry the petition; the old Recorder opposes it, and he is rejected.

'Besides,' quoth the old gentleman, 'should the Prince now, as he receives the petition, ask him and say, What is thy name? as nobody knows but he will, and he should say, Old Goodheed, what, think you, would Emmanuel say but this, Aye! is old Goodheed yet alive in Mansoul, then let old Goodheed save you from your distresses? And if he says so, I am sure we are lost; nor can a thousand of old Goodheeds save Mansoul.'[1]

After the Recorder had given in his reasons why old Goodheed should not go with this petition to Emmanuel, the rest of the prisoners and chief of Mansoul opposed it also, and so old Goodheed was laid aside, and they agreed to send Mr. Desires-awake again; so they sent for him, and desired him that he would a second time go with their petition to the Prince, and he readily told them he would. But they bid him that in any wise he would take heed that in no word or carriage he gave offence to the Prince, for by doing so, for ought we can tell, you may bring Mansoul into utter destruction, said they.

Now Mr. Desires-awake, when he saw that he must go of this errand, besought that they would grant that Mr. Weteyes might go with him. Now this Weteyes was a near neighbour of Mr. Desires, a poor man, a man of a broken spirit, yet one that could speak well to a petition. So they granted that he should go with him. Wherefore they address themselves to their business. Mr. Desires put a rope upon his head, and Mr. Weteyes went with hands wringing together.[2] Thus they went to the Prince's pavilion.

Mr. Desires-awake goes again, and takes one Weteyes with him.

Now when they went to petition this third time, they were not without thoughts that by often coming they might be a burden to the Prince. Wherefore, when they were come to the door of his pavilion, they first made their apology for themselves, and for their coming to trouble Emmanuel so often; and they said that they came not hither to-day for that they delighted in being troublesome, or for that they delighted to hear themselves talk, but for that necessity caused them to come to his Majesty: they could, they said, have no rest day nor night, because of their transgressions against Shaddai, and against Emmanuel his Son. They also thought that some misbehaviour of Mr. Desires-awake the last time, might give distaste to his Highness, and so caused that he returned from so merciful a Prince empty, and without countenance. So when they had made this apology, Mr. Desires-awake cast himself prostrate upon the ground as at the first, at the feet of the mighty Prince, saying, O that Mansoul might live before thee! And so he delivered his petition. The Prince then having read the petition, turned aside a while, as before, and, coming again to the place where the petitioner lay on the ground, he demanded what his name was, and of what esteem in the account of Mansoul; for that he, above all the multitude in Mansoul, should be sent to him upon such an errand. Then said the man to the Prince, 'O let not my Lord be angry; and why inquirest thou after the name of such a dead dog as I am? Pass by, I pray thee, and take no notice of who I am, because there is, as thou very well knowest, so great a disproportion between me and thee. Why the townsmen chose to send me on this errand to my Lord, is best known to themselves, but it could not be for that they thought that I had favour with my Lord. For my part, I am out of charity with myself; who then should be in love with me? Yet live I would, and so would I that my townsmen should, and because both they and myself are guilty of great transgressions, therefore they have sent me, and I am come in their names to beg of my Lord for mercy. Let it please thee therefore to incline to mercy, but ask not what thy servants are.'

Their apology for their coming again.

The Prince talketh with them.

Mr. Desires' free speech to the Prince.

Then said the Prince, 'And what is he that is become thy companion in this so weighty a matter?' So Mr. Desires told Emmanuel that he was a poor

[1] Although the spirit of prayer prevails, yet what a clinging is there to old Goodheeds. O you that hope for salvation in some supposed good deeds, listen to the answer which naturally suggests itself, 'Let good works save thee;' what need of grace. If salvation be attainable by the law, then the death of Christ was needless.—(Ed.)

[2] How humbling to human pride is this! But unless our desires for mercy be accompanied with a broken and a contrite spirit, they will be rejected; but the broken heart God will not despise. Ps. xxxiv. 18; li. 17. Is. lvii. 15. 'He will regard the prayer of the destitute.' Ps. cii. 17.—(Ed.)

neighbour of his, and one of his most intimate associates, and his name, said he, may it please your most excellent Majesty, is Weteyes, of the town of Mansoul. I know that there are many of that name that are naught, but I hope it will be no offence to my Lord that I have brought my poor neighbour with me.

Then Mr. Wet-eyes fell on his face to the ground, and made this apology for his coming with his neighbour to his Lord:—

Mr. Weteyes' apology for his coming with his neighbour.

'O my Lord,' quoth he, 'what I am I know not myself, nor whether my name be feigned or true, especially when I begin to think what some have said, namely, that this name was given me because Mr. Repentance was my father. Good men have bad children, and the sincere do oftentimes beget hypocrites. My mother also called me by this name from my cradle, but whether because of the moistness of my brain, or because of the softness of my heart, I cannot tell. I see dirt in mine own tears, and filthiness in the bottom of my prayers.[1] But I pray thee'—and all this while the gentleman wept—'that thou wouldest not remember against us our transgressions, nor take offence at the unqualifiedness of thy servants, but mercifully pass by the sin of Mansoul, and refrain from the glorifying of thy grace no longer.'[2]

So at his bidding they arose, and both stood trembling before him, and he spake to them to this purpose:—

The Prince's answer.

'The town of Mansoul hath grievously rebelled against my Father, in that they have rejected him from being their king, and did choose to themselves for their captain a liar, a murderer, and a runagate slave. For this Diabolus, and your pretended prince, though once so highly accounted of by you, made rebellion against my Father and me, even in our palace and highest court there, thinking to become a prince and king. But being there timely discovered and apprehended, and for his wickedness bound in chains, and separated to the pit with those who were his companions, he offered himself to you, and you have received him.

The original of Diabolus.

'Now this is, and for a long time hath been an high affront to my Father, wherefore my Father sent to you a powerful army to reduce you to your obedience. But you know how those men, their captains, and their counsels, were esteemed of you, and what they received at your hand. You rebelled against them, you shut your gates upon them, you bid them battle, you fought them, and fought for Diabolus against them. So they sent to my Father for more power, and I with my men are come to subdue you. But as you treated the servants, so you treated their Lord. You stood up in hostile manner against me, you shut up your gates against me, you turned the deaf ear to me, and resisted as long as you could; but now I have made a conquest of you. Did you cry me mercy so long as you had hopes that you might prevail against me?[3] But now I have taken the town, you cry. But why did you not cry before, when the white flag of my mercy, the red flag of justice, and the black flag that threatened execution, were set up to cite you to it? Now I have conquered your Diabolus, you come to me for favour, but why did you not help me against the mighty? Yet I will consider your petition, and will answer it so as will be for my glory.

'Go, bid Captain Boanerges and Captain Conviction bring the prisoners out to me into the camp to-morrow, and say you to Captain Judgment and Captain Execution, Stay you in the castle, and take good heed to yourselves that you keep all quiet in Mansoul until you hear further from me.' And with that he turned himself from them, and went into his royal pavilion again.[4]

So the petitioners having received this answer from the Prince, returned as at the first to go to their companions again. But they had not gone far, but thoughts began to work in their minds that no mercy as yet was intended by the Prince to Mansoul; so they went to the place where the prisoners lay bound; but these workings of mind about what would become of Mansoul, had such strong power over them, that by that they were come unto them that sent them, they were scarce able to deliver their message.

Of inquisitive thoughts.

But they came at length to the gates of the town—now the townsmen with earnestness were waiting for their return—where many met them, to know what answer was made to the petition. Then they cried out to those that were sent, What news from the Prince, and what hath Emmanuel said? But they said that they must, as before, go up to the prison, and there deliver their message. So away they went to the prison, with a multitude at their heels. Now, when they were come to the grates of the prison,

[1] This language is peculiarly striking; there may be a mixture of pride in our deepest humility, and sin mingled with our holiest duties.—(Ed.)

[2] Will-be-will is brought low; Boastings, Bragman, Illpause are dead; the soul is humbled, and uses such striking but just terms, 'I see dirt in mine own tears.' Redemption draws nigh. Beveridge says, 'Repentance needs to be repented, our tears want washing, and the very washing of these tears needs still to be washed over again in the blood of the Redeemer.'—(Ed.)

[3] All converted souls will confess that if God the Spirit had not arrested and stopped them in their mad career, they would have lived, died, and perished for ever in their sins.—(Mason.)

[4] How much must this have deepened their sense of sin. The law enters that sin may abound, that it may appear exceedingly sinful, and render the grace of God infinitely precious. —(Burder.) The recollection of such dreadful suspense is invaluable to prevent backsliding, by hatred to sin.— Ed.

they told the first part of Emmanuel's speech to the prisoners; to wit, how he reflected upon their disloyalty to his Father and himself, and how they had chose and closed with Diabolus, had fought for him, hearkened to him, and been ruled by him, but had despised him and his men. This made the prisoners look pale; but the messengers proceeded, and said, He, the Prince, said, moreover, that yet he would consider your petition, and give such answer thereto as would stand with his glory. And as these words were spoken, Mr. Weteyes gave a great sigh. At this they were all of them struck into their dumps, and could not tell what to say. Fear also possessed them in a marvellous manner; and death seemed to sit upon some of their eyebrows.[1]

The messengers, in telling their tale, fright the prisoners.

Now, there was in the company a notable sharp-witted fellow, a mean man of estate, and his name was old Inquisitive. This man asked the petitioners if they had told out every whit of what Emmanuel said. And they answered, Verily, no. Then said Inquisitive, I thought so, indeed. Pray, what was it more that he said unto you? Then they paused awhile; but at last they brought out all, saying, The Prince did bid us bid Captain Boanerges and Captain Conviction bring the prisoners down to him to-morrow; and that Captain Judgment and Captain Execution should take charge of the castle and town till they should hear further from him. They said also that when the Prince had commanded them thus to do, he immediately turned his back upon them, and went into his royal pavillion.

Old Inquisitive.

But O how this return, and especially this last clause of it, that the prisoners must go out to the Prince into the camp, brake all their loins in pieces! Wherefore, with one voice, they set up a cry that reached up to the heavens.[2] This done, each of the three prepared himself to die; and the Recorder* said unto them, This was the thing that I feared; for they concluded that to-morrow, by that the sun went down, they should be tumbled out of the world. The whole town also counted of no other but that, in their time and order, they must all drink of the same cup. Wherefore the town of Mansoul spent that night in mourning, and sackcloth, and ashes. The prisoners also, when the time was come for them to go down before the prince, dressed themselves in mourning attire, with ropes upon their heads.[3] The whole town of Mansoul also showed themselves upon the wall, all clad in mourning weeds, if, perhaps, the Prince, with the sight thereof, might be moved with compassion. But O how the busybodies* that were in the town of Mansoul did now concern themselves! They did run here and there through the streets of the town by companies, crying out as they ran in tumultuous wise, one after one manner, and another the quite contrary, to the almost utter distraction of Mansoul.

* Conscience.

* Vain thoughts.

Well, the time is come that the prisoners must go down to the camp, and appear before the Prince. And thus was the manner of their going down. Captain Boanerges went with a guard before them, and Captain Conviction came behind, and the prisoners went down bound in chains in the midst; so, I say, the prisoners went in the midst, and the guard went with flying colours behind and before, but the prisoners went with drooping spirits.

The prisoners had to trial.

Or, more particularly, thus:

The prisoners went down all in mourning; they put ropes upon themselves; they went on smiting of themselves on the breasts, but durst not lift up their eyes to heaven. Thus they went out at the gate of Mansoul, till they came into the midst of the Prince's army, the sight and glory of which did greatly heighten their affliction. Nor could they now longer forbear, but cry out aloud, O unhappy men! O wretched men of Mansoul! Their chains still mixing their dolorous notes with the cries of the prisoners, made noise more lamentable.[4]

How they went.

So, when they were come to the door of the Prince's pavilion, they cast themselves prostrate upon the place. Then one went in and told his Lord that the prisoners were come down. The Prince then ascended a throne of state, and sent for the prisoners in; who when they came, did tremble before him, also they covered their faces with shame. Now as they drew near to the place where he sat, they threw themselves down before him. Then said the Prince to the Captain Boanerges, Bid the prisoners stand upon their feet. Then they stood trembling before him, and he said, Are you the men that heretofore were the servants of Shaddai? And they said, Yes, Lord, yes. Then said the Prince again, Are you the men that did suffer yourselves to be corrupted and defiled by that abominable one Diabolus? And they said, We did more than suffer it, Lord; for

They fall down prostrate before him.

They are upon their trial.

[1] See *Grace Abounding*, No. 210–212.—(Ed.)

[2] 'O! how gladly now would I have been anybody but myself, anything but a man, and in any condition but my own; for there was nothing did pass more frequently over my mind than that it was impossible for me to be forgiven my transgression, and to be saved from wrath to come.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 149; see also No. 140.—(Ed.)

[3] I thought also of Benhadad's servants, who went *with ropes upon their heads* to their enemies for mercy. 1 Ki. xx. 31. —*Grace Abounding*, No. 251.—(Ed.)

[4] This godly sorrow was a prelude to joy unspeakable and full of glory. This sort of weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. They went forth weeping, bearing precious seed, but were soon to return with joy, bringing their sheaves with them.—(Burder.)

we chose it of our own mind. The Prince asked further, saying, Could you have been content that your slavery should have continued under his tyranny as long as you had lived? Then said the prisoners, Yes, Lord, yes; for his ways were pleasing to our flesh, and we were grown aliens to a better state. And did you, said he, when I came up against this town of Mansoul, heartily wish that I might not have the victory over you? Yes, Lord, yes, said they. Then said the Prince, And what punishment is it, think you, that you deserve at my hand for these and other your high and mighty sins? And they said, Both death and the deep,[1] Lord; for we have deserved no less. He asked again if they had ought to say for themselves, why the sentence that they confessed that they had deserved should not be passed upon them? And they said, We can say nothing, Lord; thou art just, for we have sinned. Then said the Prince, And for what are those ropes on your heads? The prisoners answered, these ropes * are to bind us withal to the place of execution, if mercy be not pleasing in thy sight. So he further asked, if all the men in the town of Mansoul were in this confession as they? And they answered, All the natives,* Lord; but for the Diabolonians † that came into our town when the tyrant got possession of us, we can say nothing for them.[2]

They condemn themselves.

* Sins.

* Powers of the soul.

† Corruptions and lusts.

Then the Prince commanded that a herald should be called, and that he should, in the midst, and throughout the camp of Emmanuel, proclaim, and that with sound of trumpet, that the Prince, the Son of Shaddai, had, in his Father's name, and for his Father's glory, gotten a perfect conquest and victory over Mansoul, and that the prisoners should follow him, and say, Amen. So this was done as he had commanded. And presently the music that was in the upper region sounded melodiously. The captains that were in the camp shouted, and the soldiers did sing songs of triumph to the Prince, the colours waved in the wind, and great joy was everywhere, only it was wanting as yet in the hearts of the men of Mansoul.[3]

A victory proclaimed.

Joy for the victory.

Then the Prince called for the prisoners to come and to stand again before him, and they came and stood trembling. And he said unto them, The sins, trespasses, iniquities, that you, with the whole town of Mansoul, have from time to time committed against my Father and me, I have power and commandment from my Father to forgive to the town of Mansoul; and do forgive you accordingly. And having so said, he gave them written in parchment, and sealed with seven seals, a large and general pardon, commanding-both my Lord Mayor, my Lord Will-be-will, and Mr. Recorder, to proclaim, and cause it to be proclaimed to-morrow by that the sun is up, throughout the whole town of Mansoul.

They are pardoned, and are commanded to proclaim it to-morrow in Mansoul.

Moreover, the Prince stripped the prisoners of their mourning weeds, and gave them 'beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.' Is. lxi. 3.

Their rags are taken from them.

Then he gave to each of the three, jewels of gold, and precious stones, and took away their ropes, and put chains of gold about their necks, and ear-rings in their ears. Now the prisoners, when they did hear the gracious words of Prince Emmanuel, and had beheld all that was done unto them, fainted almost quite away; for the grace, the benefit, the pardon, was sudden, glorious, and so big, that they were not able, without staggering, to stand up under it.[4] Yea, my Lord Will-be-will swooned outright; but the Prince stepped to him, put his everlasting arms under him, embraced him, kissed him, and bid him be of good cheer, for all should be performed according to his word. He also did kiss, and embrace, and smile upon the other two that were Will-be-will's companions, saying, Take these as further tokens of my love, favour, and compassion to you; and I charge you, that you, Mr. Recorder, tell in the town of Mansoul what you have heard and seen.

A strange alteration.

Then were their fetters broken to pieces before their faces, and cast into the air, and their *steps*[5] were enlarged under them. Then they fell down at the feet of the Prince, and kissed his feet, and wetted them

Their guilt.

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[1] 'Death and the deep;' or *bottomless pit*.—(Ed.)

[2] The distinction between inbred sins and the evil suggestions of the enemy is very difficult to be drawn. The gold, silver, and precious stones will be purified and polished; while the wood, hay, and stubble will be burned up. 1 Co. iii. 12, 13. The natives or powers of the soul are pardoned, while the corruptions and lusts are to be crucified. Reader, this is solemn, searching heart-work.—(Ed.)

[3] The work of conversion is accomplished—the heart taken; the victory of Emmanuel over Mansoul is proclaimed; the heavenly host rejoices; Diabolus is driven from the town, but the King of glory has not yet entered—his gracious presence is not yet felt in the soul; the gates are open; he will enter, and will not tarry. Is this to show that Heart Castle is to be prepared for him, after it has been occupied by infernals? 'The preparation of the heart is with him,' and then comes 'the answer of the tongue.' Pr. xvi. 1.—(Ed.)

[4] I had such strange apprehensions of the grace of God that I could hardly bear up under it; it was so out of measure amazing, when I thought it could reach me, that I do think, if that sense of it had abode long upon me, it would have made me incapable of business.—*Grace Abounding*, No. 202.—(Ed.)

[5] For the meaning of 'their steps were enlarged,' consult Ps. xviii. 36, and Pr. iv. 12. It is here most admirably introduced. After having been shut up and environed by the most distressing fears and awful alarms of conscience, the soul is now at liberty, and walks in peace; the Rock of ages supporting their hopes, full of heavenly anticipations and holy enjoyments.—(Ed.)

with tears; also they cried out with a mighty strong voice, saying, 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from this place.' Eze. iii. 12. So they were bid rise up, and go to the town, and tell to Mansoul what the Prince had done. He commanded also that one with a pipe and tabor should go and play before them all the way into the town of Mansoul. Then was fulfilled what they never looked for, and they were made to possess that which they never dreamed of.[1]

They are sent home with pipe and tabor.

The Prince also called for the noble Captain Credence, and commanded that he and some of his officers should march before the noblemen of Mansoul with flying colours into the town. He gave also unto Captain Credence a charge, that about that time that the Recorder did read the general pardon in the town of Mansoul, that at that very time he should with flying colours march in at Eyegate with his ten thousands at his feet, and that he should go until he came by the high street of the town, up to the castle gates, and that himself should take possession thereof against his Lord came thither. He commanded, moreover, that he should bid Captain Judgment and Captain Execution to leave the strong hold to him, and to withdraw from Mansoul, and to return into the camp with speed unto the Prince.

Captain Credence guards them home.

When faith and pardon meet together, judgment and execution depart from the heart.

And now was the town of Mansoul also delivered from the terror of the first four captains and their men.[2]

[Chapter IX.]

[Contents:—The liberated prisoners return to Mansoul, where they are received with great joy—The inhabitants request Emmanuel to take up his residence among them—He consents—Makes a triumphal entry amid the shouts of the people—The town is new modelled, and the image of Shaddai erected.]

Well, I told you before how the prisoners were entertained by the noble Prince Emmanuel, and how they behaved themselves before him, and how he sent them away to their home with pipe and tabor going before them. And now you must think that those of the town that had all this while waited to hear of their death, could not but be exercised with sadness of mind, and with thoughts that pricked like thorns. Nor could their thoughts be kept to any one point; the wind blew with them all this while at great uncertainties, yea, their hearts were like a balance that had been disquieted with a shaking hand. But at last, as they with many a long look looked over the wall of Mansoul, they thought that they saw some returning to the town; and thought again, Who should they be too, who should they be! At last they discerned that they were the prisoners; but can you imagine how their hearts were surprised with wonder, especially when they perceived also in what equipage and with what honour they were sent home? They went down to the camp in black, but they came back to the town in white; they went down to the camp in ropes, they came back in chains of gold; they went down to the camp with their feet in fetters, but came back with their steps enlarged under them; they went also to the camp looking for death, but they came back from thence with assurance of life; they went down to the camp with heavy hearts, but came back again with pipe and tabor playing before them. So, so soon as they were come to Eyegate, the poor and tottering town of Mansoul adventured to give a shout, and they gave such a shout as made the captains in the Prince's army leap at the sound thereof.

A strange alteration.

Alas for them, poor hearts! who could blame them, since their dead friends were come to life again? for it was to them as life from the dead, to see the ancients of the town of Mansoul to shine in such splendour. They looked for nothing but the axe and the block; but behold, joy and gladness, comfort and consolation, and such melodious notes attending of them that was sufficient to make a sick man well. So when they came up, they saluted each other with Welcome! welcome! and blessed be he that has spared you. Is. xxxiii. 24. They added also, We see it is well with you, but how must it go with the town of Mansoul? and, Will it go well with the town of Mansoul? said they. Then answered them the Recorder and my Lord Mayor, O tidings! glad tidings! good tidings of good and of great joy to poor Mansoul! Then they gave another shout that made the earth to ring again. After this they inquired yet more particularly how things went in the camp, and what message they had from Emmanuel to the town. So they told them all passages that had happened to them at the camp, and everything that the Prince did to them. This made Mansoul wonder at the wisdom and grace of the Prince Emmanuel. Then they told them what they had received at his hands for the whole town

Conscience. The understanding.

[1] What a change! 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing; then said they among the heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them. Who is like unto thee, pardoning iniquity, transgression, and sin? Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity. Blessed is the man to whom God imputeth righteousness without works.' Ro. iv. 6.—(Burder)

[2] 'There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus.' The four captains no longer denounce the wrath of God; the end of their ministry is accomplished, and their awful speeches are no more heard. This is well expressed in the margin. When faith and pardon meet together, judgment and execution depart from the heart.—(Burder.)

of Mansoul; and the Recorder delivered it in these words—PARDON, PARDON, PARDON for Mansoul; and this shall Mansoul know to-morrow. Then he commanded, and they went and summoned Mansoul to meet together in the market-place to-morrow, there to hear their general pardon read.

O the joy of pardon of sin!

But who can think what a turn, what a change, what an alteration this hint of things did make in the countenance of the town of Mansoul! No man of Mansoul could sleep that night for joy;[1] in every house there was joy and music, singing and making merry, telling and hearing of Mansoul's happiness, was then all that Mansoul had to do; and this was the burden of all their song—O, more of this at the rising of the sun! more of this to-morrow! Who thought yesterday, would one say, that this day would have been such a day to us? And who thought, that saw our prisoners go down in irons, that they would have returned in chains of gold! yea, they that judged themselves as they went to be judged of their judge, were by his mouth acquitted, not for that they were innocent, but of the Prince's mercy, and sent home with pipe and tabor. But is this the common custom of princes? do they use to show such kind of favours to traitors? No! this is only peculiar to Shaddai, and unto Emmanuel his Son.[2]

Town-talk of the King's mercy.

Now morning drew on apace, wherefore the Lord Mayor, the Lord Will-be-will, and Mr. Recorder came down to the market-place at the time that the Prince had appointed, where the townsfolk were waiting for them; and when they came, they came in that attire and in that glory that the Prince had put them into the day before, and the street was lightened with their glory. So the Mayor, Recorder, and my Lord Will-be-will drew down to Mouthgate, which was at the lower end of the market-place, because that of old time was the place where they used to read public matters. Thither therefore they came in their robes, and their tabret went before them. Now the eagerness of the people to know the full of the matter was great.

Then the Recorder stood up upon his feet, and first beckoning with his hand for a silence, he read out with loud voice the pardon. But when he came to these words, 'The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, pardoning iniquity, transgression, and sin,' Ex. xxxiv. 6; and to these, 'all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven,' &c., Mar. iii. 28; they could not forbear but leap for joy. For this you must know, that there was conjoined herewith every man's name in Mansoul; also the seals of the pardon made a brave show.[3]

The manner of reading the pardon.

When the Recorder had made an end of reading the pardon, the townsmen ran up upon the walls of the town, and leaped and skipped thereon for joy; and bowed themselves seven times with their faces towards Emmanuel's pavilion, and shouted out aloud for joy, and said, Let Emmanuel live for ever! Then order was given to the young men in Mansoul, that they should ring the bells for joy. So the bells did ring, and the people sing, and the music go in every house in Mansoul.[4]

Now they tread upon the flesh.

Lively and warm thoughts.

When the Prince had sent home the three prisoners of Mansoul with joy, and pipe, and tabor; he commanded his captains, with all the field-officers and soldiers throughout his army, to be ready in that morning that the Recorder should read the pardon in Mansoul, to do his further pleasure. So the morning, as I have showed, being come, just as the Recorder had made an end of reading the pardon, Emmanuel commanded that all the trumpets in the camp should sound, that the colours should be displayed, half of them upon Mount Gracious, and half of them upon Mount Justice.[5] He commanded also that all the captains should show themselves in all their harness, and that the soldiers should shout for joy. Nor was Captain Credence, though in the castle, silent in such a day, but he, from the top of the hold, showed himself with sound of trumpet to Mansoul, and to the Prince's camp.

The carriage of the camp.

Faith will not be silent when Mansoul is saved.

Thus have I showed you the manner and way that Emmanuel took to recover the town of Mansoul from under the hand and power of the tyrant Diabolus.

Now when the Prince had completed these, the outward ceremonies of his joy, he again commanded that his captains and soldiers should show unto Mansoul some feats of war. So they presently addressed themselves to this work. But O, with what agility,

The Prince displays his graces before Mansoul.

[1] Reader, have you experienced this holy joy, 'unspeakable, and full of glory?' What can we render to God for such a blessing. Our light afflictions, which grind us to the earth, are but for a moment in comparison with 'an eternal weight of glory.' 'The inhabitants shall not say, I am sick;' there is no cause of sickness or pain, for they are 'forgiven their iniquity.' Is. xxxiii. 24.—(Ed.)

[2] Man bestows favours on the most worthy, but God extends mercy to enemies, rebels, and beggars; whom he strips of their filthy rags of pride and self-righteousness, blots out their sins by the blood of his cross, and arrays with the best robe of salvation.—(Mason.)

[3] 'Sealed with the Holy Spirit' to the day of redemption, to show forth faith by works 'with meekness of wisdom'—a brave show; see Ep. i. 13; iv. 30. Ja. ii. 18; iii. 13.—(Ed.)

[4] O pardoned sinner, how can you sufficiently magnify the exceeding riches of Divine grace! In vain the soul attempts to measure the breadth and length, the depth and height, of the love of Christ; it surpasseth knowledge.—(Burder.)

[5] During the siege, the flags were unfurled one at a time, beginning with mercy, and ending with judgment; but now mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed *each other*. Ps. lxxxv. 10.—(Ed.)

nimbleness, dexterity, and bravery did these military men discover their skill in feats of war to the now gazing town of Mansoul!

They marched, they counter-marched, they opened to the right and left, they divided and subdivided, they closed, they wheeled, made good their front and rear with their right and left wings, and twenty things more, with that aptness, and then were all as they were again, that they took, yea, ravished the hearts that were in Mansoul to behold it. But add to this, the handling of their arms, the managing of their weapons of war, were marvellous taking to Mansoul and me.[1]

They are ravished at the sight of them.

When this action was over, the whole town of Mansoul came out as one man to the Prince in the camp to thank him, and praise him for his abundant favour, and to beg that it would please his grace to come unto Mansoul with his men, and there to take up their quarters for ever. And this they did in most humble manner, bowing themselves seven times to the ground before him. Then said he, All peace be to you. So the town came nigh, and touched with the hand the top of his golden sceptre, and they said, O that the Prince Emmanuel, with his captains and men of war, would dwell in Mansoul for ever; and that his battering rams and slings might be lodged in her for the use and service of the Prince, and for the help and strength of Mansoul. 'For,' said they, 'we have room for thee, we have room for thy men, we have also room for thy weapons of war, and a place to make a magazine for thy carriages. Do it, Emmanuel, and thou shalt be King and Captain in Mansoul for ever. Yea, govern thou also according to all the desire of thy soul, and make thou governors and princes under thee of thy captains and men of war, and we will become thy servants, and thy laws shall be our direction.'

They beg that the Prince and his men will dwell with them for ever.

Say, and hold to it, Mansoul.

They added, moreover, and prayed his Majesty to consider thereof; 'for,' said they, 'if now, after all this grace bestowed upon us thy miserable town of Mansoul, thou shouldest withdraw, thou and thy captains from us, the town of Mansoul will die.[2] Yea,' said they, 'our blessed Emmanuel, if thou shouldest depart from us now thou hast done so much good for us, and showed so much mercy unto us; what will follow but that our joy will be as if it had not been, and our enemies will a second time come upon us with more rage than at the first. Wherefore, we beseech thee, O thou the desire of our eyes, and the strength and life of our poor town, accept of this motion that now we have made unto our Lord, and come and dwell in the midst of us, and let us be thy people. Besides, Lord, we do not know but that to this day many Diabolonians may be yet lurking in the town of Mansoul, and they will betray us when thou shalt leave us, into the hand of Diabolus again; and who knows what designs, plots, or contrivances have passed betwixt them about these things already; loth we are to fall again into his horrible hands. Wherefore, let it please thee to accept of our palace for thy place of residence, and of the houses of the best men in our town for the reception of thy soldiers, and their furniture.'[3]

Their fears.

Then said the Prince, 'If I come to your town, will you suffer me further to prosecute that which is in mine heart against mine enemies and yours, yea, will you help me in such undertakings?'

The Prince's question to Mansoul.

They answered, 'We know not what we shall do; we did not think once that we should have been such traitors to Shaddai as we have proved to be; what then shall we say to our Lord? Let him put no trust in his saints, let the Prince dwell in our castle, and make of our town a garrison, let him set his noble captains, and his warlike soldiers over us. Yea, let him conquer us with his love, and overcome us with his grace, and then surely shall he be but with us, and help us, as he was, and did that morning that our pardon was read unto us, we shall comply with this, our Lord, and with his ways, and fall in with his word against the mighty.

Their answer.

'One word more, and thy servants have done, and in this will trouble our Lord no more. We know not the depth of the wisdom of thee our Prince. Who could have thought that had been ruled by his reason, that so much sweet as we do now enjoy should have come out of those bitter trials wherewith we were tried at the first? but, Lord, let light go before, and let love come after; yea, take us by the hand, and lead us by thy counsels, and let this always abide upon us, that all things shall be for the best for thy servants, and come to our Mansoul, and do as it pleaseth thee. Or, Lord, come to our Mansoul, do what

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[1] 'And me,' shows the personal interest of the author in this soul's conflict with the prince of darkness. The war *is to be carried on*, therefore must Mansoul learn the art of war, and see the King in his beauty, glory, and power, that he may have confidence in him. Christ, by faith, dwells in the heart, and all is rapture and ecstacy; and they, for a time, see nothing of the Diabolonians who yet lurked in their walls.—(Ed.)

[2] This is the fear which is the beginning of wisdom, arising from a sense of total dependence upon the Lord for spiritual strength; a fear of losing his presence. 'Hold up my goings *that* my footsteps slip not.' Ps. xvii. 5.—(Ed.)

[3] 'Furniture,' as an old military term, means warlike equipments.

> 'To deedes of armes and proof of chivalrie,
> They gan themselues addresse, full rich aguiz'd,
> As each one had his *furniture* deviz'd.'—Spencer.—(Ed.)

thou wilt, so thou keepest us from sinning, and makest us serviceable to thy majesty.'[1]

He consenteth to dwell in Mansoul, and promiseth to come in to-morrow.

Then said the Prince to the town of Mansoul again, 'Go, return to your houses in peace, I will willingly in this comply with your desires. I will remove my royal pavilion, I will draw up my forces before Eyegate to-morrow, and so will march forwards into the town of Mansoul. I will possess myself of your castle of Mansoul, and will set my soldiers over you; yea, I will yet do things in Mansoul that cannot be paralleled in any nation, country or kingdom under heaven.'

Then did the men of Mansoul give a shout, and returned unto their houses in peace; they also told to their kindred and friends the good that Emmanuel had promised to Mansoul. And to-morrow, said they, he will march into our town, and take up his dwelling, he and his men in Mansoul.

Then went out the inhabitants of the town of Mansoul with haste to the green trees, and to the meadows, to gather boughs and flowers, therewith to strew the streets against their Prince, the Son of Shaddai, should come; they also made garlands, and other fine works, to betoken how joyful they were, and should be to receive their Emmanuel into Mansoul; yea, they strewed the street quite from Eyegate to the Castle-gate, the place where the Prince should be. They also prepared for his coming what music the town of Mansoul would afford, that they might play before him to the palace, his habitation.

Mansoul's preparation for his reception.

So, at the time appointed, he makes his approach to Mansoul, and the gates were set open for him, there also the ancients and elders of Mansoul met him, to salute him with a thousand welcomes. Then he arose and entered Mansoul, he and all his servants. The elders of Mansoul did also go dancing before him till he came to the castle gates.

He enters the town of Mansoul, and how.

And this was the manner of his going up thither. He was clad in his golden armour, he rode in his royal chariot, the trumpets sounded about him, the colours were displayed, his ten thousands went up at his feet, and the elders of Mansoul danced before him.[2] And now were the walls of the famous town of Mansoul filled with the tramplings of the inhabitants thereof, who went up thither to view the approach of the blessed Prince, and his royal army. Also the casements, windows, balconies, and tops of the houses were all now filled with persons of all sorts to behold how their town was to be filled with good.[3]

Now when he was come so far into the town as to the Recorder's house, he commanded that one should go to Captain Credence, to know whether the castle of Mansoul was prepared to entertain his Royal Presence, for the preparation of that was left to that Captain, and word was brought that it was [4] Ac. xv. 9. Then was Captain Credence commanded also to come forth with his power to meet the Prince, the which was, as he had commanded, done, and he conducted him into the castle.[4] Ep. iii. 17. This done, the Prince that night did lodge in the castle with his mighty captains and men of war, to the joy of the town of Mansoul.

Now the next care of the townsfolk was how the captains and soldiers of the Prince's army should be quartered among them, and the care was not how they should shut their hands of them, but how they should fill their houses with them; for every man in Mansoul now had that esteem of Emmanuel and his men, that nothing grieved them more than because they were not enlarged enough, every one of them to receive the whole army of the Prince, yea, they counted it their glory to be waiting upon them, and would in those days run at their bidding like lacqueys. At last they came to this result:—

The townsmen covet who shall have most of the soldiers that belong to the Prince.

1. That Captain Innocency should quarter at Mr. Reason's. 2. That Captain Patience should quarter at Mr. Mind's. This Mr. Mind was formerly the Lord Will-be-will's clerk, in time of the late rebellion. 3. It was ordered that Captain Charity should quarter at Mr. Affection's house. 4. That Captain Goodhope should quarter at my Lord Mayor's. Now for the house of the Recorder, himself desired, because his house was next to the castle, and because from him it was ordered by the Prince, that, if need be, the alarm should be given to Mansoul; it was, I say, desired by him that Captain Boanerges and Captain Conviction should take up their quarters with him, even they and all their men. 5. As for Captain Judgment, and Captain Execution, my Lord Will-be-will took them, and their men to him, because he was to rule under the Prince for the good of the town of

How they were quartered in the town of Mansoul.

[1] This is the language of first love; but let the caution in the margin be noticed, 'Say, and hold to it, Mansoul.' Happy, indeed, are those who continue in this good mind all their days! Alas! the sequel of the story shows how changeable a creature is man.—(Burder.) Without Christ we can do nothing. Jn. xv. 5.—(Mason.)

[2] When the glory of Christ's person and work is clearly manifested, the renewed soul, transported with joy at the sight, finds him to be the fairest among ten thousand fair, and altogether lovely.—(Mason.)

[3] Well may the soul rejoice when Jesus comes to dwell in it. 'If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.' Jn. xiv. 23.—(Burder.)

[4] Throughout this war, Credence or Faith is never lost sight of. Here we have exemplified the scripture maxim, 'That Christ may dwell in your hearts BY FAITH.' Ep. iii. 17. Purifying your hearts by faith. Ac. xv. 9.—(L.D.)

Mansoul now, as he had before, under the tyrant Diabolus for the hurt and damage thereof. Ro. vi. 19. Ep iii. 17. 6. And throughout the rest of the town were quartered Emmanuel's forces, but Captain Credence with his men abode still in the castle. So the Prince, his captains, and his soldiers were lodged in the town of Mansoul.[1]

Mansoul inflamed with their Prince Emmanuel.

Now the ancients and elders of the town of Mansoul thought that they never should have enough of the Prince Emmanuel; his person, his actions, his words, and behaviour, were so pleasing, so taking, so desirable to them. Wherefore, they prayed him, that though the castle of Mansoul was his place of residence, and they desired that he might dwell there for ever, yet that he would often visit the streets, houses, and people of Mansoul. For, said they, dread Sovereign, thy presence, thy looks, thy smiles, thy words, are the life, and strength, and sinews of the town of Mansoul.[2]

They have access unto him.

Besides this, they craved that they might have, without difficulty or interruption, continual access unto him, so for that very purpose he commanded that the gates should stand open, that they might there see the manner of his doings, the fortifications of the place, and the royal mansion-house of the Prince. When he spake they all stopped their mouths, and gave audience; and when he walked, it was their delight to imitate him in his goings.

They learn of him.

Now upon a time Emmanuel made a feast for the town of Mansoul, and upon the feasting-day the townsfolk were come to the castle to partake of his banquet. And he feasted them with all manner of outlandish food, food that grew not in the fields of Mansoul, nor in all the whole kingdom of Universe. It was food that came from his Father's court, and so there was dish after dish set before them, and they were commanded freely to eat. But still when a fresh dish was set before them, they would whisperingly say to each other, What is it?[3] Ex. xvi. 15. For they wist not what to call it. They drank also of the water that was made wine; and were very merry with him. There was music also all the while at the table,

Promise after promise.

Brave entertainment.

and man did eat angels' food, and had honey given him out of the rock. So Mansoul did eat the food that was peculiar to the court, yea, they had now thereof to the full.[4] Ps. lxxviii. 24, 25.

I must not forget to tell you that as at this table there were musicians, so they were not those of the country, nor yet of the town of Mansoul; but they were the masters of the songs that were sung at the court of Shaddai.[5]

Now after the feast was over, Emmanuel was for entertaining the town of Mansoul with some curious riddles of secrets drawn up by his Father's secretary, by the skill and wisdom of Shaddai; the like to these there is not in any kingdom. These riddles were made upon the King Shaddai himself, and upon Emmanuel his Son, and upon his wars and doings with Mansoul.

Riddles.

The Holy Scriptures.

Emmanuel also expounded unto them some of those riddles himself, but O how they were lightened! They saw what they never saw, they could not have thought that such rarities could have been couched in so few and such ordinary words. I told you before whom these riddles did concern; and as they were opened, the people did evidently see it was so. Yea, they did gather that the things themselves were a kind of portraiture, and that of Emmanuel himself; for when they read in the scheme where the riddles were writ, and looked in the face of the Prince, things looked so like the one to the other that Mansoul could not forbear but say, This is the Lamb, this is the Sacrifice, this is the Rock, this is the Red Cow, this is the Door, and this is the way; with a great many other things more.[6]

The end of that banquet.

And thus he dismissed the town of Mansoul. But can you imagine how the people of the corporation were taken with this entertainment? O they were transported with joy, they were drowned with wonderment, while they saw and understood, and considered what their Emmanuel entertained them withal, and what mysteries he opened to them; and when they were at home in their houses, and in their most retired places, they could not but sing of him, and of his actions. Yea, so taken were the townsmen now with their Prince, that they would sing of him in their sleep.

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[1] Much judgment is displayed in this distribution of the soldiers, particularly in quartering Boanerges and Conviction in the house of Conscience.—(Burder.)

[2] The convert's anxious desire is, that Emmanuel should not only reign in the heart or castle, but also visit and govern the head or judgment, and all the powers of the soul.—(Ed.)

[3] 'What is it;' the meaning of the word manna, put in the margin of the Bible.—(Ed.)

[4] These sweet views of Christ, and the comforts of his Spirit, are not uncommon at the soul's espousals to him after conversion, when he brings her into his banqueting-house; and his banner over her is love. Ca. ii. 4.—(Mason.)

[5] This is the gospel feast—a feast of fat things, meat indeed, and drink indeed; not of nature, but from heaven. The music is such as saints and angels sing before the throne; the word of Christ, in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs.—(Burder.)

[6] Bunyan was fond of introducing spiritual riddles in godly company, and it must have been a very profitable pastime. The types of Christ in the Old Testament are excellent riddles. So when the Pilgrims are entertained by Gaius, nuts and riddles are introduced.

> 'Hard texts are nuts (I will not call them cheaters),
> Whose shells do keep their kernels from the eaters.
> Ope then the shells, and you shall have the meat,
> They here are brought for you to crack and eat.'

Care being taken not to spoil *tender teeth* in cracking them.

Now it was in the heart of the Prince Emmanuel to new model the town of Mansoul, and to put it into such a condition as might be more pleasing to him, and that might best stand with the profit and security of the now flourishing town of Mansoul. He provided also against insurrections at home, and invasions from abroad; such love had he for the famous town of Mansoul. Wherefore he first of all commanded that the great slings that were brought from his Father's court, when he came to the war of Mansoul, should be mounted, some upon the battlements of the castle, some upon the towers, for there were towers in the town of Mansoul, towers new built by Emmanuel since he came thither.[1] There was also an instrument invented by Emmanuel, that was to throw stones from the castle of Mansoul, out at Mouthgate; an instrument that could not be resisted, nor that would miss of execution; wherefore for the wonderful exploits that it did when used, it went without a name, and it was committed to the care of, and to be managed by the brave captain, the Captain Credence, in case of war.[2]

Mansoul must be new modelled.

The instruments of war mounted.

A nameless terrible instrument in Mansoul.

This done, Emmanuel called the Lord Will-be-will to him, and gave him in commandment to take care of the gates, the wall, and towers in Mansoul. Also the Prince gave him the militia into his hand; and a special charge to withstand all insurrections and tumults that might be made in Mansoul, against the peace of our Lord the King, and the peace and tranquillity of the town of Mansoul. He also gave him in commission, that if he found any of the Diabolonians lurking in any corner in the famous town of Mansoul, he should forthwith apprehend them, and stay them, or commit them to safe custody, that they may be proceeded against according to law.

Lord Will-be-will promoted.

Then he called unto him the Lord Understanding, who was the old Lord-mayor, he that was put out of place when Diabolus took the town, and put him into his former office again, and it became his place for his lifetime. He bid him also that he should build him a palace near Eyegate, and that he should build it in fashion like a tower for defence. He bid him also that he should read in the revelation of mysteries[3] all the days of his life, that he might know how to perform his office aright. He also made Mr. Knowledge the Recorder; not of contempt to old Mr. Conscience, who had been Recorder before; but for that it was in his princely mind to confer upon Mr. Conscience another employ; of which he told the old gentleman he should know more hereafter.

My Lord Mayor put into place.

Mr. Knowledge made Recorder.

Then he commanded that the image of Diabolus should be taken down from the place where it was set up, and that they should destroy it utterly, beating of it into powder, and casting it unto the wind, without the town-wall; and that the image of Shaddai his Father should be set up again, with his own, upon the castle gates, and that it should be more fairly drawn than ever; forasmuch as both his Father and himself were come to Mansoul in more grace and mercy than heretofore. Re. xxii. 4. He would also that his name should be fairly engraven upon the front of the town, and that it should be done in the best of gold, for the honour of the town of Mansoul.[4]

The image of the Prince and his Father set up again in Mansoul.

[Chapter X.]

[Contents:—The strongholds of Diabolus destroyed—Incredulity, Forget-good, Lustings, and other Diabolonians, apprehended, tried, and executed, to the great joy of Mansoul.]

After this was done, Emmanuel gave out a commandment that those three great Diabolonians should be apprehended; namely, the two late Lord Mayors; to wit, Mr. Incredulity, Mr. Lustings, and Mr. Forget-good the Recorder. Besides these, there were some of them that Diabolus made burgesses and aldermen in Mansoul, that were committed to ward by the hand of the now valiant, and now right noble, the brave Lord Will-be-will. And these were their names, Alderman Atheism, Alderman Hardheart, and Alderman Falsepeace. The burgesses were Mr. Notruth, Mr. Pitiless, Mr. Haughty, with the like. These were committed to close custody; and the jailer's name was Mr. Trueman; this Trueman was one of those that Emmanuel brought with him from his Father's court, when at the first he made a war upon Diabolus in the town of Mansoul.

Some Diabolonians committed to prison under the hand of Mr. True-man the keeper.

After this, the Prince gave a charge that the three strong holds, that at the command of Diabolus the Diabolonians built in Mansoul, should be demolished, and utterly pulled down; of which holds and their names, with their captains and governors, you read

Diabolus's strong holds pulled down.

[1] The slings are books of Scripture; see the margin at p. 286, probably referring to the epistles of the New Testament. These are powerful instruments, both defensive and offensive, when properly mounted upon a renewed heart and mental powers.—(Ed.)

[2] Does this nameless engine at Mouthgate mean prayer? The unseen prayer of faith has performed wonderful exploits. The silent ejaculations of the heart, the 'groanings which cannot be uttered.'—(Ed.)

[3] The Bible, the only guide to all, but especially to my Lord Mayor, 'the understanding.'—(Ed.)

[4] The understanding is chief magistrate directed by the study of the Scriptures, knowledge of God in Christ, is to bear sway, another office being appointed for Conscience; the image of Satan is to be utterly destroyed, and that of God renewed in the soul.—(Burder.)

a little before. But this was long in doing, because of the largeness of the places, and because the stones, the timber, the iron, and all rubbish, was to be carried without the town.[1]

A court to be called to try the Diabolonians.

When this was done, the Prince gave order that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Mansoul should call a court of judicature for the trial and execution of the Diabolonians in the corporation, now under the charge of Mr. Trueman the jailer.

The prisoners brought to the bar.

Now when the time was come, and the court set, commandment was sent to Mr. Trueman the jailer, to bring the prisoners down to the bar. Then were the prisoners brought down, pinioned, and chained together, as the custom of the town of Mansoul was. So when they were presented before the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and the rest of the honourable bench, first, the jury was impanelled, and then the witnesses sworn. The names of the jury were these; Mr. Belief, Mr. Trueheart, Mr. Upright, Mr. Hatebad, Mr. Lovegod, Mr. Seetruth, Mr. Heavenly-mind, Mr. Moderate, Mr. Thankful, Mr. Goodwork, Mr. Zeal-for-God, and Mr. Humble.[2] The names of the witnesses were Mr. Knowall, Mr. Telltrue, Mr. Hatelies, with my Lord Will-be-will and his man, if need were.

The jury impanelled, and the witnesses sworn.

So the prisoners were set to the bar; then said Mr. Doright, for he was the town-clerk, Set Atheism to the bar, jailer. So he was set to the bar. Then said the clerk, Atheism, hold up thy hand. Thou art here indicted by the name of Atheism, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou hast perniciously and doultishly taught and maintained that there is no God; and so no heed to be taken to religion. This thou hast done against the being, honour, and glory of the King, and against the peace and safety of the town of Mansoul. What sayest thou, art thou guilty of this indictment, or not?

Doright the Clerk.

Atheism set to the bar, his indictment.

His plea. ATHEISM. Not guilty.

CRIER. Call Mr. Knowall, Mr. Telltrue, and Mr. Hatelies, into the court. So they were called, and they appeared.

CLERK. Then said the Clerk, You, the witnesses for the King, look upon the prisoner at the bar; do you know him?

KNOW. Then said Mr. Knowall, Yes, my Lord, we know him, his name is Atheism; he has been a very pestilent fellow for many years in the miserable town of Mansoul.

CLERK. You are sure you know him.

KNOW. Know him! Yes, my Lord; I have heretofore too often been in his company, to be at this time ignorant of him. He is a Diabolonian, the son of a Diabolonian, I knew his grandfather, and his father.

CLERK. Well said. He standeth here indicted by the name of Atheism, &c., and is charged that he hath maintained and taught that there is no God, and so no heed need be taken to any religion. What say you, the King's witnesses, to this? Is he guilty, or not?

KNOW. My Lord, I and he were once in Villains' Lane together, and he at that time did briskly talk of diverse opinions, and then and there I heard him say that for his part he did believe that there was no God. But, said he, I can profess one, and be as religious too, if the company I am in, and the circumstances of other things, said he, shall put me upon it.

CLERK. You are sure you heard him say thus.

KNOW. Upon mine oath I heard him say thus.

Then said the Clerk, Mr. Telltrue, What say you to the King's judges, touching the prisoner at the bar?

TELL. My Lord, I formerly was a great companion of his, for the which I now repent me, and I have often heard him say, and that with very great stomachfulness, that he believed there was neither God, angel, nor spirit.

CLERK. Where did you hear him say so?

TELL. In Blackmouth Lane, and in Blasphemers' Row, and in many other places besides.

CLERK. Have you much knowledge of him?

TELL. I know him to be a Diabolonian, the son of a Diabolonian, and a horrible man to deny a Deity; his Father's name was Never-be-good, and he had more children than this Atheism. I have no more to say.

CLERK. Mr. Hatelies, look upon the prisoner at the bar; do you know him?

HATE. My Lord, this Atheism is one of the vilest wretches that ever I came near, or had to do with in my life. I have heard him say that there is no God; I have heard him say that there is no world to come, no sin, nor punishment hereafter; and moreover, I have heard him say that it was as good to go to a whore-house as to go to hear a sermon.

CLERK. Where did you hear him say these things?

[1] What a work of labour and time is here set to Mansoul. The strongholds of Satan are to be pulled down, and all the materials of which they were constructed are to be clean removed out of the town. This can only be effected by the indwelling of Christ in the soul. He comes to destroy the works of the devil to pull down his strong-holds, and to purify the soul.—(ED.)

[2] A jury of good men and true. What a contrast between them and Judge Lord Hategood, with the jury who tried Faithful—Blindman, Nogood, Malice, Lovelust, Liveloose, Heady, Highmind, Enmity, Liar, Cruelty, Hatelight, and Implacable.—(ED.)

HATE. In Drunkards' Row, just at Rascal Lane's end, at a house in which Mr. Impiety lived.[1]

Lustings set to the bar.

CLERK. Set him by, jailer, and set Mr. Lustings to the bar.

His indictment.

Mr. Lustings, Thou art here indicted by the name of Lustings, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou hast devilishly and traitorously taught, by practice and filthy words, that it is lawful and profitable to man to give way to his carnal desires; and that thou, for thy part, hast not, nor never wilt deny thyself of any sinful delight, as long as thy name is Lustings. How sayest thou, art thou guilty of this indictment or not?

His plea.

LUST. Then said Mr. Lustings, My Lord, I am a man of high birth, and have been used to pleasures and pastimes of greatness. I have not been wont to be snubbed for my doings, but have been left to follow my will as if it were law. And it seems strange to me that I should this day be called into question for that, that not only I, but also all men do either secretly or openly countenance, love, and approve of.

CLERK. Sir, we concern not ourselves with your greatness, though the higher the better you should have been, but we are concerned, and so are you now, about an indictment preferred against you. How say you, are you guilty of it, or not?

LUST. Not guilty.

CLERK. Crier, Call upon the witnesses to stand forth, and give their evidence.

CRIER. Gentlemen, you the witnesses for the King, come in, and give in your evidence for our Lord the King, against the prisoner at the bar.

CLERK. Come, Mr. Knowall, look upon the prisoner at the bar; do you know him?

KNOW. Yes, my Lord, I know him.

CLERK. What is his name?

KNOW. His name is Lustings; he was the son of one Beastly, and his mother bare him in Flesh Street; she was one Evil-concupiscence's daughter. I knew all the generation of them.

CLERK. Well said. You have here heard his indictment, what say you to it, is he guilty of the things charged against him or not?

KNOW. My Lord, he has, as he saith, been a great man indeed; and greater in wickedness than by pedigree, more than a thousand fold.

CLERK. But what do you know of his particular actions, and especially with reference to his indictment?

KNOW. I know him to be a swearer, a liar, a sabbath-breaker; I know him to be a fornicator, and an unclean person; I know him to be guilty of abundance of evils. He has been to my knowledge a very filthy man.

CLERK. But where did he use to commit his wickednesses, in some private corners, or more open and shamelessly?

KNOW. All the town over, my Lord.

CLERK. Come, Mr. Telltrue, what have you to say for our Lord the King against the prisoner at the bar?

TELL. My Lord, all that the first witness has said I know to be true, and a great deal more besides.

CLERK. Mr. Lustings, do you hear what these gentlemen say?

His second plea.

LUST. I was ever of opinion that the happiest life that a man could live on earth, was to keep himself back from nothing that he desired in the world; nor have I been false at any time to this opinion of mine, but have lived in the love of my notions all my days. Nor was I ever so churlish, having found such sweetness in them myself, as to keep the commendations of them from others.[2]

COURT. Then said the court, There hath proceeded enough from his own mouth to lay him open to condemnation, wherefore set him by, jailer, and set Mr. Incredulity to the bar.

Incredulity set to the bar.

CLERK. Mr. Incredulity, Thou art here indicted by the name of Incredulity, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou hast feloniously and wickedly, and that when thou wert an officer in the town of Mansoul, made head against the captains of the great King Shaddai, when they came and demanded possession of Mansoul; yea, thou didst bid defiance to the name, forces, and cause of the King, and didst also, as did Diabolus thy captain, stir up and encourage the town of Mansoul to make head against, and resist the said force of the King. What sayest thou to this indictment? Art thou guilty of it, or not?

His indictment.

His plea.

Then said Incredulity, I know not Shaddai, I love my old prince, I thought it my duty to be true to my trust, and to do what I could to possess the minds of the men of Mansoul, to do their utmost to resist strangers and foreigners, and with might to fight against them. Nor have I, nor shall I change my opinion, for fear of trouble, though you at present are possessed of place and power.

COURT. Then said the court, the man, as you see, is incorrigible, he is for maintaining his vil-

[1] Christian, is it possible that thoughts so desperately wicked were ever injected by Satan into your heart? How thankful will you be to have them tried and destroyed; see *Grace Abounding*, No. 101.—(ED.)

[2] The sinner is not satisfied with his own destruction, but is ever leading others into the same awful state, sin is a spreading plague, the unconverted heart is a mystery of iniquity.—(ED.)

lainies by stoutness of words, and his rebellion with impudent confidence; and, therefore, set him by, jailer, and set Mr. Forget-good to the bar.

Forget-good set to the bar.

CLERK. Mr. Forget-good, thou art here indicted by the name of Forget-good, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou, when the whole affairs of the town of Mansoul were in thy hand, didst utterly forget to serve them in what was good, and didst fall in with the tyrant Diabolus against Shaddai the King, against his captains, and all his host, to the dishonour of Shaddai, the breach of his law, and the endangering of the destruction of the famous town of Mansoul. What sayest thou to this indictment? Art thou guilty, or not guilty?

Forget-good set to the bar.

His indictment.

Then said Forget-good, Gentlemen, and at this time my judges, as to the indictment by which I stand of several crimes accused before you, pray attribute my forgetfulness to mine age, and not to my wilfulness; to the craziness of my brain, and not to the carelessness of my mind, and then I hope I may by your charity be excused from great punishment, though I be guilty.

His plea.

Then said the court, Forget-good, Forget-good, thy forgetfulness of good was not simply of frailty, but of purpose, and for that thou didst loathe to keep virtuous things in thy mind. What was bad thou couldest retain, but what was good thou couldest not abide to think of; thy age, therefore, and thy pretended craziness, thou makest use of to blind the court withal, and as a cloak to cover thy knavery. But let us hear what the witnesses have to say for the King against the prisoner at the bar—is he guilty of this indictment, or not?

HATE. My Lord, I have heard this Forget-good say that he could never abide to think of goodness, no, not for a quarter of an hour.

CLERK. Where did you hear him say so?

HATE. In Allbase Lane, at a house next door to the Sign of the Conscience-seared-with-an-hot-iron.

CLERK. Mr. Knowall, what can you say for our Lord the King against the prisoner at the bar?

KNOW. My Lord, I know this man well, he is a Diabolonian, the son of a Diabolonian, his Father's name was Lovenaught, and for him, I have often heard him say that he counted the very thoughts of goodness the most burthensome thing in the world.

CLERK. Where have you heard him say these words?

KNOW. In Flesh Lane, right opposite to the church.

Then said the clerk, Come, Mr. Telltrue, give in your evidence concerning the prisoner at the bar about that for which he stands here, as you see, indicted before this honourable court.

TELL. My Lord, I have heard him often say he had rather think of the vilest thing than of what is contained in the holy Scriptures.

CLERK. Where did you hear him say such grievous words?

TELL. Where? in a great many places; particularly in Nauseous Street, in the house of one Shameless, and in Filth Lane, at the sign of the Reprobate, next door to the Descent-into-the-pit.

COURT. Gentlemen, you have heard the indictment, his plea, and the testimony of the witnesses. Jailer, set Mr. Hardheart to the bar.

He is set to the bar.

CLERK. Mr. Hardheart, thou art here indicted by the name of Hardheart, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou didst most desperately and wickedly possess the town of Mansoul with impenitency and obdurateness, and didst keep them from remorse and sorrow for their evils, all the time of their apostasy from, and rebellion against, the blessed King Shaddai. What sayest thou to this indictment? Art thou guilty, or not guilty?

Hardheart set to the bar.

HARD. My Lord, I never knew what remorse or sorrow meant in all my life; I am impenetrable, I care for no man; nor can I be pierced with men's griefs, their groans will not enter into my heart; whomever I mischief, whomever I wrong, to me it is music, when to others mourning.

COURT. You see the man is a right Diabolonian, and has convicted himself. Set him by, jailer, and set Mr. Falsepeace to the bar.

Falsepeace set to the bar.

Mr. Falsepeace, Thou art here indicted by the name of Falsepeace, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou didst most wickedly and satanically bring, hold, and keep the town of Mansoul, both in her apostasy, and in her hellish rebellion, in a false, groundless, and dangerous peace, and damnable security,[1] to the dishonour of the King, the transgression of his law, and the great damage of the town of Mansoul. What sayest thou? Art thou guilty of this indictment, or not?

Falsepeace set to the bar.

Then said Mr. Falsepeace, Gentlemen, and you, now appointed to be my judges, I acknowledge that my name is Mr. Peace, but that my name is Falsepeace I utterly deny. If your honours will please to send for any that do intimately know me, or for the midwife that laid my mother of me, or for the gossips that were at my christening,[2] they will any, or all of them prove

His plea.

[1] See the woeful end of such, in Ro. ii. 5; Je. vi. 14.—(Mason.)

[2] The gossips at a christening reminds me of a singular circumstance that took place at the christening of a friend's child about forty years ago. Our host rapped hard on the table, and said, 'Ladies and Gentlemen, I hear some talking politics, and some religion; I beg you to recollect that we have nothing now

that my name is not Falsepeace, but Peace. Wherefore, I cannot plead to this indictment, forasmuch as my name is not inserted therein. And as is my true name, so also are my conditions. I was always a man that loved to live at quiet, and what I loved myself, that I thought others might love also. Wherefore, when I saw any of my neighbours to labour under a disquieted mind, I endeavoured to help them what I could, and instances of this good temper of mine many I could give; as,

He denies his name.

1. When at the beginning our town of Mansoul did decline the ways of Shaddai; they, some of them afterwards began to have disquieting reflections upon themselves for what they had done; but I, as one troubled to see them disquieted, presently sought out means to get them quiet again. 2. When the ways of the old world and of Sodom were in fashion, if anything happened to molest those that were for the customs of the present times, I laboured to make them quiet again, and to cause them to act without molestation. 3. To come nearer home, when the wars fell out between Shaddai and Diabolus, if at any time I saw any of the town of Mansoul afraid of destruction, I often used by some way, device, invention, or other, to labour to bring them to peace again.[1] Wherefore, since I have always been a man of so virtuous a temper, as some say a peace-maker is, and if a peace-maker be so deserving a man as some have been bold to attest he is, then let me, gentlemen, be accounted by you, who have a great name for justice and equity in Mansoul, for a man that deserveth not this inhuman way of treatment, but liberty, and also a license to seek damage of those that have been my accusers.

Pleads his goodness.

Then said the clerk, Crier, make a proclamation.

Crier. 'O yes, forasmuch as the prisoner at the bar hath denied his name to be that which is mentioned in the indictment, the court requireth, that if there be any in this place that can give information to the court of the original and right name of the prisoner, they would come forth and give in their evidence, for the prisoner stands upon his own innocency.'

Then came two into the court and desired that they might have leave to speak what they knew concerning the prisoner at the bar; the name of the one was Searchtruth, and the name of the other Vouchtruth. So the court demanded of these men if they knew the prisoner, and what they could say concerning him, for he stands, said they, upon his own vindication.

New witnesses come in against him.

Then said Mr. Searchtruth, My Lord, I—

Court. Hold, give him his oath; then they sware him. So he proceeded.[2]

Search. My Lord, I know, and have known this man from a child, and can attest that his name is Falsepeace. I knew his father, his name was Mr. Flatter, and his mother, before she was married, was called by the name of Mrs. Soothup; and these two, when they came together, lived not long without this son, and when he was born they called his name Falsepeace. I was his playfellow, only I was somewhat older than he; and when his mother did use to call him home from his play, she used to say, Falsepeace, Falsepeace, come home quick, or I'll fetch you. Yea, I knew him when he sucked; and though I was then but little, yet I can remember that when his mother did use to sit at the door with him, or did play with him in her arms, she would call him twenty times together, My little Falsepeace, my pretty Falsepeace, and O my sweet rogue, Falsepeace; and again, O my little bird, Falsepeace; and how do I love my child! The gossips also know it is thus, though he has had the face to deny it in open court.

Then Mr. Vouchtruth was called upon to speak what he knew of him. So they sware him. Then said Mr. Vouchtruth, My Lord, all that the former witness hath said is true; his name is Falsepeace, the son of Mr. Flatter and of Mrs. Soothup his mother. And I have in former times seen him angry with those who have called him anything else but Falsepeace, for he would say that all such did mock and nickname him, but this was in the time when Mr. Falsepeace was a great man, and when the Diabolonians were the brave men in Mansoul.

Court. Gentlemen, you have heard what these two men have sworn against the prisoner at the bar. And now, Mr. Falsepeace, to you, you have denied your name to be Falsepeace, yet you see that these honest men have sworn that this is your name. As to your plea, in that you are quite besides the matter of your indictment, you are not by it charged for evil doing, because you are a man of peace, or a peace-maker among your neighbours; but for that you did wickedly, and satanically, bring, keep, and hold the town of Mansoul both under its apostacy from, and in its rebellion against its King, in a false, lying, and damnable peace, contrary to the law of Shaddai, and to the hazard of the destruction of the then miserable town of Mansoul. All that you have pleaded for

to do with politics or religion, but are at a christening, so fill your glasses.'—(Ed.)

[1] 'There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.' Is. lvii. 21. Till convinced of sin, and Christ becomes the sinner's friend, there is no peace, no mercy, no hope, no heaven.—(Mason.) Alas! how many slumber into hell, under the misguiding influence of false peace.—(Ed.)

[2] A similar circumstance, in the trial of Faithful, took place in the examination of the witness Envy, who commenced his testimony without being sworn, probably arising from what Bunyan had seen at the assizes.—(Ed.)

yourself is, that you have denied your name, &c., but here you see we have witnesses to prove that you are the man.

For the peace that you so much boast of making among your neighbours, know that peace that is not a companion of truth and holiness, but that which is without this foundation, is grounded upon a lie, and is both deceitful and damnable; as also the great Shaddai hath said; thy plea therefore has not delivered thee from what by the indictment thou art charged with, but rather it doth fasten all upon thee.

But thou shalt have very fair play, let us call the witnesses that are to testify as to matter of fact, and see what they have to say for our Lord the King against the prisoner at the bar.

CLERK. Mr. Knowall, what say you for our Lord the King against the prisoner at the bar?

KNOW. My Lord, this man hath of a long time made it, to my knowledge, his business to keep the town of Mansoul in a sinful quietness in the midst of all her lewdness, filthiness and turmoils, and hath said, and that in my hearing, Come, come, let us fly from all trouble, on what ground soever it comes, and let us be for a quiet and peaceable life, though it wanteth a good foundation.

CLERK. Come, Mr. Hate-lies, what have you to say?

HATE. My Lord, I have heard him say that peace, though in a way of unrighteousness, is better than trouble with truth.

CLERK. Where did you hear him say this?

HATE. I heard him say it in Folly-yard, at the house of one Mr. Simple, next door to the sign of the Self-deceiver. Yea, he hath said this to my knowledge twenty times in that place.

CLERK. We may spare further witness, this evidence is plain and full. Set him by, jailer, and set Mr. Notruth to the bar.

Notruth set to the bar.

Mr. Notruth, thou art here indicted by the name of Notruth, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou hast always, to the dishonour of Shaddai, and the endangering of the utter ruin of the famous town of Mansoul, set thyself to deface and utterly to spoil all the remainders of the law and image of Shaddai that have been found in Mansoul, after her deep apostasy from her King to Diabolus, the envious tyrant. What sayest thou? Art thou guilty of this indictment, or not?

His indictment.

NOTRUTH. Not guilty, my Lord.

His plea.

Then the witnesses were called, and Mr. Knowall did first give in his evidence against him.

KNOW. My Lord, this man was at the pulling down of the image of Shaddai; yea, this is he that did it with his own hands. I myself stood by and saw him do it, and he did it at the commandment of Diabolus. Yea, this Mr. Notruth did more than this, he did also set up the horned image of the beast Diabolus in the same place. This also is he that, at the bidding of Diabolus, did rend and tear and cause to be consumed all that he could of the remainders of the law of the King, even whatever he could lay his hands on, in Mansoul.

Witnesses.

CLERK. Who saw him do this besides yourself?

HATE. I did, my Lord, and so did many more besides; for this was not done by stealth, or in a corner, but in the open view of all, yea, he chose himself to do it publicly, for he delighted in the doing of it.

CLERK. Mr. Notruth, how could you have the face to plead not guilty, when you were so manifestly the doer of all this wickedness?

NOTRUTH. Sir, I thought I must say something, and as my name is, so I speak. I have been advantaged thereby before now, and did not know but by speaking no truth I might have reaped the same benefit now.

CLERK. Set him by, jailer, and set Mr. Pityless to the bar. Mr. Pityless, thou art here indicted by the name of Pitiless, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou didst most traitorously and wickedly shut up all bowels of compassion, and wouldest not suffer Mansoul to condole her own misery when she had apostatized from her rightful King, but didst evade, and at all times turn her mind awry from those thoughts that had in them a tendency to lead her to repentance. What sayest thou to this indictment? Guilty, or not guilty?

Pityless set to the bar. His indictment.

NOT guilty of pitilessness; all I did was to cheer-up, according to my name, for my name is not Pitiless, but Cheer-up; and I could not abide to see Mansoul incline to melancholy.

His plea.

CLERK. How! do you deny your name, and say it is not Pitiless but Cheerup? Call for the witnesses. What say you, the witnesses, to this plea?

KNOW. My Lord, his name is Pitiless; so he hath writ himself in all papers of concern wherein he has had to do. But these Diabolonians love to counterfeit their names; Mr. Covetousness covers himself with the name of Good-husbandry, or the like; Mr. Pride can, when need is, call himself Mr. Neat, Mr. Handsome, or the like, and so of all the rest of them.[1]

CLERK. Mr. Telltrue, what say you?

TELL. His name is Pitiless, my Lord; I have known him from a child, and he hath done all that wickedness whereof he stands charged in the

[1] 'With names of virtue she deceives
The aged and the young;
And while the heedless wretch believes,
She makes his fetters strong.'

indictment; but there is a company of them that are not acquainted with the danger of damning, therefore they call all those melancholy that have serious thoughts [as to] how that state should be shunned by them.

CLERK. Set Mr. Haughty to the bar, jailer.

Haughty set to the bar. His indictment.

Mr. Haughty, Thou art here indicted by the name of Haughty, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou didst most traitorously and devilishly teach the town of Mansoul to carry it loftily and stoutly against the summons that was given them by the captains of the King Shaddai. Thou didst also teach the town of Mansoul to speak contemptuously and vilifyingly of their great King Shaddai; and didst moreover encourage, both by words and example, Mansoul to take up arms, both against the King and his Son Emmanuel. How sayest thou? Art thou guilty of this indictment, or not?

HAUGH. Gentlemen, I have always been a man of courage and valour, and have not used when under the greatest clouds, to sneak or hang down the head like a bulrush; nor did it at all at any time please me to see men vail their bonnets[1] to those that have opposed them; yea, though their adversaries seemed to have ten times the advantage of them. I did not use to consider who was my foe, nor what the cause was in which I was engaged. It was enough to me if I carried it bravely, fought like a man, and came off a victor.

His Plea.

COURT. Mr. Haughty, you are not here indicted for that you have been a valiant man, nor for your courage and stoutness in times of distress, but for that you have made use of this your pretended valour to draw the town of Mansoul into acts of rebellion, both against the great King and Emmanuel his Son. This is the crime and the thing wherewith thou art charged in and by the indictment. But he made no answer to that.

The court.

Now when the court had thus far proceeded against the prisoners at the bar, then they put them over to the verdict of their jury, to whom they did apply themselves after this manner:—

Gentlemen of the jury, you have been here, and have seen these men, you have heard their indictments, their pleas, and what the witnesses have testified against them; now what remains, is, that you do forthwith withdraw yourselves to some place, where without confusion you may consider of what verdict, in a way of truth and righteousness, you ought to bring in for the King against them, and so bring it in accordingly.

The court to the jury.

The jury's charge.

Then the jury, to wit, Mr. Belief, Mr. Trueheart, Mr. Upright, Mr. Hatebad, Mr. Lovegod, Mr. Seetruth, Mr. Heavenlymind, Mr. Moderate, Mr. Thankful, Mr. Humble, Mr. Goodwork, and Mr. Zeal-for-God, withdrew themselves in order to their work. Now when they were shut up by themselves they fell to discourse among themselves, in order to the drawing up of their verdict.

They withdraw themselves.

And thus Mr. Belief, for he was the foreman, began; Gentlemen, quoth he, for the men, the prisoners at the bar, for my part I believe that they all deserve death. Very right, said Mr. Trueheart, I am wholly of your opinion. O what a mercy is it, said Mr. Hatebad, that such villains as these are apprehended! Ay, Ay, said Mr. Lovegod, this is one of the joyfullest days that ever I saw in my life. Then said Mr. Seetruth, I know that if we judge them to death, our verdict shall stand before Shaddai himself. Nor do I at all question it, said Mr. Heavenlymind; he said moreover, When all such beasts as these are cast out of Mansoul, what a goodly town will it be then! Then said Mr. Moderate, It is not my manner to pass my judgment with rashness, but for these, their crimes are so notorious, and the witness so palpable, that that man must be wilfully blind who saith the prisoners ought not to die. Blessed be God, said Mr. Thankful, that the traitors are in safe custody. And I join with you in this upon my bare knees, said Mr. Humble. I am glad also, said Mr. Goodwork. Then said the warm man, and true-hearted Mr. Zeal-for-God, Cut them off, they have been the plague, and have sought the destruction of Mansoul.[2]

Their conference among themselves.

Thus therefore being all agreed in their verdict, they come instantly into the court.

CLERK. Gentlemen of the jury answer all to your names; Mr. Belief, one; Mr. Trueheart, two; Mr. Upright, three; Mr. Hatebad, four; Mr. Lovegod, five; Mr. Seetruth, six; Mr. Heavenlymind, seven; Mr. Moderate, eight; Mr. Thankful, nine; Mr. Humble, ten; Mr. Goodwork, eleven; and Mr. Zeal-for-God, twelve; good men and true, stand together in your verdict; are you all agreed?

They are agreed of their verdict, and bring them in guilty.

JURY. Yes, my Lord.

CLERK. Who shall speak for you?

JURY. Our Foreman.

[1] Bonnets or caps were commonly worn by men. 'To vail the bonnet' was to take it off and bow, cap in hand—equivalent to taking off the hat and bowing at the present day. 'As for *vailing bonnet* before great rulers.'—Holland's *Pliny*, b. xxviii.—(ED.)

[2] There is in the renewed soul a sincere detestation of all sin. As the jury were unanimous in their verdict, so all real Christians will most cordially doom their lusts to death.

Yes, my Redeemer, they shall die,
My heart hath so decreed;
Nor will I spare the guilty things
That made my Saviour bleed.—(Burder.)

CLERK. You the gentlemen of the jury, being impannelled for our Lord the King to serve here in a matter of life and death, have heard the trials of each of these men, the prisoners at the bar. What say you, are they guilty of that, and those crimes for which they stand here indicted, or are they not guilty?

The verdict.

FOREMAN. Guilty my Lord.

CLERK. Look to your prisoners, jailer.

This was done in the morning, and in the afternoon they received the sentence of death according to the law.

The jailer therefore having received such a charge, put them all in the inward prison, to perserve them there till the day of execution, which was to be the next day in the morning.

Incredulity breaks prison.

But now to see how it happened, one of the prisoners, Incredulity by name, in the interim betwixt the sentence and time of execution, brake prison, and made his escape, and gets him away quite out of the town of Mansoul, and lay lurking in such places and holds as he might, until he should again have opportunity to do the town of Mansoul a mischief for their thus handling of him as they did.[1]

No Incredulity found in Mansoul.

Now when Mr. Trueman the jailer perceived that he had lost his prisoner, he was in a heavy taking, because he, that prisoner was, to speak on, the very worst of all the gang; wherefore first, he goes and acquaints my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and my Lord Will be-will with the matter, and to get of them an order to make search for him throughout the town of Mansoul. So an order he got, and search was made, but no such man could now be found in all the town of Mansoul.[2]

He is gone to Diabolus.

All that could be gathered was that he had lurked a while about the outside of the town, and that here and there one or other had a glimpse of him as he did make his escape out of Mansoul; one or two also did affirm that they saw him without the town, going a-pace quite over the plain.[3] Now when he was quite gone, it was affirmed by one Mr. Didsee, that he ranged all over dry places, till he met with Diabolus his friend; and where should they meet one another but just upon Hell-gate-hill.

But O! what a lamentable story did the old gentleman tell to Diabolus, concerning what sad alteration Emmanuel had made in Mansoul.[4]

He tells Diabolus what Emmanuel now is doing in Mansoul.

As first, how Mansoul had, after some delays, received a general pardon at the hands of Emmanuel, and that they had invited him into the town, and that they had given him the castle for his possession. He said, moreover, that they had called his soldiers into the town, coveted who should quarter the most of them; they also entertained him with the timbrel, song, and dance. But that, said Incredulity, that is the sorest vexation to me is, that he hath pulled down, O father, thy image, and set up his own; pulled down thy officers and set up his own. Yea, and Will-be-will, that rebel, who, one would have thought, should never have turned from us, he is now in as great favour with Emmanuel as ever he was with thee. But besides all this, this Will-be-will has received a special commission from his master to search for, to apprehend, and to put to death all, and all manner of Diabolonians that he shall find in Mansoul; yea, and this Will-be-will has taken and committed to prison already, eight of my lord's most trusty friends in Mansoul. Nay further, my lord, with grief I speak it, they have been all arraigned, condemned, and, I doubt before this, executed in Mansoul. I told my lord of eight, and myself was the ninth, who should assuredly have drunk of the same cup, but that through craft, I, as thou seest, have made mine escape from them.

Diabolus yells at the news.

When Diabolus had heard this lamentable story he yelled, and snuffed up the wind like a dragon, and made the sky to look dark with his roaring; he also sware that he would try to be revenged on Mansoul for this. So they, both he and his old friend Incredulity, concluded to enter into great consultation how they might get the town of Mansoul again.

Now before this time, the day was come in which the prisoners in Mansoul were to be executed. Ro. viii. 13. So they were brought to the cross,[5] and

[1] The accuracy with which these criminal trials are narrated is surprising. The imprisonment, indictment, court, jury, witnesses, verdict, sentence—all is in the same order as if written by my Lord Chief Justice. What a contrast is here exhibited to the behaviour of the judge and jury in the trial of Faithful, in the 'Pilgrim's Progress!' *That* was brutal, as the then Judge Jeffries; *this* dignified and constitutional, as the present Judge Campbell. Thanks be unto God for so vast a reformation, clearly foreseen by Bunyan.—(ED.)

[2] What a blessed season! no unbelief to be found at that time in Mansoul. Christian, call to mind the time when Christ led you into his banqueting-house, and his banner over you was love; you could find no unbelief then. Alas! the troubler makes his appearance again quite soon enough.—(ED.)

[3] Unbelief, that giant sin, was apprehended and condemned —but, alas! he escapes. This incident is introduced by the author with great skill. He eludes justice, and flies to hell, to meditate new mischief. Ah! where is the believer who is at all times wholly free from the assaults of this arch-rebel? Where is the Christian who has not occasion to say, and that with tears, 'Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief?'—(Burder.)

[4] The conversion of sinners, which is daily and hour'y creating joy among the angels in heaven and saints on earth, adds to the torments of Diabolus and his host in hell, and of all his slaves in the world.—(ED.)

[5] The cross, in the market-place of most towns, was the place of public proclamations and executions. The slaying of our sins at the cross, denotes that they are to be *publicly* abandoned, so that the Christian becomes a living epistle, 'known and read of all men.' 2 Co. iii. 2.—(ED.)

that by Mansoul, in most solemn manner. Ro. vi. 12–14. For the Prince said that this should be done by the hand of the town of Mansoul, that I may see, said he, the forwardness of my now redeemed Mansoul to keep my word, and to do my commandments; and that I may bless Mansoul in doing this deed. Proof of sincerity pleases me well; let Mansoul, therefore, first lay their hands upon these Diabolonians to destroy them. Ga. v. 24.

So the town of Mansoul slew them according to the word of their Prince; but when the prisoners were brought to the cross to die, you can hardly believe what troublesome work Mansoul had of it to put the Diabolonians to death; for the men knowing that they must die, and every of them having implacable enmity in their heart to Mansoul, what did they but took courage at the cross, and there resisted the men of the town of Mansoul?

The assistance of more grace.

Wherefore the men of Mansoul were forced to cry out for help to the captains and men of war. Now the great Shaddai had a secretary in the town, and he was a great lover of the men of Mansoul, and he was at the place of execution also; so he hearing the men of Mansoul cry out against the strugglings and unruliness of the prisoners, rose up from his place, and came and put his hands upon the hands of the men of Mansoul.[1] So they crucified the Diabolonians that had been a plague, a grief, and an offence to the town of Mansoul.[2] Ro. viii. 13.

Execution done.

[Chapter XI.]

[Contents:—Mr. Experience is made an officer—The charter of the town renewed, and enlarged with special privileges—The ministry of the gospel regularly established, under the direction of the Secretary—Mr. Conscience ordained a preacher, and his duty particularly specified—Directions how to behave to the ministers—The inhabitants clad in white, and receive many other distinguishing favours from the Prince—God's peace is appointed to rule—The unexampled felicity of the town.]

Now when this good work was done, the Prince came down to see, to visit, and to speak comfortably to the men of Mansoul, and to strengthen their hands in such work. And he said to them that by this act of theirs he had proved them, and found them to be lovers of his person, observers of his laws, and such as had also respect to his honour. He said, moreover, to show them that they by this should not be losers, nor their town weakened by the loss of them, that he would make them another captain, and that of one of themselves. And that this captain should be the ruler of a thousand, for the good and benefit of the now flourishing town of Mansoul.

The Prince comes down to congratulate them.

He promises to make them a new captain

So he called one to him whose name was Waiting, and bid him go quickly up to the Castle-gate, and inquire there for one Mr. Experience, that waiteth upon that noble captain, the Captain Credence, and bid him come hither to me. So the messenger that waited upon the good Prince Emmanuel went and said as he was commanded. Now the young gentleman was waiting to see the captain train and muster his men in the castle-yard. Then said Mr. Waiting to him, Sir, the Prince would that you should come down to his Highness forthwith. So he brought him down to Emmanuel, and he came and made obeisance before him. Now the men of the town knew Mr. Experience well, for he was born and bred in the town of Mansoul; they also knew him to be a man of conduct, of valour, and a person prudent in matters; he was also a comely person, well spoken, and very successful in his undertakings. Wherefore the hearts of the townsmen were transported with joy, when they saw that the Prince himself was so taken with Mr. Experience, that he would needs make him a captain over a band of men.

Experience must be the new captain.

The qualifications of their new captain.

Mansoul takes it well.

So with one consent they bowed the knee before Emmanuel, and with a shout said, Let Emmanuel live for ever. Then said the Prince to the young gentleman whose name was Mr. Experience, I have thought good to confer upon thee a place of trust and honour in this my town of Mansoul; then the young man bowed his head and worshipped. It is, said Emmanuel, that thou shouldest be a captain, a captain over a thousand men in my beloved town of Mansoul. Then said the Captain, Let the King live. So the Prince gave out orders forthwith to the King's Secretary, that he should draw up for Mr. Experience a commission, to make him a captain over a thousand men, and let it be brought to me, said he, that I may set too my seal. So it was done as it was commanded. The commission was drawn up, brought to Emmanuel, and he set his seal thereto. The

The thing told to Mr. Experience.

His commission sent him.

[1] This probably alludes to Elisha putting his hands upon the king's hands, when shooting the arrow of deliverance. 2 Ki. xiii. 16. The conquest and crucifixion of sin can never be effected without Divine assistance. Prayer brings the aid of the Holy Spirit; and thus we are enabled to conquer our sinful thoughts and propensities.—(Ed.)

[2] The greatest proof of our attachment to Christ is the destruction of our sins; not suffering them to reign in our bodies, but crucifying the flesh, with its affections and lusts. But, indeed, our sins struggle much, and die hard, and our own native strength is insufficient for their mortification. The Spirit, therefore, is introduced, as helping in this work, for, 'If ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.'—(Burder.)

by the hand of Mr. Waiting, he sent it away to the captain.[1]

Now so soon as the captain had received his commission, he soundeth his trumpet for volunteers, and young men come to him apace, yea, the greatest and chiefest men in the town sent their sons to be listed under his command. Thus Captain Experience came under command to Emmanuel, for the good of the town of Mansoul. He had for his lieutenant one Mr. Skilful, and for his coronet one Mr. Memory. His under-officers I need not name. His colours were the white colours for the town of Mansoul, and his escutcheon was the dead lion and dead bear.[2] 1 Sa. xvii. 36, 37. So the Prince returned to his royal palace again.

His under-officers.

Now, when he was returned thither, the elders of the town of Mansoul, to wit, the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and the Lord Will-be-will, went to congratulate him, and in special way to thank him for his love, care, and the tender compassion which he showed to his ever-obliged town of Mansoul. So, after a while, and some sweet communion between them, the townsmen having solemnly ended their ceremony, returned to their place again.

The elders of Mansoul congratulate him.

Emmanuel also at this time appointed them a day wherein he would renew their charter, yea, wherein he would renew and enlarge it, mending several faults therein, that Mansoul's yoke might be yet more easy. Mat. xi. 28–30. And this he did without any desire of theirs, even of his own frankness and noble mind. So, when he had sent for and seen their old one, he laid it by, and said, 'Now that which decayeth and waxeth old, *is* ready to vanish away.' He. viii. 13. He said, moreover, the town of Mansoul shall have another, a better, a new one, more steady and firm by far. An epitome hereof take as follows:—

He renews their charter.

'Emmanuel, Prince of peace, and a great lover of the town of Mansoul, I do, in the name of my Father, and of mine own clemency, give, grant, and bequeath to my beloved town of Mansoul: First, Free, full, and everlasting forgiveness of all wrongs, injuries, and offences done by them against my Father, me, their neighbour, or themselves. He. viii. 12. Secondly, I do give them the holy law, and my testament, with all that therein is contained, for their everlasting comfort and consolation.[3] Jn. xv. 8.–14. Thirdly, I do also give them a portion of the self-same grace and goodness that dwells in my Father's heart and mine. 2 Pe. i. 4. 2 Co. vii. 1. 1 Jn. iv. 16. Fourthly, I do give, grant, and bestow upon them freely, the world, and what is therein, for their good; and they shall have that power over them, as shall stand with the honour of my Father, my glory, and their comfort; yea, I grant them the benefits of life and death, and of things present, and things to come. 1 Co. iii. 21, 22. This privilege, no other city, town, or corporation, shall have but my Mansoul only. Fifthly, I do give and grant them leave, and free access to me in my palace, at all seasons, to my palace above or below, there to make known their wants to me. He. x. 19, 20. And I give them, moreover, a promise that I will hear and redress all their grievances. Mat. vii. 7. Sixthly, I do give, grant to, and invest the town of Mansoul with full power and authority to seek out, take, enslave, and destroy all, and all manner of Diabolonians, that at any time, from whencesoever, shall be found straggling in, or about the town of Mansoul. Seventhly, I do further grant to my beloved town of Mansoul that they shall have authority not to suffer any foreigner, or stranger, or their seed, to be free in and of the blessed town of Mansoul, nor to share in the excellent privileges thereof. Ep. iv. 22. But that all the grants, privileges, and immunities, that I bestow upon the famous town of Mansoul, shall be for those the old natives and true inhabitants thereof, to them I say, and to their right seed after them. Col. iii. 5–9. But all Diabolonians, of what sort, birth, country, or kingdom soever, shall be debarred a share therein.'

An epitome of their new charter.

No man to die for killing of sin.

No lust has any grant by Christ, or any liberty to act in the town of Mansoul.

So, when the town of Mansoul had received, at the hand of Emmanuel, their gracious charter, which in itself is infinitely more large than by this lean epitome is set before you, they carried it to audience, that is, to the market-place, and there Mr. Recorder read it in the presence of all the people. 2 Co. iii. 3. Je. xxxi. 33. This being done, it was had back to the castle gates, and there fairly engraven upon the doors thereof, and laid in letters of gold, to the end that the town of Mansoul, with all the people thereof, might have it always in their view, or might go where they might see what a blessed freedom their Prince had bestowed upon

Their charter set upon their castle gates.

[1] The happy effects of a Christian's experience are—a conviction, by the Word and Spirit of revelation, of our insufficiency, and Christ's all-sufficiency; an insight into gospel mysteries; God's veracity, faithfulness, and immutability.—(Mason.) It should be noticed, that at this period of the Christian's life, experience is but a *young* gentleman.—(Ed.)

[2] David, having determined to encounter Goliath, comforted himself with his past experience. 'Thy servant slew both the lion and the bear: he who delivered me from their paws, will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine.'—(Ed.)

[3] By 'the holy law,' we are not limited to the ten commandments, but to the law and testimony—the whole revealed will of God. It as much embraces the new commandment as the ten. What a mercy that the soul in Christ finds in the law and covenant everlasting comfort and consolation.—(Ed.)

them, that their joy might be increased in themselves, and their love renewed to their great and good Emmanuel. Ps. viii. 10.

Joy renewed in Mansoul.

But what joy, what comfort, what consolation, think you, did now possess the hearts of the men of Mansoul! The bells ringed, the minstrels played, the people danced, the captains shouted, the colours waved in the wind, and the silver trumpets sounded, and the Diabolonians now were glad to hide their heads, for they looked like them that had been long dead.[1]

When this was over the Prince sent again for the elders of the town of Mansoul, and communed with them about a ministry that he intended to establish among them, such a ministry that might open unto them, and that might instruct them in the things that did concern their present and future state.[2]

For, said he, you of yourselves, without you have teachers and guides, will not be able to know, and if not to know, to be sure, not to do the will of my Father. Je. x. 23. 1 Co ii. 14.

The common good thoughts.

At this news, when the elders of Mansoul brought it to the people, the whole town came running together, for it pleased them well, as whatever the Prince now did pleased the people, and all with one consent implored his Majesty, that he would forthwith establish such a ministry among them as might teach them both law and judgment, statute and commandment, that they might be documented[3] in all good and wholesome things. So he told them that he would grant them their requests, and would establish two among them, one that was of his Father's court, and one that was a native of Mansoul.

The Holy Spirit.

He that is from the court, said he, is a person of no less quality and dignity than is my Father and I, and he is the Lord Chief Secretary of my Father's house; for he is, and always has been, the chief dictator of all my Father's laws; a person altogether well skilled in all mysteries, and knowledge of mysteries, as is my Father, or as myself is. Indeed, he is one with us in nature, and also as to loving of, and being faithful to, and in, the eternal concerns of the town of Mansoul.

And this is he, said the Prince, that must be your chief teacher, for it is he, and he only, that can teach you clearly in all high and supernatural things. 1 Th. i. 5, 6. He and he only it is that knows the ways and methods of my Father at court, nor can any like him show how the heart of my Father is at all times, in all things, upon all occasions, towards Mansoul; for as no man knows the things of a man, but that spirit of a man which is in him, so the things of my Father knows no man but this his high and mighty Secretary. Nor can any, as he, tell Mansoul how and what they shall do to keep themselves in the love of my Father. He also it is that can bring lost things to your remembrance, and that can tell you things to come. This teacher therefore must of necessity have the pre-eminence—both in your affections and judgment—before your other teacher. Ro. viii. 26. His personal dignity, the excellency of his teaching, also the great dexterity that he hath to help you to make and draw up petitions to my Father for your help, and to his pleasing (Jude 20. Ep. vi. 18.) must lay obligations upon you to love him, fear him, and to take heed that you grieve him not. Ro. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29. Ep. iv. 30.

This person can put life and vigour into all he says, yea, and can also put it into your hearts. This person can make seers of you, and can make you tell what shall be hereafter. Ac. xxi. 10, 11. By this person you must frame all your petitions to my Father and me, and without his advice and counsel first obtained, let nothing enter into the town or castle of Mansoul, for that may disgust and grieve this noble person. Is. lxiii. 10.

Take heed, I say, that you do not grieve this minister; for if you do, he may fight against you; and should he once be moved by you, to set himself against you, against you in battle array, that will distress you more than if twelve legions should from my Father's court be sent to make war upon you.

But, as I said, if you shall hearken unto him, and shall love him; if you shall devote yourselves to his teaching, and shall seek to have converse, and to maintain communion with him; you shall find him ten times better than is the whole world to any. Yea, he will shed abroad the love of my Father in your hearts, and Mansoul will be the wisest and most blessed of all people.[4] 1 Co. xiii. xiv. Ro. v. 5.

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[1] Well may the Christian exult in the blessings of this new and everlasting covenant, 'ordered in all things and sure.' The world, life, death, things present, and things to come, all is ours, if we are Christ's. This charter was set upon the castle gates; may it be inscribed in indelible characters on our hearts, while every power of the soul is filled with joy, and while sin, abolished, shall hide its ugly head!—(Burder.)

[2] The ministry of the Holy Ghost, who alone can open our understandings to behold the wondrous things of God's law, or the Bible; who taketh of the things of Jesus, and shows them unto us. 'He shall teach you all things.' Jn. xiv. 26. Thanks be to God for an omnipresent, omniscient Comforter.—(Ed.)

[3] Here is a proper display of veneration for the Bible. The use of the ministry is solely that the people might understand law and judgment, statute and commandment; that they might be documented in all things, *i.e*, furnished with *written* evidence to establish every doctrine.—(Ed.)

[4] Mark, reader, how Bunyan, as the result of Divine teaching, leads the soul to enter *directly* into communion with God the Holy Spirit. Here is no need for any man to introduce you. O the blessedness of communion with this Friend,

Then did the Prince call unto him the old gentleman, who afore had been the Recorder of Mansoul, Mr. Conscience by name, and told him that forasmuch as he was well skilled in the law and government of the town of Mansoul, and was also well spoken, and could pertinently deliver to them his Master's will in all terrene and domestic matters, therefore he would also make him a minister for, in, and to the goodly town of Mansoul, in all the laws, statutes, and judgments of the famous town of Mansoul. And thou must, said the Prince, confine thyself to the teaching of moral virtues, to civil and natural duties;[1] but thou must not attempt to presume to be a revealer of those high and supernatural mysteries that are kept close in the bosom of Shaddai my Father, for those things know no man, nor can any reveal them, but my Father's Secretary only.

Conscience made a minister.

His limits.

His caution.

Thou art a native of the town of Mansoul, but the Lord Secretary is a native with my Father; wherefore, as thou hast knowledge of the laws and customs of the corporation, so he of the things and will of my Father. Wherefore, O! Mr. Conscience, although I have made thee a minister and a preacher in the town of Mansoul; yet as to the things which the Lord Secretary knoweth, and shall teach to this people, there thou must be his scholar, and a learner, even as the rest of Mansoul are.

Thou must, therefore, in all high and supernatural things go to him for information and knowledge; for though there be a spirit in man, this person's inspiration must give him understanding. Job xxxiii. 8. Wherefore, O! thou Mr. Recorder, keep low and be humble, and remember that the Diabolonians that kept not their first charge, but left their own standing, are now made prisoners in the pit; be therefore content with thy station. I have made thee my Father's vicegerent on earth, in such things of which I have made mention before. And thou, take thou power to teach them to Mansoul; yea, and to impose them with whips and chastisements,[2] if they shall not willingly hearken to do thy commandments.

His power in Mansoul.

And, Mr. Recorder, because thou art old, and through many abuses made feeble, therefore I give thee leave and license to go when thou wilt to my fountain, my conduit, and there to drink freely of the blood of my grape, for my conduit * does always run wine. Thus doing, thou shalt drive from thy heart and stomach all foul, gross, and hurtful humours. It will also lighten thine eyes, and will strengthen thy memory for the reception and keeping of all that the King's most noble Secretary teacheth. He. v. 14.

His liberty.

* Body.

When the Prince had thus put Mr. Recorder (that once so was) into the place and office of a minister to Mansoul, and the man had thankfully accepted thereof, then did Emmanuel address himself in a particular speech to the townsmen themselves—[3]

'Behold,' said the Prince to Mansoul, 'my love and care towards you. I have added, to all that is past, this mercy, to appoint you preachers; the most noble Secretary to teach you in all high and sublime mysteries; and this gentleman,' pointing to Mr. Conscience, 'is to teach you in all things human and domestic; for therein lieth his work. He is not, by what I have said, debarred of telling to Mansoul anything that he hath heard and received at the mouth of the Lord High Secretary; only he shall not attempt to presume to pretend to be a revealer of those high mysteries himself; for the breaking of them up, and the discovery of them to Mansoul, layeth only in the power, authority, and skill of the Lord High Secretary himself. Talk of them he may, and so may the rest of the town of Mansoul; yea, and may, as occasion gives them opportunity, press them upon each other, for the benefit of the whole. These things, therefore, I would have you observe and do, for it is for your life, and the lengthening of your days.

The Prince's speech to Mansoul.

A licence to Mansoul.

'And one thing more to my beloved Mr. Recorder, and to all the town of Mansoul. You must not dwell in nor stay upon anything of that which he hath in commission to teach you, as to your trust and expectation of the next world; of the next world, I say, for I purpose to give another to Mansoul, when this

A world to come promised to Mansoul.

that cleaveth closer than a brother! who ever liveth, and never slumbereth—always near, even in our hearts—able and willing to help and save to the uttermost.—(Ed.)

[1] Having shown Mansoul that the secret of being the wisest and most blessed of all people is to seek the teaching and communion of the Holy Spirit in the heart, he comes to human ministry, and probably draws his portrait from his pastor Mr. Gifford, or from his own conduct. How much is contained in the words, 'Moral virtues, and civil and natural duties!' Here is love to God, because he first loved us, with all heavenly blessednesses; the whole armour of God, to fit us for the good fight; and the eternal reward of grace, and not of works: an inexhaustible fund for Christian training.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Whips and chastisements.' 'A wounded spirit who can bear?' 'Methought I saw as if the sun did grudge to give me light.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 187.—(Ed.)

[3] Reader, conscience is the teacher with authority as God's only vicegerent. Be guided by him in all things; swerve not one jot or tittle from his dictates; especially, in your choice of a minister, examine him *for yourself* prayerfully and carefully by the Word (1 Tim. iii.) There are thousands of Diabolonians in the world, under the flimsy disguise of apostolical descent. When you have made your choice, 'Esteem him very highly in love for his works' sake;' but do not puff him up with pride. One of Bunyan's hearers said to him, 'What an excellent sermon you have preached;' to which he replied, 'The devil told me so before I left the pulpit.'—(Ed.)

with them is worn out, but for that you must wholly and solely have recourse to, and make stay upon his doctrine, that is your teacher after the first order. Yea, Mr. Recorder himself must not look for life from that which he himself revealeth; his dependence for that must be founded in the doctrine of the other preacher. Let Mr. Recorder also take heed that he receive not any doctrine, or point of doctrine, that are not communicated to him by his superior teacher; nor yet within the precincts of his own formal knowledge.'[1]

He gives them caution about the captains.

Now, after the Prince had thus settled things in the famous town of Mansoul, he proceeded to give to the elders of the corporation a necessary caution, to wit, how they should carry it to the high and noble captains that he had, from his Father's court, sent or brought with him to the famous town of Mansoul.

'These captains,' said he, 'do love the town of Mansoul, and they are picked men, picked out of abundance, as men that best suit, and that will most faithfully serve in the wars of Shaddai against the Diabolonians, for the preservation of the town of Mansoul. I charge you therefore, said he, O ye inhabitants of the now flourishing town of Mansoul, that you carry it not ruggedly or untowardly to my captains, or their men; since, as I said, they are picked and choice men, men chosen out of many for the good of the town of Mansoul. I say, I charge you, that you carry it not untowardly to them; for though they have the hearts and faces of lions, when at any time they shall be called forth to engage and fight with the King's foes, and the enemies of the town of Mansoul; yet a little discountenance cast upon them from the town of Mansoul will deject and cast down their faces; will weaken and take away their courage. Do not therefore, O my beloved, carry it unkindly to my valiant captains and courageous men of war, but love them, nourish them, succour them, and lay them in your bosoms, and they will not only fight for you, but cause to fly from you all those the Diabolonians that seek, and will, if possible, be your utter destruction.

Graces picked from common virtues.

Satan cannot weaken our graces as we ourselves may.

Words.

'If therefore any of them should, at any time, be sick or weak, and so not able to perform that office of love which with all their hearts they are willing to do—and will do also when well and in health—slight them not, nor despise them, but rather strengthen them, and encourage them, though weak and ready to die, He. xii. 12; for they are your fence, and your guard, your wall, your gates, your locks, and your bars. And although, when they are weak, they can do but little, but rather need to be helped by you, than that you should then expect great things from them, yet when well, you know what exploits, what feats and warlike achievements they are able to do, and will perform for you.

'Besides, if they be weak, the town of Mansoul cannot be strong; if they be strong, then Mansoul cannot be weak; your safety therefore doth lie in their health, and in your countenancing of them. Is. xxxv. 3. Remember also that if they be sick, they catch that disease of the town of Mansoul itself.[2] Re. iii. 2. 1 Th. v. 14.

'These things I have said unto you, because I love your welfare, and your honour. Observe therefore, O my Mansoul, to be punctual in all things that I have given in charge unto you, and that not only as a town corporate, and so to your officers and guard, and guides in chief, but to you as you are a people whose well-being, as single persons, depends on the observation of the orders and commandments of their Lord.

A caution about the Diabolonians that yet remain in Mansoul.

'Next, O my Mansoul, I do warn you of that of which notwithstanding that reformation that at present is wrought among you, you have need to be warned about. Wherefore hearken diligently unto me. I am now sure, and you will know hereafter, that there are yet of the Diabolonians remaining in the town of Mansoul; Diabolonians that are sturdy and implacable, and that do already while I am with you, and that will yet more when I am from you, study, plot, contrive, invent, and jointly attempt to bring you to desolation, and so to a state far worse than that of the Egyptian bondage; they are the avowed friends of Diabolus, therefore

[1] Admirably judicious is this charge to conscience. Its office is to compare the heart and walk of the Christian with the Word of God, and *so* to judge whether it be good or bad. It has no new doctrines to reveal; it is not the legislator but the minister of the law, ever looking up to the Holy Spirit for his teaching. The office of conscience is one of great purity, yet it is subject to defilement, and must be purified by the blood of Christ. He. ix. 14.—(Burder.)

[2] With very great respect for the opinions of Mason, Adams, and Burder, in their notes upon the 'Holy War,' I differ with them as to Bunyan's meaning with regard to these noble captains. All the commentators agree in interpreting the captains to mean gospel ministers, and so giving nine elders to every Christian. Their names are Boanerges, Conviction, Judgment, and Execution, and, under Emmanuel's reinforcement, Faith, Hope, Charity, Innocence, and Patience, 'sent or brought' by Emmanuel from his Father's court. They are 'the fences, guards, walls, gates, locks, and bars to Mansoul.' If any one of these fail in his duty, the enemy would enter. If they mean ministers of the gospel, this would be trusting indeed to an arm of flesh. No *Christian* would trust them, if they were all popes, cardinals, archbishops, or bishops. It surely must mean the graces of the Holy Spirit, which being cherished and kept in lively exercise, are the Christian's safeguard and defence from Diabolus and all the Diabolonians in hell or on earth. 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that are builders in it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchmen waketh in vain.' Ps. cxxvii. 1. (Ed.)

look about you; they used heretofore to lodge with their prince in the castle, when Incredulity was the Lord Mayor of this town. Mar. vii. 21, 22. But since my coming hither, they lie more in the outsides, and walls, and have made themselves dens, and caves, and holes, and strong holds therein. Wherefore, O Mansoul, thy work, as to this, will be so much the more difficult and hard. Ro. vii. 18. That is, to take, mortify, and put them to death according to the will of my Father. Nor can you utterly rid yourselves of them, unless you should pull down the walls of your town, the which I am by no means willing you should. Do you ask me, What shall we do then? Why, be you diligent, and quit you like men, observe their holds, find out their haunts, assault them, and make no peace with them. Wherever they haunt, lurk, or abide, and what terms of peace soever they offer you, abhor, and all shall be well betwixt you and me. And that you may the better know them from those that are the natives of Mansoul, I will give you this brief schedule of the names of the chief of them, and they are these that follow: The Lord Fornication, the Lord Adultery, the Lord Murder, the Lord Anger, the Lord Lasciviousness, the Lord Deceit, the Lord Evil-eye, Mr. Drunkenness, Mr. Revelling, Mr. Idolatry, Mr. Witchcraft, Mr. Variance, Mr. Emulation, Mr. Wrath, Mr. Strife, Mr. Sedition, and Mr. Heresy. These are some of the chief, O Mansoul, of those that will seek to overthrow thee for ever. These, I say, are the skulkers in Mansoul, but look thou well into the law of thy King, and there thou shalt find their physiognomy, and such other characteristical notes of them, by which they certainly may be known.[1]

Christ would not have us destroy ourselves, thereby to destroy our sins.

The names of some of the Diabolonians in Mansoul.

'These, O my Mansoul, and I would gladly that you should certainly know it, if they be suffered to run and range about the town as they would, will quickly, like vipers, eat out your bowels, yea, poison your captains, cut the sinews of your soldiers, break the bar and bolts of your gates, and turn your now most flourishing Mansoul into a barren and desolate wilderness, and ruinous heap. Wherefore that you may take courage to yourselves to apprehend these villains wherever you find them, I give to you my Lord Mayor, my Lord Will-be-will, and Mr. Recorder, with all the inhabitants of the town of Mansoul, full power and commission to seek out, to take, and to cause to be put to death by the cross,[2] all, and all manner of Diabolonians, when and wherever you shall find them to lurk within, or to range without the walls of the town of Mansoul.

A commission to destroy the Diabolonians in Mansoul.

'I told you before, that I had placed a standing ministry among you, not that you have but these with you, for my four first captains who came against the master and lord of the Diabolonians that was in Mansoul, they can, and if need be, and if they be required, will not only privately inform, but publicly preach to the corporation both good and wholesome doctrine, and such as shall lead you in the way. Yea, they will set up a weekly, yea, if need be, a daily lecture in thee, O Mansoul; and will instruct thee in such profitable lessons, that if heeded, will do thee good at the end. And take good heed that you spare not the men that you have a commission to take and crucify.

More preachers, if need be, for Mansoul.

'Now as I have set out before your eyes the vagrants and runagates by name, so I will tell you that among yourselves some of them shall creep in to beguile you, even such as would seem, and that in appearance, are very rife and hot for religion. And they, if you watch not, will do you a mischief, such an one as at present you cannot think of.

A caution.

'These, as I said, will show themselves to you in another hue than those under description before. Wherefore, Mansoul, watch and be sober, and suffer not thyself to be betrayed.'[3]

When the Prince had thus far new modelled the town of Mansoul, and had instructed them in such matters as were profitable for them to know, then he appointed another day, in which he intended, when the townsfolk came together, to bestow a further badge of honour upon the town of Mansoul; a badge that should distinguish them from all the people, kindreds, and tongues that dwell in the kingdom of Universe. Now it was not long before the day appointed was come, and the Prince and his people met in the King's palace, where first Emmanuel made a short speech unto them, and then did for them as he had said, and unto them as he had promised.

Another privilege for Mansoul.

My Mansoul, said he, that which I now am about to do, is to make you known to the world to be mine, and to distinguish

His speech to Mansoul.

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[1] 'Physiognomy' and 'characteristical' are unusually hard words for Bunyan to use; the meaning is that these Diabolonian skulkers cannot be so disguised as to avoid a prayerful scrutiny. The Word is the test. The aid of the Spirit is needful; therefore must our prayer be, 'Search me, and try me,' and crucify any of these Diabolonians, who, lurking in my soul, are enemies to its peace and happiness.—(Ed.)

[2] Christian, mark well your duty not only publicly to put on Christ, but at the market-cross deny and crucify sin. The drunkard, in the presence of his companions, is to deny himself, and to denounce the misery of his former indulgences; and so of every class or grade of sinners.

'I'm not ashamed to own my Lord.'—(Ed.)

[3] How needful a caution is this, lest we should be deceived by spiritual pride, self-righteousness, self-seeking, and superstition!—(Burder.)

you also in your own eyes, from all false traitors that may creep in among you.

Then he commanded that those that waited upon him should go and bring forth out of his treasury those white and glistering robes that I, said he, have provided and laid up in store for my Mansoul. So the white garments were fetched out of his treasury, and laid forth to the eyes of the people. Moreover, it was granted to them that they should take them and put them on, according, said he, to your size and stature. So the people were put into white, into fine linen, white and clean. Re. xix. 8.

White robes.

Then said the Prince unto them, This, O Mansoul, is my livery, and the badge by which mine are known from the servants of others. Yea, it is that which I grant to all that are mine, and without which no man is permitted to see my face. Wear them therefore for my sake who gave them unto you; and also if you would be known by the world to be mine.

But now! can you think how Mansoul shone? It was fair as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners. Ca. vi.

The Prince added further, and said, No prince, potentate, or mighty one of Universe, giveth this livery but myself; behold therefore, as I said before, you shall be known by it to be mine

That which distinguisheth Mansoul from other people.

And now, said he, I have given you my livery, let me give you also in commandment concerning them; and be sure that you take good heed to my words. *First*, Wear them daily, day by day, lest you should at sometimes appear to others as if you were none of mine. *Secondly*, Keep them always white, for, if they be soiled, it is dishonour to me. Ec. ix. 8. *Thirdly*, Wherefore gird them up from the ground, and let them not lag with dust and dirt. *Fourthly*, Take heed that you lose them not, lest you walk naked, and they see your shame.[1] Re. iii. 2. *Fifthly*, But if you should sully them, if you should defile them—the which I am greatly unwilling you should, and the prince Diabolus would be glad if you would—then speed you to do that which is written in my law, that yet you may stand, and not fall before me, and before my throne. La. xxi. 36. Also this is the way to cause that I may not leave you nor forsake you while here, but may dwell in this town of Mansoul for ever. Re. vii. 15–17.

And now was Mansoul, and the inhabitants of it, as the signet upon Emmanuel's right hand; where was there now a town, a city, a corporation that could compare with Mansoul—a town redeemed from the hand and from the power of Diabolus—a town that the King Shaddai loved, and that he sent Emmanuel to regain from the prince of the infernal cave—yea, a town that Emmanuel loved to dwell in, and that he chose for his royal habitation—a town that he fortified for himself, and made strong by the force of his army? What shall I say? Mansoul has now a most excellent Prince, golden captains and men of war, weapons proved, and garments as white as snow. Nor are these benefits to be counted little but great. Can the town of Mansoul esteem them so, and improve them to that end and purpose for which they are bestowed upon them?

The glorious state of Mansoul.

When the Prince had thus completed the modelling of the town, to show that he had great delight in the work of his hands, and took pleasure in the good that he had wrought for the famous and flourishing Mansoul, he commanded, and they set his standard upon the battlements of the castle. And then,

First, He gave them frequent visits, not a day now but the elders of Mansoul must come to him, or he to them, into his palace. Now they must walk and talk together of all the great things that he had done, and yet further promised to do for the town of Mansoul. 2 Co. vi. 16. Thus would he often do with the Lord-Mayor, my Lord Will-be-will, and the honest subordinate preacher Mr. Conscience, and Mr. Recorder. But O! how graciously, how lovingly, how courteously, and tenderly did this blessed prince now carry it towards the town of Mansoul! In all the streets, gardens, orchards, and other places where he came, to be sure the poor should have his blessing and benediction; yea, he would kiss them, and if they were ill, he would lay hands on them, and make them well. The captains also he would daily, yea, sometimes hourly encourage with his presence and goodly words. For you must know that a smile from him upon them would put more vigour, more life and stoutness into them, than would anything else under heaven.

Understanding. The will.

Hungry thoughts.[2]

The Prince would now also feast them, and with them continually. Hardly a week would pass but a banquet must be had betwixt him and them. 1 Co. v. 8. You may remember that some pages before we made mention of one feast that they had together, but now to feast them was a thing more common; every day with Mansoul was a feast day now. Nor did he, when they returned to their

[1] If by sin we lose the sense of being clothed with the garments of salvation, how does the soul feel its nakedness and vileness! 'O wretched man!' is the cry; the conscience is wounded, God dishonoured, and the Holy Spirit grieved.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Blessed *are* they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.' A smile from Jesus puts vigour and life into the soul.—(Ed.)

places, send them empty away, either they must have a [1]ring, a [2]gold chain, a [3]bracelet, a [4]white stone, or something; so dear was Mansoul to him now; so lovely was Mansoul in his eyes.[5]

[1] A token of marriage. ['Thy Maker is thy husband.']
[2] A token of honour.
[3] A token of beauty.
[4] A token of pardon.

Secondly, When the elders and townsmen did not come to him, he would send in much plenty of provision unto them, meat that came from court, wine and bread that were prepared for his Father's table. Yea, such delicates would he send unto them, and therewith would so cover their table, that whoever saw it confessed that the like could not be seen in any kingdom.

Thirdly, If Mansoul did not frequently visit him as he desired they should, he would walk out to them, knock at their doors and desire entrance, that amity might be maintained betwixt them and him. If they did hear and open to him, as commonly they would, *if they were at home*, then would he renew his former love, and confirm it too with some new tokens and signs of continued favour. Re. iii. 20. Ca. v. 2.

The danger of wandering thoughts.

And was it not now amazing to behold, that in that very place where sometimes Diabolus had his abode, and entertained his Diabolonians to the almost utter destruction of Mansoul, the Prince of princes should sit eating and drinking with them, while all his mighty captains, men of war, trumpeters, with the singing-men and singing-women of his Father, stood round about to wait upon them! Now did Mansoul's cup run over, now did her conduits run sweet wine, now did she eat the finest of the wheat, and drink milk and honey out of the rock! Now she said, How great is his goodness! for since I found favour in his eyes, how honourable have I been!

Mansoul's glory.

The blessed Prince did also order a new officer in the town, and a goodly person he was; his name was Mr. God's-peace. Col. iii. 15. This man was set over my Lord Will-be-will, my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, the subordinate Preacher, Mr. Mind, and over all the natives of the town of Mansoul. Himself was not a native of it, but came with the Prince Emmanuel from the court. He was a great acquaintance of Captain Credence and Captain Goodhope; some say they were kin, and I am of that opinion too. Ro. xv. 13. This man, as I said, was made governor of the town in general, especially over the castle, and Captain Credence was to help him there. And I made great observation of it, that so long as all things went in Mansoul as this sweet-natured gentleman would, the town was in most happy condition. Now there were no jars, no chiding, no interferings, no unfaithful doings in all the town of Mansoul, every man in Mansoul kept close to his own employment. The gentry, the officers, the soldiers, and all in place observed their order. And as for the women and children of the town, they followed their business joyfully, they would work and sing, work and sing from morning till night; so that quite through the town of Mansoul now, nothing was to be found but harmony, quietness, joy, and health. And this lasted all that summer.[6]

Holy conceptions. Good thoughts.

[CHAPTER XII.]

[CONTENTS:—Carnal-security prevailing in the town, a coolness takes place between the inhabitants and Emmanuel; who, being greatly offended, privately withdraws—Godly-fear, who detects the cause of his removal, excites the people to destroy Mr. Carnal-security—Measures are then taken to induce Emmanuel to return.]

But there was a man in the town of Mansoul, and his name was Mr. Carnal-security.[7] This man did, after all this mercy bestowed on this corporation, bring the town of Mansoul into great and grievous slavery and bondage. A brief account of him and of his doings take as followeth:—

The story of Mr. Carnal-security.

When Diabolus at first took possession of the town of Mansoul, he brought thither with himself a great number of Diabolonians, men of his own condition. Now among these there was one whose name was Mr. Self-conceit, and a notable brisk man he was, as any that in those days did possess the town of Mansoul. Diabolus then perceiving this man to be active and bold, sent him upon many desperate designs, the which he managed better, and more to the pleasing of his Lord, than most that came with him from the dens could do. Wherefore finding of him so fit for his purpose, he preferred him, and made him next to the great Lord Will-be-will, of whom we have written so much before. Now the Lord Will-be-will being in those days very well pleased with him, and with his achievements, gave him his daughter, the Lady Fear-nothing, to wife. Now of my Lady Fear-nothing did this Mr. Self-conceit beget this gentleman Mr. Carnal-security. Wherefore there being then in Mansoul those strange kinds of mixtures, it was

Mr. Self-conceit.

Carnal-security's original.

[5] How blessed is the Christian who lives in the holy enjoyment of his high and heavenly privileges! Every day is a feast-day, bringing fresh discoveries of grace and foretastes of glory.—(ED.)

[6] This is a beautiful representation of the holy enjoyment of Divine things, when the soul is emancipated from sin, and enjoys a little heaven on earth. It is in Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*, No. 232—'I had strange apprehensions of the grace of God, so that I could hardly bear up under it; it was so out of measure amazing, that I think if it had abode long upon me, it would have made me incapable of business.'—(ED.)

[7] Carnal security, or comfort and security in the flesh, instead of living on Christ by faith.—(ED.)

hard for them in some cases to find out who were natives, who not; for Mr. Carnal-security sprang from my Lord Will-be-will by mother's side, though he had for his father a Diabolonian by nature.[1]

His qualities.

Well, this Carnal-security took much after his father and mother; he was self-conceited, he feared nothing, he was also a very busy man; nothing of news, nothing of doctrine, nothing of alteration, or talk of alteration, could at any time be on foot in Mansoul, but be sure Mr. Carnal-security would be at the head or tail of it; but to be sure he would decline those that he deemed the weakest, and stood always with them, in *his* way of standing, that he supposed was the strongest side.

He is always for the strongest side.

Now when Shaddai the mighty, and Emmanuel his Son made war upon Mansoul to take it, this Mr. Carnal-security was then in town, and was a great doer among the people, encouraging them in their rebellion, putting of them upon hardening of themselves in their resisting of the King's forces; but when he saw that the town of Mansoul was taken and converted to the use of the glorious Prince Emmanuel, and when he also saw what was become of Diabolus, and how he was unroosted, and made to quit the castle in the greatest contempt and scorn, and that the town of Mansoul was well lined with captains, engines of war, and men, and also provision, what doth he but slily wheel about also; and as he had served Diabolus against the good Prince, so he feigned that he would serve the Prince against his foes.

And having got some little smattering of Emmanuel's things by the end,[2] being bold, he ventures himself into the company of the townsmen, and attempts also to chat among them. Now he knew that the power and strength of the town of Mansoul was great, and that it could not but be pleasing to the people if he cried up their might and their glory. Wherefore he beginneth his tale with the power and strength of Mansoul, and affirmed that it was impregnable. Now magnifying their captains, and their slings, and their rams; then crying up their fortifications, and strong holds; and lastly, the assurances that they had from their Prince that Mansoul should be happy for ever. But when he saw that some of the men of the town were tickled and taken with his discourse, he makes it his business, and walking from street to street, house to house, and man to man, he at last brought Mansoul to dance after his pipe, and to grow almost as carnally secure as himself; so from talking they went to feasting, and from feasting to sporting; and so to some other matters. Now Emmanuel was yet in the town of Mansoul, and he wisely observed their doings. My Lord Mayor, my Lord Will-be-will, and Mr. Recorder, were also all taken with the words of this tattling Diabolonian gentleman, forgetting that their Prince had given them warning before to take heed that they were not beguiled with any Diabolonian sleight. He had further told them that the security of the now flourishing town of Mansoul, did not so much lie in her present fortifications and force, as in her so using of what she had, as might oblige her Emmanuel to abide within her castle.[3] For the right doctrine of Emmanuel was, that the town of Mansoul should take heed that they forget not his Father's love and his; also that they should so demean themselves as to continue to keep themselves therein. Now this was not the way to do it, namely, to fall in love with one of the Diabolonians, and with such an one too as Mr. Carnal-security was, and to be led up and down by the nose by him.[4] They should have heard their Prince, feared their Prince, loved their Prince, and have stoned this naughty pack to death, and took care to have walked in the ways of their Prince's prescribing, for then should their peace have been as a river, when their righteousness had been like the waves of the sea.

It is not grace received, but grace improved, that preserves the soul from temporal dangers.

How Mr. Carnal-security begins the misery of Mansoul.

Now when Emmanuel perceived that, through the policy of Mr. Carnal-security, the hearts of the men of Mansoul were chilled, and abated in their practical love to him;[5] first, he bemoans them, and condoles their state with the Secretary, saying, O that my people had hearkened unto me, and that Mansoul had walked in my ways! I would have fed them with the finest of the wheat, and with honey out of the rock would I have sustained them. Ps. lxxxi. 16. This done, he said in his heart,

Emmanuel bemoans Mansoul.

[1] Vices are so disguised, that no merely human vigilance or sagacity can detect them lurking in the walls of Mansoul; hence the necessity of the cry, 'Search me, and try me, O God.'—(Ed.)

[2] I have not been able to find any illustration of this saying. It probably means, that without any inquiry into the former state of Mansoul—its lost, helpless, hopeless, miserable condition, and its cry, Lord, save, I perish! Carnal-security, proud of the elevation of Mansoul, considered it safe, without the trouble of prayer or watchfulness. How essential it is that we examine premises before we jump at conclusions, or take things by the end!—(Ed.)

[3] Carnal-security, the offspring of Self-conceit and Fear-nothing, is one of our most subtle enemies, and needs our utmost vigilance. To rejoice in our fortifications, or the doctrines of grace, is our duty and privilege; but all our trust must be in our living union to our ever-living Head.—(Ed.)

[4] 'Led by the nose;' to discover by any strong smell; to be led without resistance, or inquiring the reason.—(Ed.)

[5] A child in religion would naturally inquire why Carnal-security was not forthwith seized, tried, and executed. But by the time that he had rendered himself liable to punishment no jury could have been found in Mansoul to convict him. God's ways are not as our ways; he is permitted to carry on his treason, that the solid peace of Mansoul might be promoted. Thus 'the bitter comes before the sweet, to make the sweet the sweeter.'—(Ed.)

I will return to the court and go to my place, till Mansoul shall consider and acknowledge their offence. And he did so, and the cause and manner of his going away from them was thus—

The cause was, for that Mansoul declined him, as is manifest in these particulars,

The way of Mansoul's backsliding.

1. They left off their former way of visiting of him, they came not to his royal palace as afore. 2. They did not regard, nor yet take notice that he came, or came not to visit them. 3. The love-feasts that had wont to be between their Prince and them, though he made them still, and called them to them, yet they neglected to come at them, or to be delighted with them. 4. They waited not for his counsels, but began to be headstrong and confident in themselves, concluding that now they were strong and invincible, and that Mansoul was secure, and beyond all reach of the foe, and that her state must needs be unalterable for ever.[1]

Now, as was said, Emmanuel perceiving that by the craft of Mr. Carnal-security, the town of Mansoul was taken off from their dependence upon him, and upon his Father by him, and set upon what by them was bestowed upon it; he first, as I said, bemoaned their state, then he used means to make them understand that the way that they went on in was dangerous. For he sent my Lord High Secretary to them, to forbid them such ways; but twice when he came to them he found them at dinner in Mr. Carnal-security's parlour, and perceiving also that they were not willing to reason about matters concerning their good, he took grief and went his way. The which when he had told to the Prince Emmanuel, he took offence, and was grieved also, and so made provision to return to his Father's court.

They grieve the Holy Ghost and Christ.

Now the methods of his withdrawing, as I was saying before, were thus, 1. Even while he was yet with them in Mansoul, he kept himself close, and more retired than formerly. 2. His speech was not now, if he came in their company, so pleasant and familiar as formerly. 3. Nor did he, as in times past, send to Mansoul from his table those dainty bits which he was wont to do. 4. Nor when they came to visit him, as now and then they would, would he be so easily spoken with as they found him to be in times past. They might now knock once, yea twice, but he would seem not at all to regard them; whereas formerly, at the sound of their feet, he would up and run, and meet them half way, and take them too, and lay them in his bosom.

Christ withdraws not all at once.

The working of their affections.

But thus Emmanuel carried it now, and by his his carriage he sought to make them bethink themselves and return to him. But, alas! they did not consider, they did not know his ways, they regarded not, they were not touched with these, nor with the true remembrance of former favours. Wherefore what does he but in private manner withdraw himself, first from his palace, then to the gate of the town, and so away from Mansoul he goes, till they should acknowledge their offence, and more earnestly seek his face. Ho. v. 15. Mr. God's-peace also laid down his commission, and would for the present act no longer in the town of Mansoul.[2] Eze. xi. 21.

He is gone.

Thus they walked contrary to him, and he again by way of retaliation, walked contrary to them. Le. xxvi. 21–24. But, alas! by this time they were so hardened in their way, and had so drunk in the doctrine of Mr. Carnal-security, that the departing of their Prince touched them not, nor was he remembered by them when gone; and so, of consequence, his absence not condoled by them. Je. ii. 32.

Now there was a day wherein this old gentleman Mr. Carnal-security did again make a feast for the town of Mansoul, and there was at that time in the town one Mr. Godly-fear, one now but little set by, though formerly one of great request. This man old Carnal-security had a mind, if possible, to gull and debauch, and abuse as he did the rest, and therefore he now bids him to the feast with his neighbours; so the day being come they prepare, and he goes and appears with the rest of the guests; and being all set at the table, they did eat and drink, and were merry even all but this one man. For Mr. Godly-fear sat like a stranger, and did neither eat, nor was merry. The which when Mr. Carnal-security perceived, he presently addressed himself in a speech thus to him:

A trick put upon Mr. Godly-fear.

He goes to the feast and sits there like a stranger.

Carn. Mr. Godly-fear, are you not well? you seem to be ill of body or mind, or both. I have a cordial of Mr. Forget-good's making, the which, Sir, if you will take a dram of, I hope it may make you bonny and blithe, and so make you more fit for we feasting companions.

Talk betwixt Mr. Carnal-security and Mr. Godly-fear.

Godly. Unto whom the good old gentleman discreetly replied, Sir, I thank you for all things courteous and civil, but for your cordial I have no list thereto. But a word to the natives of Mansoul—you the elders and chief of Mansoul, to me it is strange to see you so jocund and merry, when the town of Mansoul is in such woful case.

Carn. Then said Mr. Carnal-security, You want sleep, good Sir, I doubt. If you please lie down and take a nap, and we, meanwhile, will be merry.

[1] O Christian, beware of the first step in backsliding! While you seek the Saviour's face, and walk humbly with God, you are safe.—(Ed)

[2] Christ and the Spirit, and consequently peace, withdraw from the carnally secure.—(Mason.)

GODLY. Then said the good man as follows, Sir, if you were not destitute of an honest heart, you could not do as you have done, and do.

CARN. Then said Mr. Carnal-security, Why?

GODLY. Nay, pray interrupt me not. It is true the town of Mansoul was strong, and, with a proviso, impregnable; but you, the townsmen, have weakened it, and it now lies obnoxious to its foes; nor is it a time to flatter, or be silent. It is you, Mr. Carnal-security, that have wilily stripped Mansoul, and driven her glory from her; you have pulled down her towers, you have broken down her gates, you have spoiled her locks and bars.

And now to explain myself. From that time that my Lords of Mansoul and you, Sir, grew so great, from that time the strength of Mansoul has been offended, and now he is arisen and is gone.[1] If any shall question the truth of my words, I will answer him by this, and such like questions: Where is the Prince Emmanuel? When did a man or woman in Mansoul see him? When did you hear from him, or taste any of his dainty bits? You are now a feasting with this Diabolonian monster, but he is not your prince. I say, therefore, though enemies from without, had you taken heed, could not have made a prey of you, yet since you have sinned against your Prince, your enemies within have been too hard for you.

CARN. Then said Mr. Carnal-security, Fie, fie, Mr. Godly-fear, fie; will you never shake off your timorousness? Are you afraid of being sparrow-blasted?[2] Who hath hurt you? Behold I am on your side, only you are for doubting, and I am for being confident.[3] Besides, is this a time to be sad in? A feast is made for mirth; why then do ye now, to your shame and our trouble, break out into such passionate melancholy language, when you should eat, and drink, and be merry?

GODLY. Then said Mr. Godly-fear again, I may well be sad, for Emmanuel is gone from Mansoul. I say again, he is gone, and you, Sir, are the man that has driven him away; yea he is gone without so much as acquainting the nobles of Mansoul with his going, and if that is not a sign of his anger I am not acquainted with the methods of godliness.[4]

His speech to the elders of Mansoul.

And now, my lords and gentlemen—for my speech is still to you—your gradual declining from him did provoke him gradually to depart from you, the which he did for some time, if perhaps you would have been made sensible thereby, and have been renewed by humbling of yourselves; but when he saw that none would regard, nor lay these fearful beginnings of his anger and judgment to heart, he went away from this place, and this I saw with mine eye. Wherefore now, while you boast, your strength is gone, you are like the man that had lost his locks that before did wave about his shoulders.[5] You may with this lord of your feast shake yourselves, and conclude to do as at other times; but since without him you can do nothing, and he is departed from you, turn your feast into a sigh, and your mirth into lamentation.[6]

Then the subordinate Preacher, old Mr. Conscience by name, he that of old was Recorder of Mansoul, being startled at what was said, began to second it thus.

Conscience startled.

CON. Indeed, my brethren, quoth he, I fear that Mr. Godly-fear tells us true: I, for my part, have not seen my Prince a long season. I cannot remember the day for my part. Nor can I answer Mr. Godly-fear's question. I doubt, I am afraid that all is naught with Mansoul.

GODLY. Nay, I know that you shall not find him in Mansoul, for he is departed and gone; yea, and gone for the faults of the elders, and for that they rewarded his grace with unsufferable unkindnesses.

They are all aghast.

Then did the subordinate Preacher look as if he would fall down dead at the table, also all there present, except the man of the house, began to look pale and wan. But having a little recovered themselves and jointly agreeing to believe Mr. Godly-fear and his sayings, they began to consult what was best to be done (now Mr. Carnal-security was gone into his withdrawing room, for he liked not such dumpish doings) both to the man of the house for drawing them into evil, and also to recover Emmanuel's love.

They consult and burn their feast-master's house.

And with that, that saying of their Prince came very hot into their minds, which he had bidden them do to such as were false prophets that should arise to delude the town of Mansoul. So they took Mr. Carnal-security, concluding that he must be he, and

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[1] 'Pride *goeth* before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.' Pr. xvi. 18.—(ED.)

[2] This is an obsolete term, alluding to a man being as much alarmed at the twitter of a sparrow, as at the blast of a trumpet urging him to deeds of war.—(ED.)

[3] Carnal-security has got into the scorner's seat—a fearful state. Lord Erskine said, 'I respect Lawyer Dalton's doubts more than some men's certainties.' The late venerable Rowland Hill, when appealed to by one of those carnally-secure professors, said to him, 'Sir, as you have no doubts, then I shall both doubt *of* you and *for* you.' Doubts of the merits or willingness of Christ to save are very sinful, and there are seasons when the Christian rises above all doubts; but while we have a sinful heart of unbelief, doubts, like clouds, will arise to obscure the Sun of righteousness.—(ED.)

[4] Sin grieves the Holy Spirit, and causes the Lord to hide his face. In humble, close walking with God, is our safety, comfort, and peace; but departing from the Lord's ways brings darkness and distress to the soul.—(Mason.)

[5] Samson; see Ju. xvi.

[6] Godly-fear cannot be stupified with Forget-good's cordial. He is not like the man who 'lost his locks.'

'So Samson, when his hair was lost,
Met the Philistines to his cost;
Shook his vain limbs with sad surprise,
Made feeble fight, and lost his eyes.'—(Watts.)

burned his house upon him with fire, for he also was a Diabolonian by nature.

So when this was past and over, they bespeed themselves to look for Emmanuel their Prince, and they sought him, but they found him not. Cant. v. 6. Then were they more confirmed in the truth of Mr. Godly-fear's sayings, and began also severely to reflect upon themselves for their so vile and ungodly doings; for they concluded now that it was through them that their Prince had left them.

They apply themselves to the Holy Ghost: but he is grieved, &c.

Then they agreed and went to my Lord Secretary, him whom before they refused to hear, him whom they had grieved with their doings, to know of him, for he was a seer and could tell where Emmanuel was, and how they might direct a petition to him. But the Lord Secretary would not admit them to a conference about this matter, nor would admit them to his royal place of abode, nor come out to them to show them his face, or intelligence. Is. lxiii. 10. Ep. iv. 30. 1 Th. v. 19.

And now was it a day, gloomy and dark, a day of clouds and of thick darkness with Mansoul. Now they saw that they had been foolish, and began to perceive what the company and prattle of Mr. Carnal-security had done, and what desperate damage his swaggering words had brought poor Mansoul into. But what further it was like to cost them, that they were ignorant of. Now Mr. Godly-fear began again to be in repute with the men of the town: yea, they were ready to look upon him as a prophet.

Well, when the Sabbath-day was come, they went to hear their subordinate Preacher; but O how he did thunder and lighten this day! His text was that in the prophet Jonah, 'They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercies.' ii. 8. But there was then such power and authority in that sermon, and such a dejection seen in the countenances of the people that day, that the like hath seldom been heard or seen. The people, when sermon was done, were scarce able to go to their homes, or to betake themselves to their employs the week after, they were so sermon-smitten, and also so sermon-sick by being smitten, that they knew not what to do. Ho. v. 13.

A thundering sermon.

He did not only show to Mansoul their sin, but did tremble before them, under the sense of his own, still crying out of himself, as he preached to them, Unhappy man that I am! that I should do so wicked a thing! That I! a preacher! whom the Prince did set up to teach to Mansoul his law, should myself live senseless, and sottishly here, and be one of the first found in transgression. This transgression also fell within my precincts, I should have cried out against the wickedness, but I let Mansoul lie wallowing in it, until it had driven Emmanuel from its borders. With these things he also charged all the lords and gentry of Mansoul, to the almost distracting of them. Ps. lxxxviii.

The subordinate Preacher doth acknowledge his fault, and bewails his compliance with Mr. Carnal-security.

About this time also there was a great sickness in the town of Mansoul, and most of the inhabitants were greatly afflicted; yea, the captains also, and men of war, were brought thereby to a languishing condition, and that for a long time together; so that in case of an invasion, nothing could to purpose now have been done, either by the townsmen or field officers. O how many pale faces, weak hands, feeble knees, and staggering men were now seen to walk the streets of Mansoul.[1] Here were groans, there pants, and yonder lay those that were ready to faint.[2] He. xii. 12, 13. Re. iii. 2.

A great sickness in Mansoul.

Sin doth cause to be weak, both body, and soul, and graces.

The garments too which Emmanuel had given them were but in a sorry case; some were rent, some were torn, and all in a nasty condition; some also did hang so loosely upon them, that the next bush they came at was ready to pluck them off. Is. iii. 24.

After some time spent in this sad and desolate condition, the subordinate Preacher called for a day of fasting, and to humble themselves for being so wicked against the great Shaddai, and his Son; and he desired that Captain Boanerges would preach.[3] So he consented to do it, and the day was come, and his text was this, 'Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?' and a very smart sermon he made upon the place. First, he showed what was the occasion of the words, to wit, because the fig-tree was barren; then he showed what was contained in the sentence, to wit, repentance, or utter desolation. He then showed also by whose authority this sentence was pronounced, and that was by Shaddai

Boanerges doth preach to Mansoul.

[1] The sermon and its effects remind us strongly of Bunyan's *Barren Fig-tree*. 'Cut it down! Fetch out the axe! The Lord shakes the sinner, and whirls him upon *a sick-bed*. Death, fetch him away to the fire—fetch this barren professor to hell! Death and hell are at his bed-side, with grim looks, staring him in the face.' This passage in the 'Holy War' probably led the author, two years after, to preach and publish that smart sermon, so full of thunder and lightning, from the text put into the mouth of Boanerges.—(Ed.)

[2] How does a carnal careless walk obscure the eye of faith, whose evidences become weaker, until revived by the Word and Spirit of God!—(Mason.) 'I could, for whole days together, feel my very body, as well as my mind, to shake and totter under a sense of the dreadful judgment of God.'—(*Grace Abounding*, No. 164.) A miserable state for a warrior surrounded by active enemies.—(Ed.)

[3] Preaching captains were not uncommon in Bunyan's time; even Queen Elizabeth permitted lay preachers. Sir J. Cheke, the High Sheriff of Oxford, preached in his sheriff's gown and gold chain, in St. Mary's pulpit, at Oxford University. If men of similar piety and talent would volunteer, it would not be a bad example for our gracious Victoria to follow. —(Ed.)

himself. And lastly, he showed the reasons of the point, and then concluded his sermon. But he was very pertinent in the application, insomuch that he made poor Mansoul tremble. For this sermon, as well as the former, wrought much upon the hearts of the men of Mansoul; yea it greatly helped to keep awake those that were roused by the preaching that went before. So that now throughout the whole town there was little or nothing to be heard or seen but sorrow and mourning, and woe.[1]

The men of Mansoul much affected.

Now after sermon they got together and consulted what was best to be done. But, said the subordinate Preacher, I will do nothing of mine own head, without advising with my neighbour Mr. Godly-fear.

They consult what to do.

For if he had afore, and understood more of the mind of our Prince than we, I do not know but he also may have it now, even now we are turning again to virtue. So they called and sent for Mr. Godly-fear, and he forthwith appeared; then they desired that he would further show his opinion about what they had best to do. Then said the old gentleman as followeth: It is my opinion that this town of Mansoul should, in this day of her distress, draw up and send an humble petition to their offended Prince Emmanuel, that he in his favour and grace will turn again unto you, and not keep anger for ever.

Mr. Godly-fear's advice.

When the townsmen had heard this speech, they did with one consent agree to his advice; so they did presently draw up their request, and the next was, But who shall carry it? at last they did all agree to send it by my Lord Mayor. So he accepted of the service, and addressed himself to his journey; and went and came to the court of Shaddai, whither Emmanuel the Prince of Mansoul was gone. But the gate was shut, and a strict watch kept thereat so that the petitioner was forced to stand without for a great while together. La. iii. 8. Then he desired that some would go in to the Prince and tell him who stood at the gate, and what his business was. So one went and told to Shaddai, and to Emmanuel his Son, that the Lord Mayor of the town of Mansoul stood without at the gate of the King's court, desiring to be admitted into the presence of the Prince, the King's Son. He also told what was the Lord Mayor's errand, both to the King and his Son Emmanuel. But the Prince would not come down, nor admit that the gate should be opened to him, but sent him an answer to this effect:—They have turned the back unto me, and not their face, but now in the time of their trouble they say to me, Arise and save us. La. iii. 44. But can they not now go to Mr. Carnal-security, to whom they went when they turned from me, and make him their leader, their lord, and their protection, now in their trouble? Why now in their trouble do they visit me, since in their prosperity they went astray. Je. ii. 27, 28.

They send the Lord Mayor to court.

A dreadful answer.

This answer made my Lord Mayor look black in the face; it troubled, it perplexed, it rent him sore. La. iv. 7, 8. And now he began again to see what it was to be familiar with Diabolonians, such as Mr. Carnal-security was. When he saw that at court, as yet, there was little help to be expected, either for himself, or friends in Mansoul, he smote upon his breast and returned weeping, and all the way bewailing the lamentable state of Mansoul. Well, when he was come within sight of the town, the elders, and chief of the people of Mansoul went out at the gate to meet him, and to salute him, and to know how he sped at court. But he told them his tale in so doleful a manner, that they all cried out, and mourned, and wept. Wherefore they threw ashes and dust upon their heads, and put sackcloth upon their loins, and went crying out through the town of Mansoul; the which when the rest of the townsfolk saw, they all mourned and wept. This, therefore, was a day of rebuke and trouble, and of anguish to the town of Mansoul, and also of great distress.

The Lord Mayor returns, and how.

The state of Mansoul now.

The whole town cast down.

After some time, when they had somewhat refrained themselves, they came together to consult again what by them was yet to be done; and they asked advice, as they did before, of that Rev. Mr. Godly-fear, who told them, that there was no way better than to do as they had done, nor would he that they should be discouraged at all with what they had met with at court; yea, though several of their petitions should be answered with nought but silence or rebuke; for, said he, it is the way of the wise Shaddai to make men wait and to exercise patience, and it should be the way of them in want to be willing to stay his leisure.[2]

They consult again.

Mr. Godly-fear's advice.

Then they took courage, and sent again, and again, and again, and again; for there was not now one day, nor an hour that went over Mansoul's head, wherein a man might not have met upon the road one or other riding post, sounding the horn from Mansoul to the court of the King Shaddai; and all with letters petitionary in behalf of, and for the Prince's return to Mansoul. The

See now what is the work of a backsliding saint awakened.

Groaning desires.

[1] Mansoul had withdrawn from a faithful ministry, and sat under the preaching of milder and unfaithful men, but Godly-fear having roused them to burn Carnal-security's house, they flock to the awakening alarms of a faithful Boanerges.—(Ed.)

[2] See Ps. xxv. 3; xxvii. 14; xxxvii. 7, lii. 5. La. iii. 26. Ho. xii. 6.—(Ed.)

road, I say, was now full of messengers, going and returning, and meeting one another; some from the court, and some from Mansoul, and this was the work of the miserable town of Mansoul all that long, that sharp, that cold, and tedious winter.[1]

A memento.

Now, if you have not forgot, you may yet remember that I told you before that after Emmanuel had taken Mansoul, yea, and after that he had new modelled the town, there remained in several lurking places of the corporation many of the old Diabolonians, that either came with the tyrant when he invaded and took the town, or that had there, by reason of unlawful mixtures, their birth and breeding, and bringing up. And their holes, dens, and lurking places were in, under, or about the wall of the town. Some of their names are, the Lord Fornication, the Lord Adultery, the Lord Murder, the Lord Anger, the Lord Lasciviousness, the Lord Deceit, the Lord Evil-eye, the Lord Blasphemy, and that horrible villain the old and dangerous Lord Covetousness.[2] These, as I told you, with many more, had yet their abode in the town of Mansoul, and that after that Emmanuel had driven their prince Diabolus out of the castle.[3]

Mansoul heeded not her Prince's caution, nor put his commission into execution.

Against these the good Prince did grant a commission to the Lord Will-be-will and others; yea, to the whole town of Mansoul, to seek, take, secure, and destroy any or all that they could lay hands of; for that they were Diabolonians by nature, enemies to the Prince, and those that sought to ruin the blessed town of Mansoul. But the town of Mansoul did not pursue this warrant, but neglected to look after, to apprehend, to secure, and to destroy these Diabolonians. Wherefore, what do these villains, but by degrees take courage to put forth their heads, and to show themselves to the inhabitants of the town; yea, and as I was told, some of the men of Mansoul grew too familiar with some of them, to the sorrow of the corporation, as you yet will hear more of in time and place.[4]

[Chapter XIII.]

[Contents:—The Diabolonians take courage from the departure of Emmanuel, and plots are formed in hell for a counter-revolution in Mansoul—Covetousness, Lasciviousness, and Anger, by changing their names, are introduced into respectable families, where they corrupt their masters, and do incredible mischief—An army of twenty thousand doubters raised to surprise the town.]

The Diabolonians plot.

Well, when the Diabolonian lords that were left, perceived that Mansoul had, through sinning, offended Emmanuel their Prince, and that he had withdrawn himself and was gone, what do they but plot the ruin of the town of Mansoul. So upon a time they met together at the hold of one Mr. Mischief, who also was a Diabolonian, and there consulted how they might deliver up Mansoul into the hand of Diabolus again. Now some advised one way, and some another, every man according to his own liking. At last, my Lord Lasciviousness propounded whether it might not be best, in the first place, for some of those that were Diabolonians in Mansoul, to adventure to offer themselves for servants to some of the natives of the town. For, said he, if they so do, and Mansoul shall accept of them, they may for us, and for Diabolus our Lord, make the taking of the town of Mansoul more easy than otherwise it will be. But then stood up the Lord Murder, and said, This may not be done at this time, for Mansoul is now in a kind of rage; because by our friend Mr. Carnal-security she hath been once ensnared already, and made to offend against her Prince; and how shall she reconcile herself unto her Lord again, but by the heads of these men? Besides, we know that they have in commission to take and slay us wherever they shall find us; let us therefore be wise as foxes; when we are dead we can do them no hurt, but while we live we may. Thus when they had tossed the matter to and fro, they jointly agreed that a letter should forthwith be sent away to Diabolus in their name; by which the state of the town of Mansoul should be showed him, and how much it is under the frowns of their Prince; we may also, said some, let him know our intentions, and ask of him his advice in the case.[5]

They send to hell for advice.

[1] When roused from carnal security by godly fear, the soul feels, more than ever, the value and essential importance of prayer. No poor harassed sinner had experienced this dread state of uncertainty more than Bunyan; a suspense like a sharp, a cold, a tedious winter to a poor man destitute of common comforts. All these feelings are remarkably displayed in the *Grace Abounding*—'I felt also such a clogging and heat at my stomach, by reason of my terror, that I was, especially at some times, as if my breast bone would have split asunder.' —No. 164. 'It was like the mark that the Lord God did set on Cain, even continual fear and trembling. Thus did I wind, and twine, and shrink under the burden that was upon me.'—No. 165.—(Ed.)

[2] The apostle calls covetousness 'idolatry.' Ep. v. 5. Col. iii. 5. It is a worshipping of mammon, and justly deserves the stigma which Bunyan puts on it—'That horrible villain, the old and dangerous Lord Covetousness.' His vigour increases with his age, contrary to other vices.—(Ed.)

[3] Converted persons have still the world, the flesh, and the devil to cope with—enemies without and within, lurking in the walls, in holes, and dens in Mansoul; but the Lord has promised to give grace and glory. Ps. lxxxiv. 11.—(Mason.)

[4] Emmanuel gives a strict charge to destroy all Diabolonians, but this was neglected, and the consequence was that they became to Mansoul what the Canaanites were to Israel. 'If ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then it shall come to pass, that these which ye let remain of them *shall be* pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides, and shall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell.' Nu. xxxiii. 55.—(Burder.)

[5] Thus poor sinners are in league with hell against their

So a letter was presently framed, the contents of which was this—

'To our great Lord, the Prince Diabolus, dwelling below in the Infernal Cave.

'O great Father, and mighty Prince Diabolus, We, the true Diabolonians, yet remaining in the rebellious town of Mansoul, having received our beings from thee, and our nourishment at thy hands, cannot with content and quiet endure to behold, as we do this day, how thou art dispraised, disgraced, and reproached among the inhabitants of this town; nor is thy long absence at all delightful to us, because greatly to our detriment.

The copy of their letter.

'The reason of this our writing unto our Lord is, for that we are not altogether without hope that this town may become thy habitation again; for it is greatly declined from its Prince Emmanuel, and he is up-risen, and is departed from them; yea, and though they send, and send, and send, and send after him to return to them, yet can they not prevail, nor get good words from him.

'There has been also of late, and is yet remaining, a very great sickness and faintings among them, and that not only upon the poorer sort of the town, but upon the lords, captains, and chief gentry of the place; we only, who are of the Diabolonians by nature, remain well, lively, and strong, so that through their great transgression on the one hand, and their dangerous sickness on the other, we judge they lay open to thy hand and power. If therefore it shall stand with thy horrible cunning, and with the cunning of the rest of the Princes with thee, to come and make an attempt to take Mansoul again, send us word, and we shall to our utmost power be ready to deliver it into thy hand. Or, if what we have said, shall not by thy fatherhood be thought best, and most meet to be done, send us thy mind in a few words, and we are all ready to follow thy counsel, to the hazarding of our lives, and what else we have.

'Given under our hands the day and date above written, after a close consultation at the house of Mr. Mischief, who yet is alive, and hath his place in our desirable town of Mansoul.'

When Mr. Profane—for he was the carrier—was come with his letter to Hell-gate-hill, he knocked at the brazen gates for entrance. Then did Cerberus,[1] the porter—for he is the keeper of that gate—open to Mr. Profane, to whom he delivered his letter which he had brought from the Diabolonians in Mansoul. So he carried it in and presented it to Diabolus his lord, and said, Tidings, my lord, from Mansoul, from our trusty friends in Mansoul.

Mr. Profane is carrier, and he brings the letter to Hell-gate-hill, and there presents it to Cerberus, the porter.

Then came together from all places of the den Beelzebub, Lucifer, Apollyon, with the rest of the rabblement there, to hear what news from Mansoul. So the letter was broken up and read, and Cerberus he stood by. When the letter was openly read, and the contents thereof spread into all the corners of the den, command was given that, without let or stop, Deadman's bell should be rung for joy. So the bell was rung, and the princes rejoiced that Mansoul was like to come to ruin. Now the clapper of the bell went, The town of Mansoul is coming to dwell with us, make room for the town of Mansoul. This bell, therefore, they did ring, because they did hope that they should have Mansoul again.[2]

Deadman's bell, and how it went.

Now, when they had performed this their horrible ceremony, they got together again to consult what answer to send to their friends in Mansoul, and some advised one thing, and some another; but, at length, because the business required haste, they left the whole business to the Prince Diabolus, judging him the most proper lord of the place. So he drew up a letter as he thought fit, in answer to what Mr. Profane had brought, and sent it to the Diabolonians that did dwell in Mansoul, by the same hand that had brought theirs to him, and this was the contents thereof—

'To our offspring, the high and mighty Diabolonians, that yet dwell in the town of Mansoul, Diabolus, the great Prince of Mansoul, wisheth a prosperous issue and conclusion of those many brave enterprises, conspiracies, and designs, that you of your love and respect to our honour, have in your hearts to attempt to do against Mansoul.

'Beloved children and disciples, my Lord Fornication, Adultery, and the rest, we have here, in our desolate den, received, to our highest joy and content, your welcome letter, by the hand of our trusty Mr. Profane, and to show how acceptable your tidings were, we rung out our bell for gladness, for we rejoiced as much as we could, when we perceived that yet we had friends in Mansoul, and such as sought our honour and revenge in the ruin of the town of Mansoul. We also rejoice to hear that they are in a degenerated condition, and that they have offended their Prince, and that he

own souls. May the Lord, by his Word and Spirit, break the horrid confederacy!—(Mason.)

[1] The gate-keeper of Pluto's palace in hell, with three heads, every hair being a snake; supposed by some to represent the word, flesh, and devil; or the consumer of mankind.—(Ed.)

[2] As there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, so likewise is there joy in hell over one backsliding saint. But almighty grace must prevail. O for watchfulness unto prayer!—(Mason.)

is gone. Their sickness also pleaseth us, as doth also your health, might, and strength. Glad also would we be, right horribly beloved, could we get this town into our clutches again. Nor will we be sparing of spending our wit, our cunning, our craft, and hellish inventions, to bring to a wished conclusion this your brave beginning, in order thereto.

'And take this for your comfort, our birth and our offspring, that shall we again surprise it and take it, we will attempt to put all your foes to the sword, and will make you the great lords and captains of the place. Nor need you fear, if ever we get it again, that we after that shall be cast out any more, for we will come with more strength, and so lay far more fast hold than at the first we did. Besides, it is the law of that Prince that now they own, that if we get them a second time they shall be ours for ever. Mat. xii. 43–45.

'Do you therefore, our trusty Diabolonians, yet more pry into, and endeavour to spy out, the weakness of the town of Mansoul. We also would that you yourselves do attempt to weaken them more and more. Send us word also by what means you think we had best to attempt the regaining thereof; to wit, whether by persuasion to a vain and loose life, or whether by tempting them to doubt and despair, or whether by blowing up of the town by the gunpowder of pride and self-conceit. Do ye also, O ye brave Diabolonians and true sons of the pit, be ye always in a readiness to make a most hideous assault within, when we shall be ready to storm it without. Now speed you in your project, and we in our desires, the utmost power of our gates, which is the wish of your great Diabolus, Mansoul's enemy, and him that trembles when he thinks of judgment to come![1] All the blessings of the pit be upon you, and so we close up our letter.

> 'Given at the pit's mouth, by the joint consent of all the princes of darkness, to be sent to the force and power that we have yet remaining in Mansoul, by the hand of Mr. Profane.
> —By me, Diabolus.'

This letter, as was said, was sent to Mansoul, to the Diabolonians that yet remained there, and that yet inhabited the wall, from the dark dungeon of Diabolus, by the hand of Mr. Profane, by whom they also in Mansoul sent theirs to the pit. Now when this Mr. Profane had made his return, and was come to Mansoul again, he went and came as he was wont to the house of Mr. Mischief, for there was the conclave, and the place where the contrivers were met. Now when they saw that their messenger was returned safe and sound, they were greatly gladed thereat. Then he presented them with his letter which he had brought from Diabolus for them, the which, when they had read and considered, did much augment their gladness. They asked him after the welfare of their friends, as how their Lord Diabolus, Lucifer, and Beelzebub did, with the rest of those of the den. To which this Profane made answer, Well, well, my lords, they are well, even as well as can be in their place. They also, said he, did ring for joy at the reading of your letter, as you will perceive by this when you read it.

Flesh.

Profane comes home again.

Now, as was said, when they had read their letter, and perceived that it encouraged them in their work, they fell to their way of contriving again, to wit, how they might complete their Diabolonian design upon Mansoul. And the first thing that they agreed upon was, to keep all things from Mansoul as close as they could.[2] Let it not be known, let not Mansoul be acquainted with what we design against it. The next thing was, how, or by what means, they should try to bring to pass the ruin and overthrow of Mansoul, and one said after this manner, and another said after that. Then stood up Mr. Deceit, and said, My right Diabolonian friends, our lords, and the high ones of the deep dungeon, do propound unto us these three ways—

1. Whether we had best to seek its ruin by making of Mansoul loose and vain? 2. Or whether by driving them to doubt and despair? 3. Or whether by endeavouring to blow them up by the gunpowder of self-conceit?

Take heed, Mansoul!

Now, I think, if we shall tempt them to pride, that may do something; and if we tempt them to wantonness, that may help. But, in my mind, if we could drive them into desperation, that would knock the nail on the head, for then we should have them, in the first place, question the truth of the love of the heart of their Prince towards them, and that will disgust him much. This, if it works well, will make them leave off quickly their way of sending petitions to him; then farewell earnest solicitations for help and supply, for then this conclusion lies naturally before them, As good do nothing as do to no purpose. So to Mr. Deceit they unanimously did consent.

Then the next question was, But how shall we

[1] Satan renews his temptations with double force; while lasciviousness, murder, and mischief unite with him in cunning devices to ruin the soul. Three means of destruction are proposed in hell:—1. A vicious life; 2. Despair of mercy; 3. Prevailing pride. Either of these would prove our ruin, did not grace prevent.—(Burder.) Beware, O believer, lest a moment's want of watchfulness produce the bitter fruits of repentance!—(Ed.)

[2] Ignorance and carnal security, or idleness, are the strongholds of sin in the soul. The more we study to become acquainted with Divine truth, and labour to show forth the glory of God, the safer and happier we must become.—(Ed.)

do bring this our project to pass? And it was answered by the same gentleman that this might be the best way to do it: Even let, quoth he, so many of our friends as are willing to venture themselves for the promoting of their prince's cause, disguise themselves with apparel, change their names, and go into the market like far-countrymen, and proffer to let themselves for servants to the famous town of Mansoul, and let them pretend to do for their masters as beneficially as may be, for by so doing they may, if Mansoul shall hire them, in little time so corrupt and defile the corporation, that her now Prince shall be not only further offended with them, but in conclusion shall spew them out of his mouth. And when this is done, our prince Diabolus shall prey upon them with ease; yea, of themselves they shall fall into the mouth of the eater. Na. iii. 12.

Take heed, Man-soul!

Take heed, Man-soul!

This project was no sooner propounded but was as highly accepted, and forward were all Diabolonians now to engage in so delicate an enterprise; but it was not thought fit that all should do thus, wherefore they pitched upon two or three, namely, the Lord Covetousness, the Lord Lasciviousness, and the Lord Anger. The Lord Covetousness called himself by the name of Prudent-thrifty, the Lord Lasciviousness called himself by the name of Harmless-mirth, and the Lord Anger called himself by the name of Good-zeal.[1]

Take heed, Man-soul!

So upon a market-day they came into the market-place—three lusty fellows they were to look on—and they were clothed in sheeps'-russet,[2] which was also now in a manner as white as were the white robes of the men of Mansoul. Now the men could speak the language of Mansoul well. So, when they were come into the market-place, and had offered to let themselves to the townsmen, they were presently taken up, for they asked but little wages, and promised to do their masters great service.

Take heed, Man-soul!

Mr. Mind hired Prudent-thrifty, and Mr. Godly-fear hired Goodzeal. True, this fellow Harmless-mirth did hang a little in hand, and could not so soon get him a master as the other did, because the town of Mansoul was now in Lent;[3] but after a while, because Lent was almost out, the Lord Will-be-will hired Harmless-mirth to be both his waiting-man and his lacquey, and thus they got them masters.

Take heed, Man-soul!

These villains now being got thus far into the houses of the men of Mansoul, quickly began to do great mischief therein; for being filthy, arch, and sly, they quickly corrupted the families where they were; yea, they tainted their masters much, especially this Prudent-thrifty, and him they call Harmless-mirth. True, he that went under the vizor of Goodzeal, was not so well liked of his master, for he quickly found that he was but a counterfeit rascal;[4] the which when the fellow perceived, with speed he made his escape from the house, or I doubt not but his master had hanged him.

Well, when these vagabonds had thus far carried on their design, and had corrupted the town as much as they could, in the next place they considered with themselves at what time their prince Diabolus without, and themselves within the town, should make an attempt to seize upon Mansoul; and they all agreed upon this, that a market-day would be best for that work. For why? Then will the townsfolk be busy in their ways. And always take this for a rule, When people are most busy in the world, they least fear a surprise.[5] We also then, said they, shall be able with less suspicion to gather ourselves together for the work of our friends and lords; yea, and in such a day, if we shall attempt our work, and miss it, we may, when they shall give us the rout, the better hide ourselves in the crowd, and escape.

A day of worldly cumber.

Take heed, Man-soul!

These things being thus far agreed upon by them, they wrote another letter to Diabolus, and sent it by the hand of Mr. Profane, the contents of which were this—

'*The Lords of Looseness send to the great and high Diabolus, from our dens, caves, holes, and strong-holds, in and about the wall of the town of Mansoul, greeting:*

Look to it, Man-soul!

'Our great lord, and the nourisher of our lives, Diabolus; how glad we were when we heard of your fatherhood's readiness to comply with us, and help forward our design in our attempts to ruin Mansoul! None can tell but those who, as we do, set themselves against all appearance of good, when and wheresoever we find it. Ro. vii. 21. Ga. v. 17.

[1] Well may our pious author reiterate the caution—'Take heed, Mansoul!' Vices in the disguise of virtues are especially dangerous. So when the pilgrims were led astray, and entangled in a net, by a black man in white raiment, they said, 'We did not imagine that this fine-spoken man had been the flatterer.' P. 151.—(Ed.)

[2] Coarse, home-spun, brown woollen cloth.—(Ed.)

[3] Bunyan does not pretend to fast forty days; and he shows the evils of Lent, because, after so long a fast, there was a need of mirth; and thus Lord Laciviousness, alias Harmless-mirth, is hired, and soon produces great mischief. Who can tell the miseries that have followed Easter festivities, after Lenten hypocrisies?—(Ed.)

[4] A reckless, profligate fellow; under the disguise of good zeal.—(Ed.)

[5] By a market-day is meant any time when the affairs of this world most occupy the mind: a honey-moon, birthdays, or other periods of rejoicing—as Christmas or Twelfth-day; and on times when deeply occupied with the cares of life. These are the times for Satan's attacks. Take heed then, Mansoul; while diligent in business, be fervent in spirit, watching unto prayer.—(Ed.)

'Touching the encouragement that your greatness is pleased to give us to continue to devise, contrive, and study the utter desolation of Mansoul, that we are not solicitous about, for we know right well that it cannot but be pleasing and profitable to us to see our enemies, and them that seek our lives, to die at our feet or fly before us. We therefore are still contriving, and that to the best of our cunning, to make this work most facile and easy to your lordships, and to us.

'First, we considered of that most hellishly-cunning, compacted, threefold project, that by you was propounded to us in your last; and have concluded, that though to blow them up with the gunpowder of pride would do well, and to do it by tempting them to be loose and vain will help on; yet to contrive to bring them into the gulf of desperation, we think, will do best of all. Now we, who are at your beck, have thought of two ways to do this:—First, we, for our parts, will make them as vile as we can; and then you with us, at a time appointed, shall be ready to fall upon them with the utmost force. And, of all the nations that are at your whistle, we think that an army of Doubters may be the most likely to attack and overcome the town of Mansoul.[1] Thus shall we overcome these enemies; else the pit shall open her mouth upon them, and desperation shall thrust them down into it. We have also, to effect this so much by us desired design, sent already three of our trusty Diabolonians among them; they are disguised in garb, they have changed their names, and are now accepted of them; to wit, Covetousness, Lasciviousness, and Anger. The name of Covetousness is changed to Prudent-thrifty; and him Mr. Mind has hired, and is almost become as bad as our friend. Lasciviousness has changed his name to Harmless-mirth, and he is got to be the Lord Will-be-will's lacquey, but he has made his master very wanton. Anger changed his name into Goodzeal, and was entertained by Mr. Godly-fear, but the peevish old gentleman took pepper in the nose, and turned our companion out of his house.[2] Nay, he has informed us since that he ran away from him, or else his old master had hanged him up for his labour.

Look to it, Mansoul!

Take heed, Mansoul!

'Now these have much helped forward our work and design upon Mansoul; for notwithstanding the spite and quarrelsome temper of the old gentleman last mentioned, the other two ply their business well, and are like to ripen the work apace

Look to it, Mansoul!

'Our next project is, that it be concluded that you come upon the town upon a market-day, and that when they are upon the heat of their business; for then to be sure they will be most secure, and least think that an assault will be made upon them. They will also at such a time be less able to defend themselves, and to offend you in the prosecution of our design. And we, your trusty, and we are sure your beloved ones, shall, when you shall make your furious assault without, be ready to second the business within. So shall we, in all likelihood, be able to put Mansoul to utter confusion, and to swallow them up before they can come to themselves. If your serpentine heads, most subtle dragons, and our highly esteemed lords can find out a better way than this, let us quickly know your minds.

Take heed, Mansoul!

'To the Monsters of the Infernal Cave, from the house of Mr. Mischief in Mansoul, by the hand of Mr. Profane.'

Now all the while that the raging runagates, and hellish Diabolonians were thus contriving the ruin of the town of Mansoul, they, to wit, the poor town itself, was in a sad and woeful case; partly because they had so grievously offended Shaddai and his Son, and partly because that the enemies thereby got strength within them afresh, and also because though they had by many petitions made suit to the Prince Emmanuel, and to his Father Shaddai, by him, for their pardon and favour, yet, hitherto, obtained they not one smile; but contrariwise, through the craft and subtlety of the domestic Diabolonians, their cloud was made to grow blacker and blacker, and their Emmanuel to stand at further distance.

The sad state of Mansoul.

The sickness also did still greatly rage in Mansoul, both among the captains and the inhabitants of the town; their enemies and their enemies only were now lively and strong, and like to become the head, whilst Mansoul was made the tail.[3]

By this time, the letter last mentioned, that was written by the Diabolonians that yet lurked in the town of Mansoul, was conveyed to Diabolus in the black den, by the hand of Mr. Profane. He carried the letter by Hell-gate-hill, as before, and conveyed it by Cerberus to his lord.

Profane arrives at Hell-gate-hill.

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[1] This scheme is contrived with consummate skill. First let the Christian be drawn into a light, vain, worldly walk—'Make him as vile as you can;' and then assault him with doubts and fears about his salvation.—(Burder.) 'Look to it; take heed, Mansoul!'—(Ed.)

[2] 'Took pepper in the nose.' Godly-fear was easily excited, and quickly saw the disguise which Anger had put on, and turned him out neck and crop. This proverb was often used in Bunyan's time; thus—

'For every man takes pepper i' the nose
For the waggynge of a strawe, God knowse,
With every waveryuge wynd that blowese.'
(Elderten's *Lenten Stuffe*, 1570.)—(Ed.)

[3] Backsliding from God naturally produces clouds that grow blacker and blacker as corruptions grow stronger and stronger; grace in the soul becomes sick and weakly.—(Burder.)

But when Cerberus and Mr. Profane did meet, they were presently as great as beggars, and thus they fell into discourse about Mansoul, and about the project against her.

CERB. Ah! old friend, quoth Cerberus, art thou come to Hell-gate-hill again! By St. Mary,[1] I am glad to see thee.

PROF. Yes, my lord, I am come again about the concerns of the town of Mansoul.

Talk between him and Cerberus.

CERB. Prithee, tell me what condition is that town of Mansoul in at present?

PROF. In a brave condition, my lord, for us, and for my lords, the lords of this place I trow, for they are greatly decayed as to godliness, and that is as well as our heart can wish;[2] their Lord is greatly out with them, and that doth also please us well. We have already also a foot in their dish,[3] for our Diabolonian friends are laid in their bosoms, and what do we lack but to be masters of the place.

Besides, our trusty friends in Mansoul are daily plotting to betray it to the lords of this town; also the sickness rages bitterly among them,[4] and that which makes up all, we hope at last to prevail.

CERB. Then said the Dog of Hellgate, No time like this to assault them; I wish that the enterprise be followed close, and that the success desired may be soon effected. Yea, I wish it for the poor Diabolonians' sakes, that live in the continual fear of their lives in that traitorous town of Mansoul.

PROF. The contrivance is almost finished, the lords in Mansoul that are Diabolonians are at it day and night, and the other are like silly doves, they want heart to be concerned with their state, and to consider that ruin is at hand. Besides, you may, yea, must think, when you put all things together, that there are many reasons that prevail with Diabolus to make what haste he can.

CERB. Thou hast said as it is, I am glad things are at this pass. Go in, my brave Profane, to my lords, they will give thee for thy welcome as good a *coranto*[5] as the whole of this kingdom will afford. I have sent thy letter in already.

Then Mr. Profane went into the den, and his Lord Diabolus met him, and saluted him with, Welcome, my trusty servant, I have been made glad with thy letter. The rest of the lords of the pit gave him also their salutations. Then Profane, after obeisance made to them all, said, Let Mansoul be given to my Lord Diabolus, and let him be her king for ever. And with that the hollow belly and yawning gorge of hell gave so loud and hideous a groan—for that is the music of that place—that it made the mountains about it totter, as if they would fall in pieces.

Profane's entertainment.

Now after they had read and considered the letter, they consulted what answer to return, and the first that did speak to it was Lucifer.

LUCIF. Then said he, The first project of the Diabolonians in Mansoul is like to be lucky, and to take; to wit, that they will by all the ways and means they can, make Mansoul yet more vile and filthy; no way to destroy a soul like this; this is *probatum est*. Our old friend Balaam went this way and prospered many years ago; let this therefore stand with us for a maxim, and be to Diabolonians for a general rule in all ages, for nothing can make this to fail but grace, in which I would hope that this town has no share. NU. XXXI. 16. RE. ii. 14. But whether to fall upon them on a market-day, because of their cumber in business, that I would should be under debate. And there is more reason why this head should be debated, than why some other should; because upon this will turn the whole of what we shall attempt. If we time not our business well, our whole project may fail. Our friends the Diabolonians say that a market-day is best, for then will Mansoul be most busy, and have fewest thoughts of a surprise. But what if also they should double their guards on those days—and methinks nature and reason should teach them to do it—and what if they should keep such a watch on those days as the necessity of their present case doth require? Yea, what if their men should be always in arms on those days? Then you may, my lords, be disappointed in your attempts, and may bring our friends in the town to utter danger of unavoidable ruin.

They consult what answer to give to the letter.

Lucifer.

Cumberments are dangerous.

They had need do it.

BEEL. Then said the great Beelzebub, There is something in what my lord hath said, but his conjecture may or may not fall out. Nor hath my lord laid it down as that which must not be receded from, for I know that he said it only to provoke to a warm debate thereabout. Therefore we must understand, if we can, whether the town

[1] This is one of those shrewd hits which abound in Bunyan's works. The devil swears by the mother of God, '*Saint* Mary'—a singular mode of connecting his Satanic majesty and Popery, by his using a common popish oath.—(ED.)

[2] In the same proportion as sin is encouraged, the ordinances, ways, and will of God will be neglected.—(Mason.)

[3] To get a foot in, or footing, is to gain admittance. 'A foot in their dish' is the further familiarity of eating and drinking together.—(ED.)

[4] The immoral contagion had spread; evil thoughts abounded. 'For this cause many are sickly among you.' 1 Co. xi. 30.—(ED.)

[5] A swift and lively, but disorderly dance. The prospect of the misery and destruction of Mansoul set all the devils a-dancing.

> 'Wherein that dancer greatest praise hath won
> Which with best order can all order shun.'
> —(Sir John Davies.)

Where could Bunyan have picked up this very expressive but rare word?—(ED.)

of Mansoul have such sense and knowledge of her decayed state, and of the design that we have on foot against her, as doth provoke her to set watch and ward at her gates, and to double them on market-days. But if, after inquiry made, it shall be found that they are asleep, then any day will do, but a market-day is best; and this is my judgment in this case.

A lesson for Christians.

DIAB. Then quoth Diabolus, How should we know this? And it was answered, Inquire about it at the mouth of Mr. Profane. So Profane was called in and asked the question, and he made his answer as follows—

PROF. My lords, so far as I can gather, this is at present the condition of the town of Mansoul. They are decayed in their faith and love; Emmanuel their Prince has given them the back;[1] they send often by petition to fetch him again, but he maketh not haste to answer their request, nor is there much reformation among them.

Profane's description of the present state of Mansoul.

DIAB. I am glad that they are backward to a reformation, but yet I am afraid of their petitioning. However, their looseness of life is a sign that there is not much heart in what they do, and without the heart things are little worth. But go on, my masters, I will divert you, my lords, no longer.

BEEL. If the case be so with Mansoul, as Mr. Profane has described it to be, it will be no great matter what day we assault it; not their prayers nor their power will do them much service.

APOLL. When Beelzebub had ended his oration, then Apollyon did begin. My opinion, said he, concerning this matter is, that we go on fair and softly, not doing things in a hurry. Let our friends in Mansoul go on still to pollute and defile it, by seeking to draw it yet more into sin, for there is nothing like sin to devour Mansoul.[2] If this be done, and it takes effect, Mansoul of itself will leave off to watch, to petition, or anything else that should tend to her security and safety; for she will forget her Emmanuel, she will not desire his company, and can she be gotten thus to live, her Prince will not come to her in haste. Our trusty friend, Mr. Carnal-security, with one of his tricks, did drive him out of the town, and why may not my Lord Covetousness, and my Lord Lasciviousness, by what they may do, keep him out of the town? And this I will tell you, not because you know it not, that two or three Diabolonians, if entertained and countenanced by the town of Mansoul, will do more to the keeping of Emmanuel from them, and towards making of the town of Mansoul your own, than can an army of a legion that should be sent out from us to withstand him.

Dreadful advice against Mansoul.

Let, therefore, this first project that our friends in Mansoul have set on foot, be strongly and diligently carried on with all cunning and craft imaginable; and let them send continually, under one guise or another, more and other of their men to play with the people of Mansoul; and then, perhaps, we shall not need to be at the charge of making a war upon them; or if that must of necessity be done, yet the more sinful they are, the more unable, to be sure, they will be to resist us, and then the more easily we shall overcome them. And besides, suppose—and that is the worst that can be supposed—that Emmanuel should come to them again, why may not the same means, or the like, drive him from them once more? Yea, why may he not by their lapse into that sin again, be driven from them for ever, for the sake of which he was at the first driven from them for a season? And if this should happen, then away go with him his rams, his slings, his captains, his soldiers, and he leaveth Mansoul naked and bare. Yea, will not this town, when she sees herself utterly forsaken of her Prince, of her own accord open her gates again unto you, and make of you as in the days of old? But this must be done by time; a few days will not effect so great a work as this.[3]

Dreadful advice against Mansoul.

Dreadful advice against Mansoul.

So soon as Apollyon had made an end of speaking, Diabolus began to blow out his own malice, and to plead his own cause; and he said, My lords and powers of the cave, my true and trusty friends, I have with much impatience, as becomes me, given ear to your long and tedious orations. But my furious gorge and empty paunch so lusteth after a repossession of my famous town of Mansoul, that, whatever comes out, I can wait no longer to see the events of lingering projects. I must, and that without further delay, seek by all means I can to fill my insatiable gulf with the soul and body of the town of Mansoul.[4] Therefore, lend me your heads, your hearts, and your help, now I am going to recover my town of Mansoul.

Look to it, Mansoul.

When the lords and princes of the pit saw the flaming desire that was in Diabolus to devour the miserable town of Mansoul, they left off to raise any more objections, but consented to lend him

[1] To back a friend, is to support him. To turn the back upon him, or give him the back, is to desert him.—(ED.)

[2] Although Satan is the father of lies, he certainly speaks truth here. Sin will do more hurt to the soul than a legion of devils.—(Burder.)

[3] Here again we have Satan telling truth.—(ED.) Apostacy is generally a gradual affair; a sure poison, but slow.—(Burder.)

[4] Satan's malice is like a throat and stomach—'insatiable.' He seeks to fill it with the souls and bodies of men; but his torment is, that it is a gulf bottomless and for ever insatiable.—(ED.)

what strength they could; though, had Apollyon's advice been taken, they had far more fearfully distressed the town of Mansoul. But, I say, they were willing to lend him what strength they could, not knowing what need they might have of him, when they should engage for themselves, as he. Wherefore, they fell to advising about the next thing propounded, to wit, what soldiers they were, and also how many, with whom Diabolus should go against the town of Mansoul to take it; and after some debate, it was concluded, according as in the letter the Diabolonians had suggested, that none was more fit for that expedition than an army of terrible Doubters.[1] They, therefore, concluded to send against Mansoul an army of sturdy Doubters. The number thought fit to be employed in that service was between twenty and thirty thousand. So then, the result of that great council of those high and mighty lords was, that Diabolus should even now, out of hand, beat up his drum for men in the land of Doubting, which land lieth upon the confines of the place called Hell-gate-hill, for men that might be employed by him against the miserable town, Mansoul. It was also concluded that these lords themselves should help him in the war, and that they would, to that end, head and manage his men. So they drew up a letter and sent back to the Diabolonians that lurked in Mansoul, and that waited for the back-coming of Mr. Profane, to signify to them into what method and forwardness they at present had put their design. The contents whereof now followeth—

An army of Doubters raised to go against the town of Mansoul.

The princes of the pit go with them.

> '*From the dark and horrible Dungeon of Hell, Diabolus, with all the Society of the Princes of Darkness, sends to our trusty ones, in and about the walls of the town of Mansoul, now impatiently waiting for our most devilish answer, to their venomous and most poisonous design against the town of Mansoul.*

Another letter from Diabolus to the Diabolonians in Mansoul.

'Our natives ones, in whom from day to day we boast, and in whose actions all the year long we do greatly delight ourselves, we received your welcome, because highly-esteemed, letter, at the hand of our trusty and greatly beloved, the old gentleman, Mr. Profane; and do give you to understand that when we had broken it up, and had read the contents thereof, to your amazing memory be it spoken, our yawning hollow-bellied place, where we are, made so hideous and yelling a noise for joy, that the mountains that stand round about Hell-gate-hill had like to have been shaken to pieces at the sound thereof.

'We could also do no less than admire your faithfulness to us, with the greatness of that subtlety that now hath showed itself to be in your heads to serve us against the town of Mansoul. For you have invented for us so excellent a method for our proceeding against that rebellious people; a more effectual cannot be thought of by all the wits of hell. The proposals, therefore, which now at last you have sent us, since we saw them, we have done little else but highly approved and admired them.

'Nay, we shall, to encourage you in the profundity of your craft, let you know, that, at a full assembly and conclave of our princes, and principalities of this place, your project was discoursed, and tossed from one side of our cave to the other, by their mightinesses; but a better, and as was by themselves judged, a more fit and proper way by all their wits could not be invented, to surprise, take, and make our own, the rebellious town of Mansoul.

'Wherefore, in fine, all that was said that varied from what you had in your letter propounded, fell of itself to the ground, and yours only was stuck to by Diabolus the prince; yea, his gaping gorge and vaunting paunch was on fire to put your invention into execution.

'We, therefore, give you to understand that our stout, furious, and unmerciful Diabolus, is raising for your relief, and the ruin of the rebellious town of Mansoul, more than twenty thousand Doubters to come against that people. They are all stout and sturdy men, and men that of old have been accustomed to war, and that can therefore well endure the drum. I say, he is doing of this work of his with all the possible speed he can; for his heart and spirit is engaged in it. We desire, therefore, that as you have hitherto stuck to us, and given us both advice and encouragement thus far; that you still will prosecute our design, nor shall you lose, but be gainers thereby; yea, we intend to make you the lords of Mansoul.

'One thing may not by any means be omitted, that is, those with us do desire that every one of you that are in Mansoul would still use all your power, cunning, and skill, with delusive persuasions, yet to draw the town of Mansoul into more sin and wickedness, even that sin may be finished and bring forth death.

'For thus it is concluded with us, that the more vile, sinful, and debauched the town of Mansoul is, the more backward will be their Emmanuel to come to their help, either by presence, or other relief; yea, the more sinful, the more weak, and so the more unable will they be to make resistance when

[1] Doubts are dangerous and potent, as well as numberless enemies; they are dishonourable to God's free, sovereign, unasked, unmerited, and everlasting love and mercy in Christ Jesus.—(Mason.)

we shall make our assault upon them to swallow them up. Yea, that may cause that their mighty Shaddai himself may cast them out of his protection; yea, and send for his captains and soldiers home, with his slings and rams, and leave them naked and bare, and then the town of Mansoul will of itself open to us, and fall as the fig into the mouth of the eater. Na. iii. 12. Yea, to be sure that we then with a great deal of ease shall come upon her and overcome her.

Take heed, Mansoul.

'As to the time of our coming upon Mansoul, we as yet have not fully resolved upon that, though at present some of us think as you, that a market-day, or a market-day at night, will certainly be the best.[1] However do you be ready, and when you shall hear our roaring drum without, do you be as busy to make the most horrible confusion within. 1 Pe. v. 8. So shall Mansoul certainly be distressed before and behind, and shall not know which way to betake herself for help. My Lord Lucifer, my Lord Beelzebub, my Lord Apollyon, my Lord Legion, with the rest salute you, as does also my Lord Diabolus, and we wish both you, with all that you do or shall possess, the very self-same fruit and success for their doing, as we ourselves at present enjoy for ours.

'From our dreadful confines in the most fearful Pit, we salute you, and so do those many legions here with us, wishing you may be as hellishly prosperous as we desire to be ourselves. By the Letter-carrier, Mr. Profane.'

Then Mr. Profane addressed himself for his return to Mansoul, with his errand from the horrible pit to the Diabolonians that dwelt in that town. So he came up the stairs from the deep to the mouth of the cave where Cerberus was. Now when Cerberus saw him, he asked how matters did go below, about, and against the town of Mansoul.

PROF. Things go as well as we can expect. The letter that I carried thither was highly approved, and well liked by all my lords, and I am returning to tell our Diabolonians so. I have an answer to it here in my bosom, that I am sure will make our masters that sent me glad; for the contents thereof is to encourage them to pursue their design to the utmost, and to be ready also to fall on within, when they shall see my Lord Diabolus beleaguering of the town of Mansoul.

More talk between Profane and Cerberus.

CERB. But does he intend to go against them himself.

PROF. Does he! Ay, and he will take along with him more than twenty thousand, all sturdy Doubters,[2] and men of war, picked men, from the land of Doubting, to serve him in the expedition.

The land from the which the Doubters do come.

CERB. Then was Cerberus glad, and said, And is there such brave preparations a-making to go against the miserable town of Mansoul; and would I might be put at the head of a thousand of them, that I might also show my valour against the famous town of Mansoul.[3]

PROF. Your wish may come to pass; you look like one that has mettle enough, and my lord will have with him those that are valiant and stout. But my business requires haste.

CERB. Ay, so it does. Speed thee to the town of Mansoul with all the deepest mischiefs that this place can afford thee. And when thou shalt come to the house of Mr. Mischief, the place where the Diabolonians meet to plot, tell them that Cerberus doth wish them his service, and that if he may, he will with the army come up against the famous town of Mansoul.

PROF. That I will. And I know that my lords that are there will be glad to hear it, and to see you also.

So after a few more such kind of compliments, Mr. Profane took his leave of his friend Cerberus, and Cerberus again, with a thousand of their pit-wishes, bid him haste with all speed to his masters. The which when he had heard, he made obeisance, and began to gather up his heels to run.[4]

Thus therefore he returned, and went and came to Mansoul, and going as afore to the house of Mr. Mischief, there he found the Diabolonians assembled, and waiting for his return. Now when he was come, and had presented himself, he also delivered to them his letter, and adjoined this compliment to them therewith: My Lords from the confines of the pit, the high and mighty principalities and powers of the den salute you here, the true Diabolonians of the town of Mansoul. Wishing you always the most proper of their benedictions, for the great service, high attempts, and brave achievements that you have put yourselves upon, for the restoring, to our prince Diabolus, the famous town of Mansoul.

Profane returned again to Mansoul.

This was therefore the present state of the miser-

[1] At the season when the affairs of the world fill the heart, beware of being 'overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this world.' Be sober, be vigilant, O my soul; attend to the author's repeated warning, 'Take heed, Mansoul!'—(ED.)

[2] Some may imagine this to be an incredible number of doubts, but when the nine divisions of this army are presently enumerated, it will be readily acknowledged that our doubts are innumerable.—(ED.)

[3] According to Milton, Cerberus was the parent of Melancholy, a fit leader of Doubters.

'Hence, loathed Melancholy,
Of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born,
In Stygian caves forlorn,
'Mongst horrid shapes, and shrieks, and sights unholy!'
L'Allegro.—(ED.)

[4] To 'gather up the heels,' or 'take to the heels,' implies great haste.—(ED.)

able town of Mansoul: she had offended her Prince, and he was gone; she had encouraged the powers of hell, by her foolishness, to come against her, to seek her utter destruction.

True, the town of Mansoul was somewhat made sensible of her sin, but the Diabolonians were gotten into her bowels; she cried, but Emmanuel was gone, and her cries did not fetch him as yet again. Besides she knew not now whether ever or never he would return and come to his Mansoul again, nor did they know the power and industry of the enemy, nor how forward they were to put in execution that plot of hell that they had devised against her.

They did indeed still send petition after petition to the Prince, but he answered all with silence. They did neglect reformation, and that was as Diabolus would have it, for he knew, if they regarded iniquity in their heart, their King would not hear their prayer; they therefore did still grow weaker and weaker, and were as a rolling thing before the whirlwind. They cried to their King for help, and laid Diabolonians in their bosoms,[1] what therefore should a King do to them? Yea, there seemed now to be a mixture in Mansoul, the Diabolonians and the Mansoulians would walk the streets together. Yea, they began to seek their peace, for they thought that since the sickness had been so mortal in Mansoul, it was in vain to go to handy-gripes[2] with them. Besides, the weakness of Mansoul was the strength of their enemies; and the sins of Mansoul the advantage of the Diabolonians. The foes of Mansoul did also now begin to promise themselves the town for a possession; there was no great difference now betwixt Mansoulians and Diabolonians, both seemed to be masters of Mansoul. Yea, the Diabolonians increased and grew, but the town of Mansoul diminished greatly. There was more than eleven thousand of men, women, and children that died by the sickness in Mansoul.[3]

Good thoughts, good conceptions, and good desires.

[Chapter XIV.]

[Contents:—The plot discovered by Mr. Prywell—Preparations made for defence—More Diabolonians executed—The army of Doubters approach the town—An assault made upon Eargate, which is repelled—The drummer beats a parley, which is disregarded—Diabolus attempts to deceive by flattery, but is answered by the Lord Mayor—Jolly and Griggish, two young Diabolonians, executed—Gripe and Rakeall hanged—Anything and Loosefoot imprisoned.]

But now, as Shaddai would have it, there was one whose name was Mr. Prywell, a great lover of the people of Mansoul. And he, as his manner was, did go listening up and down in Mansoul to see, and to hear, if at any time he might, whether there was any design against it or no. For he was always a jealous man, and feared some mischief sometime would befal it, either from the Diabolonians within, or from some power without. Now upon a time it so happened as Mr. Prywell went listening here and there, that he lighted upon a place called Vilehill in Mansoul, where Diabolonians used to meet; so hearing a muttering—you must know that it was in the night—he softly drew near to hear; nor had he stood long under the house-end, for there stood a house there, but he heard one confidently affirm that it was not or would not be long before Diabolus should possess himself again of Mansoul, and that then the Diabolonians did intend to put all Mansoulians to the sword, and would kill and destroy the King's captains, and drive all his soldiers out of the town.[4]

The story of Mr. Prywell.

The Diabolonian plot discovered, and by whom.

He said, moreover, that he knew there were about twenty thousand fighting men prepared by Diabolus for the accomplishing of this design, and that it would not be months before they all should see it. When Mr. Prywell had heard this story, he did quickly believe it was true, wherefore he went forthwith to my Lord Mayor's house, and acquainted him therewith; who, sending for the subordinate Preacher, brake the business to him, and he as soon gave the alarm to the town—for he was now the chief preacher in Mansoul—because as yet my Lord Secretary was ill at ease. And this was the way that the subordinate Preacher did take to alarm the town therewith; the same hour he caused the Lecture-bell to be rung, so the people came together; he gave them then a short exhortation to watchfulness, and made Mr. Prywell's news the argument thereof. For, said he, an horrible plot is contrived against Mansoul, even to massacre us all in a day; nor is this story to be slighted, for Mr. Prywell is the author thereof. Mr. Prywell was always a lover of Mansoul, a sober and judicious man, a man that is no tattler, nor raiser of false reports, but one that loves to look into the very bottom of matters, and talks nothing of news but by very solid arguments.

Understanding. Conscience.

The subordinate Preacher awakened.

I will call him, and you shall hear him your own-selves; so he called him, and he came and told his tale so punctually, and affirmed its truth with such ample

Prywell tells his news to Mansoul.

[1] This is an awful state, when we *encourage* evil thoughts and propensities in the heart, and pray to God against them. 'If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear *me*.' Ps. lxvi. 18.—(Ed.)

[2] Hand-to-hand combat; wrestling.—(Ed.)

[3] Awful is the state of that soul, when it is difficult, by the conduct, to know whether it is a professor or one of the profane. Alas, how common a case! Eleven thousand acts of piety, holy thoughts, and aspirations after God, were lost by the wretched backslider.—(Ed.)

[4] Mr. Prywell represents holy jealousy and careful self-examination; which, when prayerfully used, is sure to detect the plots of Satan.—(Ed.)

grounds, that Mansoul fell presently under a conviction of the truth of what he said. The Preacher did also back him, saying, Sirs, it is not irrational for us to believe it, for we have provoked Shaddai to anger, and have sinned Emmanuel out of the town; we have had too much correspondence with Diabolonians, and have forsaken our former mercies; no marvel then if the enemy, both within and without, should plot our ruin; and what time like this to do it? The sickness is now in the town, and we have been made weak thereby. Many a good meaning man is dead, and the Diabolonians of late grow stronger and stronger.

Good desires.

Besides, quoth the subordinate Preacher, I have received from this good truth-teller this one inkling[1] further, that he understood by those that he overheard, that several letters have lately passed between the Furies and the Diabolonians, in order to our destruction. When Mansoul heard all this, and not being able to gainsay it, they lift up their voice and wept. Mr. Prywell did also, in the presence of the townsmen, confirm all that their subordinate Preacher had said. Wherefore they now set afresh to bewail their folly, and to a doubling of petitions to Shaddai and his Son. They also brake the business to the captains, high commanders, and men of war in the town of Mansoul, entreating of them to use the means to be strong, and to take good courage, and that they would look after their harness,[2] and make themselves ready to give Diabolus battle, by night and by day, shall he come, as they are informed he will, to beleaguer[3] the town of Mansoul.

They take alarm.

They tell the thing to the captains.

When the captains heard this, they being always true lovers of the town of Mansoul, what do they, but like so many Samsons, they shake themselves, and come together to consult and contrive how to defeat those bold and hellish contrivances that were upon the wheel, by the means of Diabolus and his friends, against the now sickly, weakly, and much impoverished town of Mansoul; and they agreed upon these following particulars—

They come together to consult.

1. That the gates of Mansoul should be kept shut, and made fast with bars and locks; and that all persons that went out, or came in, should be very strictly examined by the captains of the guards, 1 Co. xvi. 13; to the end, said they, that those that are managers of the plot amongst us may either, coming or going, be taken; and that we may also find out who are the great contrivers amongst us of our ruin. Lam. iii. 40.

Their agreement.

2. The next thing was, that a strict search should be made for all kind of Diabolonians throughout the whole town of Mansoul; and every man's house, from top to bottom, should be looked into, and that too, house by house, that if possible a further discovery might be made of all such among them as had a hand in these designs. He. xii. 15, 16.

3. It was further concluded upon, that whersoever or with whomsoever any of the Diabolonians were found, that even those of the town of Mansoul that had given them house and harbour, should to their shame, and the warning of others, take penance in the open place. Je. ii. 34; v. 26. Eze. xvi. 52.

4. It was moreover resolved by the famous town of Mansoul, that a public fast, and a day of humiliation should be kept throughout the whole corporation, to the justifying of their Prince, the abasing of themselves before him for their transgressions against him, and against Shaddai his Father. Joel i. 14; ii. 15, 16. It was further resolved, that all such in Mansoul as did not on that day endeavour to keep that fast, and to humble themselves for their faults, but that should mind their worldly employs, or be found wandering up and down the streets, should be taken for Diabolonians, and should suffer as Diabolonians for such their wicked doings.

5. It was further concluded then, that with what speed, and with what warmth of mind they could, they would renew their humiliation for sin, and their petitions to Shaddai for help; they also resolved to send tidings to the court of all that Mr. Prywell had told them. Je. xxxvii. 4, 5.

6. It was also determined that thanks should be given by the town of Mansoul to Mr. Prywell for his diligent seeking of the welfare of their town; and further, that forasmuch as he was so naturally inclined to seek their good, and also to undermine their foes, they gave him a commission of Scout-master-general, for the good of the town of Mansoul.[4]

Mr. Prywell is made Scout-master-general.

When the corporation, with their captains, had thus concluded, they did as they had said; they shut up their gates, they made for Diabolonians strict search, they made those with whom any were found to take penance in the open place. They kept their fast, and renewed their petitions to their Prince, and Mr. Prywell managed his charge, and the trust that Mansoul had put in his hands, with great conscience, and good fidelity; for he gave himself wholly up to his employ, and that not only within the town, but he went out to pry, to see, and to hear.

Mr. Prywell goes a scouting.

And not many days after, he provided for his

[1] A hint or intimation.—(Ed.)
[2] Military dress and equipments.—(Ed.)
[3] To beseige or environ with troops.—(Ed.)
[4] Reader, how wise are these regulations! seek earnestly to follow them. Examine all things watchfully; search out evil diligently. If evil thoughts have been harboured, let sincere penitence drive them out. Be humble, prayerful, thankful; and you will be safe and happy.—(Ed.)

journey, and went towards Hell-gate-hill, into the country where the Doubters were, where he heard of all that had been talked of in Mansoul, and he perceived also that Diabolus was almost ready for his march. So he came back with speed, and calling the captains and elders of Mansoul together, he told them where he had been, what he had heard, and what he had seen. Particularly, he told them that Diabolus was almost ready for his march, and that he had made old Mr. Incredulity,[1] that once brake prison in Mansoul, the general of his army; that his army consisted all of Doubters, and that their number was above twenty thousand. He told, moreover, that Diabolus did intend to bring with him the chief princes of the infernal pit, and that he would make them chief captains over his Doubters. He told them, moreover, that it was certainly true that several of the black-den would with Diabolus ride Reformades[2] to reduce the town of Mansoul to the obedience of Diabolus their prince.

He returns with great news.

He said, moreover, that he understood by the Doubters, among whom he had been, that the reason why old Incredulity was made general of the whole army, was because none truer than he to the tyrant; and because he had an implacable spite against the welfare of the town of Mansoul. Besides, said he, he remembers the affronts that Mansoul has given, and he is resolved to be revenged of them. But the black princes shall be made high commanders, only Incredulity shall be over them all, because, which I had almost forgot, he can more easily, and more dexterously beleaguer the town of Mansoul than can any of the princes besides. He. xii. 1.

Now when the captains of Mansoul, with the elders of the town, had heard the tidings that Mr. Prywell did bring, they thought it expedient, without further delay, to put into execution the laws that, against the Diabolonians, their Prince had made for them, and given them in commandment to manage against them. Wherefore, forthwith a diligent and impartial search was made in all houses in Mansoul for all and all manner of Diabolonians. Now in the house of Mr. Mind, and in the house of the great Lord Will-be-will were two Diabolonians found. In Mr. Mind's house was one Lord Covetousness found, but he had changed his name to Prudent-thrifty. In my Lord Will-be-will's house, one Lasciviousness was found; but he had changed his name to Harmlessmirth. These two the captains and elders of the town of Mansoul took, and committed them to custody under the hand of Mr. Trueman the jailer; and this man handled them so severely, and loaded them so well with irons, that in time they both fell into a very deep consumption, and died in the prison-house;[3] their masters also, according to the agreement of the captains and elders, were brought to take penance in the open place to their shame, and for a warning to the rest of the town of Mansoul.

Some Diabolonians taken in Mansoul and committed to prison.

The Lord Will-be-will and Mr. Mind take penance.

Now this was the manner of penance in those days. The persons offending, being made sensible of the evil of their doings, were enjoined open confession of their faults, and a strict amendment of their lives.[4]

Penance, what.

After this, the captains and elders of Mansoul sought yet to find out more Diabolonians, wherever they lurked, whether in dens, caves, holes, vaults, or where else they could, in, or about the wall or town of Mansoul. But though they could plainly see their footing, and so follow them, by their tract and smell, to their holds, even to the mouths of their caves and dens, yet take them, hold them, and do justice upon them, they could not, their ways were so crooked, their holds so strong, and they so quick to take sanctuary there.

But Mansoul did now with so stiff a hand rule over the Diabolonians that were left, that they were glad to shrink into corners. Time was when they durst walk openly, and in the day, but now they were forced to embrace privacy, and the night —time was when a Mansoulian was their companion, but now they counted them deadly enemies. This good change did Mr. Prywell's intelligence make in the famous town of Mansoul.[5]

By this time Diabolus had finished his army, which he intended to bring with him for the ruin of Mansoul; and had set over them captains, and other field-officers, such as liked his furious stomach best. Himself was lord paramount, Incredulity was general of his army. Their highest captains shall be named afterwards, but now for their officers, colours, and escutcheons.

1. Their first captain was Captain Rage, he was captain over the Election-doubters; his were the red colours, his standard-

Diabolus's army.

[1] Incredulity is general-in-chief of all the Doubters, to show that incredulity, or unbelief, is the source of all the doubts and fears that distress the Christian.—(Ed.)

[2] Volunteers.—(Ed.)

[3] If evil thoughts are subdued and kept in irons, *i.e.*, checked instantly when they appear, they will die in such a prison. The idea was naturally suggested to the author by the number of pious persons who perished in prison, in Bunyan's time, for conscience sake. The Quakers alone have a list of about four hundred of their Society who thus perished.—(Ed.)

[4] This must not be mistaken for Popish or Protestant confessions, penances, or absolutions. The narrative is entirely spiritual and internal. Conscience, not man, accuses; the open confession is unreservedly to God, accompanied by godly sorrow, watchfulness, and prayer, with fruits meet for repentance.—(Ed.)

[5] How subtle and insidious is sin! in what holes and corners it conceals itself! breaking out occasionally when we thought ourselves near to perfection, and making us cry out, 'O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me?'—(Ed.)

bearer was Mr. Destructive, and the great red dragon he had for his escutcheon. Re. xii. 3, 4, 15–17.

2. The second captain was Captain Fury, he was captain over the Vocation-doubters; his standard-bearer was Mr. Darkness, his colours were those that were pale, and he had for his escutcheon the fiery flying serpent. Nu. xxi.

3. The third captain was Captain Damnation, he was captain over the Grace-doubters; his were the red colours, Mr. Nolife bare them, and he had for his escutcheon the black den. Mat. xxii. 13. Re. ix. 1.

4. The fourth captain was the Captain Insatiable, he was captain over the Faith-doubters; his were the red colours, Mr. Devourer bare them, and he had for an escutcheon the yawning jaws. Pr. xxvii. 20. Ps. xi. 6.

5. The fifth captain was Captain Brimstone, he was captain over the Perseverance-doubters; his also were the red colours, Mr. Burning bare them, and his escutcheon was the blue and stinking flame. Ps. xi. 6. Re. xiv. 11.

6. The sixth captain was Captain Torment, he was captain over the Resurrection-doubters; his colours were those that were pale, Mr. Gnaw was his ancient-bearer, and he had the black worm for his escutcheon. Mar. ix. 44–48.

7. The seventh captain was Captain Nocase, he was captain over the Salvation-doubters; his were the red colours, Mr. Restless bare them, and his escutcheon was the ghastly picture of death. Re. vi. 8.; xiv. 11.

8. The eighth captain was the Captain Sepulchre, he was captain over the Glory-doubters; his also were the pale colours, Mr. Corruption was his ancient-bearer, and he had for his escutcheon a scull, and dead men's bones.[1] Je. v. 16.; ii. 25.

9. The ninth captain was Captain Pasthope, he was captain of those that are called the Felicity-doubters; his ancient-bearer was Mr. Despair, his also were the red colours, and his escutcheon was the hot iron and the hard heart.[1] 1 Tim. iv. 2. Ro. ii. 5.

These were his captains, and these were their forces, these were their ancients, these were their colours, and these were their escutcheons. Now, over these did the great Diabolus make superior captains, and they were in number seven, as, namely, the Lord Beelzebub, the Lord Lucifer, the Lord Legion, the Lord Apollyon, the Lord Python, the Lord Cerberus, and the Lord Belial; these seven he set over the captains, and Incredulity was lord-general, and Diabolus was king.

The Reformades also, such as were like themselves, were made some of them captains of hundreds, and some of them captains of more, and thus was the army of Incredulity completed. Diabolus his army completed.

So they set out at Hell-gate-hill, for there they had their rendezvous, from whence they came with a straight course upon their march toward the town of Mansoul. Now, as was hinted before, the town had, as Shaddai would have it, received from the mouth of Mr. Prywell the alarm of their coming before. Wherefore they set a strong watch at the gates, and had also doubled their guards, they also mounted their slings in good places, where they might conveniently cast out their great stones, to the annoyance of the furious enemy.

Nor could those Diabolonians that were in the town do that hurt as was designed they should, for Mansoul was now awake. But, alas! poor people, they were sorely affrighted at the first appearance of their foes, and at their sitting down before the town, especially when they heard the roaring of their DRUM.[2] 1 Pe. v. 8. This, to speak truth, was amazingly hideous to hear; it frighted all men seven miles round, if they were but awake and heard it.[3] The streaming of their colours were also terrible and dejecting to behold.

When Diabolus was come up against the town, first he made his approach to Eargate and gave it a furious assault, supposing, as it seems, that his friends in Mansoul had been ready to do the work within; but care was taken of that before, by the vigilance of the captains. Wherefore, missing of the help that he expected from them, and finding of his army warmly attended with the stones that the slingers did sling—for that I will say for the captains, that considering the weakness that yet was upon them, by reason of the long sickness that had annoyed the town of Mansoul, they did gallantly behave themselves—he was forced to make some retreat from Mansoul, and to intrench himself and his men in the field, without the reach of the slings of the town. Ja. iv. 7. He makes an assault upon Eargate, and is repelled. He retreats and entrenches himself.

[1] We are here presented with a very curious, but accurate, division into classes of all our doubts and fears, each under the most appropriate captain, ancient-bearer, or ensign, and standard. As all Christians are more or less subject to their painful visits, it will be useful to scrutinize our doubts; and, having ascertained their nature or class, then prayerfully to compare them with the sacred Oracles, and find that key which opens *all* the gates in Doubting Castle.—(Ed.)

[2] 'The roaring of the drum,' alluding to that *roaring* lion seeking whom he may devour. The roaring of a lion is a terrific noise in the night; but Satan has no more power to hurt the saints of God than has the noise of a drum. It may annoy, terrify, and drive us to the bosom of Christ, but it cannot destroy.—(Ed.) 'It is for want of hope (a sound scriptural hope, arising from faith, and its purifying effects upon the soul), that so many brisk professors, that have so boasted and made brags of their faith, have not been able to endure the *drum* in the day of alarm and affliction.'—(Bunyan's *Israel's Hope Encouraged*, vol. i. p. 580.)

[3] 'Those tumultuous thoughts, that, like masterless hell-hounds, roar and bellow, and make a hideous noise within me.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 174.—(Ed.)

Now, having intrenched himself, he did cast up four mounts against the town, the first he called Mount Diabolus, putting his own name thereon, the more to affright the town of Mansoul; the other three he called thus, Mount Alecto, Mount Megæra, and Mount Tisiphone; for these are the names of the dreadful furies of hell.[1] Thus he began to play his game with Mansoul, and to serve it as doth the lion his prey, even to make it fall before his terror. But, as I said, the captains and soldiers resisted so stoutly, and did so much execution with their stones, that they made him—though against stomach—to retreat, wherefore Mansoul began to take courage.

He casts up mounts against the town.

Now, upon Mount Diabolus, which was raised on the north side of the town, there did the tyrant set up his standard, and a fearful thing it was to behold, for he had wrought in it by devilish art, after the manner of an escutcheon, a flaming flame, fearful to behold, and the picture of Mansoul burning in it.

Diabolus, his standard set up.

When Diabolus had thus done, he commanded that his drummer should every night approach the walls of the town of Mansoul, and so to beat a parley; the command was to do it at a-nights, for in the daytime they annoyed him with their slings, for the tyrant said that he had a mind to parley with the now trembling town of Mansoul, and he commanded that the drum should beat every night, that through weariness they might at last—if possibly at the first they were unwilling, yet—be forced to do it.

He bids his drummer to beat his drum.

So his drummer did as commanded, he arose and did beat his drum. But when his drum did go, if one looked towards the town of Mansoul, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light was darkened in the heaven thereof. No noise was ever heard upon earth more terrible, except the voice of Shaddai when he speaketh. But how did Mansoul tremble! It now looked for nothing but forthwith to be swallowed up.[2] Is. v. 30.

Mansoul trembles at the noise of his drum.

When this drummer had beaten for a parley, he made this speech to Mansoul: My master has bid me tell you, that if you willingly submit, you shall have the good of the earth, but if you shall be stubborn, he is resolved to take you by force. But by that the fugitive had done beating of his drum, the people of Mansoul had betaken themselves to the captains that were in the castle, so that there was none to regard, nor to give this drummer an answer, so he proceeded no further that night, but returned again to his master to the camp.

When Diabolus saw that, by drumming, he could not work out Mansoul to his will, the next night he sendeth his drummer without his drum, still to let the townsmen know, that he had a mind to parley with them. But when all came to all, his parley was turned into a summons to the town to deliver up themselves, but they gave him neither heed nor hearing, for they remembered what at first it cost them to hear him a few words.[3]

Diabolus calls back his drum.

The next night he sends again, and then who should be his messenger to Mansoul but the terrible Captain Sepulchre; so Captain Sepulchre came up to the walls of Mansoul, and made this oration to the town—

O ye inhabitants of the rebellious town of Mansoul! I summon you, in the name of the Prince Diabolus, that without any more ado you set open the gates of your town, and admit the great lord to come in. But if you shall still rebel, when we have taken to us the town by force, we will swallow you up as the grave; wherefore, if you will hearken to my summons, say so, and if not, then let me know.

Mansoul summoned by captain Sepulchre.

The reason of this my summons, quoth he, is, for that my lord is your undoubted prince and lord, as you yourselves have formerly owned. Nor shall that assault that was given to my lord, when Emmanuel dealt so dishonourably by him, prevail with him to lose his right, and to forbear to attempt to recover his own. Consider then, O Mansoul, with thyself, wilt thou show thyself peaceable or no? If thou shalt quietly yield up thyself, then our old friendship shall be renewed, but if thou shalt yet refuse and rebel, then expect nothing but fire and sword.

When the languishing town of Mansoul had heard this summoner and his summons, they were yet more put to their dumps, but made to the captain no answer at all, so away he went as he came.[4]

They answer him not a word.

But after some consultation among themselves, as also with some of their captains, they applied themselves afresh to the Lord Secretary for counsel and advice from him, for this Lord Secretary was their chief preacher, as also is mentioned some pages before,

They address themselves to their good Lord Secretary.

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[1] Bunyan's general knowledge is truly astonishing. Where could he have scraped acquaintance with the names of the furies? These names are, however, most appropriately applied to such objects of terror.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Often, after I had spent this and the other day in sin, I have in my bed been greatly afflicted, when asleep, with the apprehensions of devils, and wicked spirits, who laboured to draw me away with them; of which I could never be rid.' —*Grace Abounding*, No. 5. Here we see the drum of Diabolus.—(Ed.)

[3] The Christian's motto should be—'No parley with the tempter; not for a moment.' Never forget the fatal parley he had with Eve.—(Ed.)

[4] A season of doubt and fear encourages the assaults of death and hell. How often has Captain Sepulchre put Mansoul to its dumps! It is a blessing when it excites to prayer and examination.—(Ed.)

only now he was ill at ease, and of him they begged favour in these two or three things—

1. That he would look comfortably upon them, and not to keep himself so much retired from them as formerly. Also that he would be prevailed with to give them a hearing, while they should make known their miserable condition to him. But to this he told them as before, that as yet he was but ill at ease, and therefore could not do as he had formerly done.

2. The second thing that they desired was, that he would be pleased to give them his advice about their now so important affairs, for that Diabolus was come and set down before the town with no less than twenty thousand Doubters. They said, moreover, that both he and his captains were cruel men, and that they were afraid of them. But to this he said, You must look to the law of the Prince, and there see what is laid upon you to do.[1]

3. Then they desired that his Highness would help them to frame a petition to Shaddai, and unto Emmanuel his Son, and that he would set his own hand thereto, as a token that he was one with them in it; for, said they, my lord, many a one have we sent, but can get no answer of peace, but now, surely one with thy hand unto it may obtain good for Mansoul.

But all the answer that he gave to this was that they had offended their Emmanuel, and had also grieved himself, and that therefore they must as yet partake of their own devices.

The cause of his being ill at ease.

This answer of the Lord Secretary fell like a millstone upon them, yea, it crushed them so that they could not tell what to do, yet they durst not comply with the demands of Diabolus, nor with the demands of his captain. So then, here were the straits that the town of Mansoul was betwixt when the enemy came upon her, her foes were ready to swallow her up, and her friends did forbear to help her.[2] Lam. i. 3.

The sad straits of Mansoul.

Then stood up my Lord Mayor, whose name was my Lord Understanding, and he began to pick and pick, until he had picked comfort out of that seemingly bitter saying of the Lord Secretary, for thus he descanted upon it: First, said he, this unavoidably follows upon the saying of our Lord that we must yet suffer for our sins. Second. But, quoth he, the words yet found as if at last we should be saved from our enemies, and that after a few more sorrows Emmanuel will come and be our help. Now the Lord Mayor was the more critical in his dealing with the Secretary's words, because my Lord was more than a prophet, and because none of his words were such but that at all times they were most exactly significant, and the townsmen were allowed to pry into them, and to expound them to their best advantage.[3]

A comment upon the Lord Secretary's speech.

So they took their leaves of my Lord, and returned, and went, and came to the captains, to whom they did tell what my Lord High Secretary had said, who when they had heard it, were all of the same opinion as was my Lord Mayor himself; the captains therefore began to take some courage unto them, and to prepare to make some brave attempt upon the camp of the enemy, and to destroy all that were Diabolonians, with the roving Doubters that the tyrant had brought with him to destroy the poor town of Mansoul.

So all betook themselves forthwith to their places, the captains to theirs, the Lord Mayor to his, the subordinate Preacher to his, and my Lord Will-be-will to his. The captains longed to be at some work for their Prince, for they delighted in warlike achievements. The next day, therefore, they came together and consulted, and, after consultation had, they resolved to give an answer to the captain of Diabolus with slings, and so they did at the rising of the sun on the morrow; for Diabolus had adventured to come nearer again, but the sling-stones were, to him and his, like hornets. Zec. ix. 15. For as there is nothing to the town of Mansoul so terrible as the roaring of Diabolus's drum, so there is nothing to Diabolus so terrible as the well playing of Emmanuel's slings. Wherefore Diabolus was forced to make another retreat, yet further off from the famous town of Mansoul. Then did the Lord Mayor of Mansoul cause the bells to be rung, and that thanks should be sent to the Lord High Secretary by the mouth of the subordinate Preacher; for that by his words the captains and elders of Mansoul had been strengthened against Diabolus.

The town of Mansoul in order.

Words[4] applied against him by faith.

When Diabolus saw that his captains and soldiers, high lords, and renowned, were frightened, and beaten down by the stones that came from the golden slings of the Prince of the town of Mansoul, he bethought himself, and said, I will try to catch them by fawning, I will try to flatter them into my net.[5] Re. xii. 10.

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[1] Rely not upon frames, feelings, or experience, but go prayerfully to the law and to the testimony; that alone should be 'a lamp to our feet, and a light to our path.'—(Ed.)

[2] 'When I cried to God for mercy, this would come in—It is too late, I am lost; God hath let me fall, not to my correction, but my condemnation.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 163. —(Ed.)

[3] A *personal prying* into the Scriptures is a most important duty. As the reader will presently see, these golden slings beat down and frightened the high lords and soldiers, the renowned Doubters under Diabolus.—(Ed.)

[4] 'Words,' or texts of Holy Writ.—(Ed.)

[5] Satan has various modes of attack. If he succeed not as the roaring lion, he will assume the crafty serpent; if he prevail not by fear, he will resort to flattery.—(Barder.)

Wherefore after a while he came down again to the wall, not now with his drum, nor with Captain Sepulchre, but having so all besugared his lips, he seemed to be a very sweet-mouthed, peaceable Prince, designing nothing for humour's sake,[1] nor to be revenged on Mansoul for injuries by them done to him, but the welfare, and good, and advantage of the town and people therein, was now, as he said, his only design. Wherefore, after he had called for audience, and desired that the townsfolk would give it to him, he proceeded in his oration: And said,

Diabolus changes his way.

'O! the desire of my heart, the famous town of Mansoul! How many nights have I watched, and how many weary steps have I taken, if, perhaps, I might do thee good. 1 Pe. v. 8. Far be it, far be it from me, to desire to make a war upon you, if ye will but willingly and quietly deliver up yourselves unto me. You know that you were mine of old. Mat. iv. 8, 9. Lu. iv. 6, 7. Remember also, that so long as you enjoyed me for your lord, and that I enjoyed you for my subjects, you wanted for nothing of all the delights of the earth, that I, your lord and prince, could get for you; or that I could invent to make you bonny and blithe withal. Consider, you never had so many hard, dark, troublesome, and heart-afflicting hours, while you where mine, as you have had since you revolted from me; nor shall you ever have peace again until you and I become one as before.[2] Be but prevailed with to embrace me again, and I will grant, yea, inlarge your old charter with abundance of privileges; so that your licence and liberty shall be to take, hold, enjoy, and make your own, all that is pleasant from the east to the west.[3] Nor shall any of those incivilities wherewith you have offended me, be ever charged upon you by me, so long as the the sun and moon endureth. Nor shall any of those dear friends of mine, that now, for the fear of you, lie lurking in dens, and holes, and caves in Mansoul, be hurtful to you any more; yea, they shall be your servants, and shall minister unto you of their substance, and of whatever shall come to hand. I need speak no more, you know them, and have some time since been much delighted in their company, why then should we abide at such odds? Let us renew our old acquaintance and friendship again.[4]

Satan reads all backwards.

Take heed Mansoul!

Sins.

The pleasure of sin.

'Bear with your friend; I take the liberty at this time to speak thus freely unto you. The love that I have to you presses me to do it, as also does the zeal of my heart for my friends with you; put me not therefore to further trouble, nor yourselves to further fears and frights. Have you I will, in a way of peace or war; nor do you flatter yourselves with the power and force of your captains, or that your Emmanuel will shortly come in to your help, for such strength will do you no pleasure.

No, no, no; not upon pain of eternal damnation.

'I am come against you with a stout and valiant army, and all the chief princes of the den, are even at the head of it. Besides, my captains are swifter than eagles, stronger than lions, and more greedy of prey than are the evening-wolves. What is Og of Bashan! What is Goliah of Gath! And what is a hundred more of them to one of the least of my captains! How then shall Mansoul think to escape my hand and force?'[5]

Diabolus having thus ended his flattering, fawning, deceitful, and lying speech to the famous town of Mansoul, the Lord Mayor replied upon him as follows:—

'O Diabolus, prince of darkness, and master of all deceit; thy lying flatteries we have had and made sufficient probation of, and have tasted too deeply of that destructive cup already; should we therefore again hearken unto thee, and so break the commandments of our great Shaddai, to join in affinity with thee; would not our Prince reject us, and cast us off for ever; and being cast off by him, can the place that he has prepared for thee, be a place of rest for us? Beside, O thou that art empty and void of all truth, we are rather ready to die by thy hand, than to fall in with thy flattering and lying deceits.'

The Lord Mayor's answer.

When the tyrant saw that there was little to be got by parleying with my Lord Mayor, he fell into a hellish rage, and resolved that again, with his army of Doubters, he would another time assault the town of Mansoul.

So he called for his drummer, who beat up for his men (and while he did beat, Mansoul did shake), to be in a readiness to give battle to the corporation; then Diabolus drew near with his army, and thus disposed of his men. Captain Cruel, and Captain Torment, these he drew up and placed against Feelgate, and commanded them to sit

[1] For whim, caprice, petulance, or peevishness.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Gladly would I have been in the condition of a dog or horse, for I knew they had no souls to perish under the everlasting weight of hell or sin, as mine was like to do.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 104.—(Ed.)

[3] 'All the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them;' 'all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.' Mat. iv. 8.—(Ed.)

[4] The infernal liar promises great things, which he is neither able nor willing to perform. *Wonderful* liberty, meaning frightful slavery; all sensual gratifications, but does not hint that they are destructive to body and soul; perfect freedom from religious fears and straits, but does not add that after all this comes a portion in the burning lake.—(Ed.)

[5] I much doubt whether human ingenuity ever invented a speech so worthy of the terms 'flattering, fawning, deceitful, and lying.' It is worthy the mouth of the god of this world, the prince of the power of the air. It is a marvellous invention of an unlettered mechanic, presenting itself to the imagination with all the force and power of reality.—(Ed.)

down there for the war.[1] And he also appointed, that if need were, Captain Noease should come in to their relief.

Feelgate.

At Nosegate he placed the Captain Brimstone, and Captain Sepulchre, and bid them look well to their ward, on that side of the town of Mansoul. But at Eyegate he placed that grim-faced one the Captain Pasthope, and there also now he did set up his terrible standard.

Nosegate.

Eyegate.

Now Captain Insatiable he was to look to the carriage of Diabolus, and was also appointed to take into custody, that, or those persons and things that should at any time as prey be taken from the enemy.

Now Mouthgate the inhabitants of Mansoul kept for a sally-port, wherefore that they kept strong, for that was it, by, and out at which the towns-folk did send their petitions to Emmanuel their Prince; that also was the gate from the top of which the captains did play their slings at the enemies, for that gate stood somewhat ascending, so that the placing of them there, and the letting of them fly from that place, did much execution against the tyrant's army; wherefore for these causes, with others, Diabolus sought, if possible, to land up Mouthgate with dirt.[2]

Mouthgate.

The use of Mouthgate.

Now as Diabolus was busy and industrious in preparing to make his assault upon the town of Mansoul without, so the captains and soldiers in the corporation were as busy in preparing within; they mounted their slings, they set up their banners, they sounded their trumpets, and put themselves in such order as was judged most for the annoyance of the enemy, and for the advantage of Mansoul, and gave to their soldiers orders to be ready at the sound of the trumpet for war. The Lord Will-be-will also, he took the charge of watching against the rebels within, and to do what he could to take them while without, or to stifle them within their caves, dens, and holes, in the town-wall of Mansoul. And to speak the truth of him, ever since he took penance for his fault, he has showed as much honesty and bravery of spirit as any he in Mansoul; for he took one Jolley, and his brother Grigish, the two sons of his servant Harmless-mirth,[3] for to that day, though the father was committed to ward, the sons had a dwelling in the house of my lord. I say he took them, and with his own hands put them to the cross. And this was the reason why he hanged them up, after their father was put into the hands of Mr. Trueman the jailer; they his sons began to play his pranks, and to be ticking and toying with the daughters of their lord; nay, it was jealoused that they were too familiar with them, the which was brought to his lordship's ear. Now his lordship, being unwilling unadvisedly to put any man to death, did not suddenly fall upon them, but set watch and spies to see if the thing was true; of the which he was soon informed, for his two servants, whose names were Findout, and Tellall, catched them together in uncivil manner more than once or twice, and went and told their lord. So when my Lord Will-be-will had sufficient ground to believe the thing was true, he takes the two young Diabolonians, for such they were, for their father was a Diabolonian born, and has them to Eyegate, where he raised a very high cross just in the face of Diabolus, and of his army, and there he hanged the young villains in defiance to Captain Pasthope, and of the horrible standard of the tyrant.

The Lord Will-be-will plays the man.

Jolley and Grigish taken and executed.

The place of their execution.

Now this Christian act of the brave Lord Will-be-will did greatly abash Captain Pasthope, discourage the army of Diabolus, put fear into the Diabolonian runagates in Mansoul, and put strength and courage into the captains that belonged to Emmanuel the Prince; for they without did gather, and that, by this very act of my lord, that Mansoul was resolved to fight, and that the Diabolonians within the town could not do such things as Diabolus had hopes they would, Nor was this the only proof of the brave Lord Will-be-will's honesty to the town, nor of his loyalty to his Prince, as will afterwards appear.

Mortification of sin is a sign of hope of life.

Now when the children of Prudent-thrifty, who dwelt with Mr. Mind, for Thrift left children with Mr. Mind, when he was also committed to prison, and their names were Gripe and Rake-all; these he begat of Mr. Mind's bastard-daughter, whose name was Mrs. Hold-fast-bad, I say, when his children perceived how the Lord Will-be-will had served them that dwelt with him, what do they but, lest they should drink of the same cup, endeavour to make their escape? But Mr. Mind being wary of it, took them and put

Mr. Mind plays the man.

[1] The intention of Diabolus is to fill the soul with doubts, and, if possible, with despair. He places his forces at Feelgate; that is, he would lead the soul to doubt by trusting to his religious frames and feelings, instead of looking only to Jesus.—(Burder.)

[2] So valuable to the soul is prayer, that Diabolus attempts to prevent it, by rendering Mouthgate impassible. Nothing can be more expressive than the terms, 'to land up,' or block up, 'the way with dirt,' so as to prevent the soul's approach to a pure and holy God.'—(Ed.)

[3] To really *harmless* mirth, to be merry and wise, there can be no objection.

'Religion never was designed
To make our pleasures less.'

But beware of Jolley and Grigish. If mirth produces them, be sure that it is not harmless, and at once put them to the cross.—(Ed.)

them in hold in his house till morning, for this was done over night, and remembering that by the law of Mansoul, all Diabolonians were to die, and to be sure they were at least by father's side such, and some say by mother's side too, what does he but takes them and puts them in chains, and carries them to the self-same place where my lord hanged his two before, and there he hanged them.

Mansoul set against the Diabolonians.

The townsmen also took great encouragement at this act of Mr. Mind, and did what they could to have taken some more of these Diabolonian troublers of Mansoul; but at that time the rest lay so quat[1] and close that they could not be apprehended; so they set against them a diligent watch, and went every man to his place.

I told you a little before that Diabolus and his army were somewhat abashed and discouraged at the sight of what my Lord Will-be-will did, when he hanged up those two young Diabolonians; but his discouragement quickly turned itself into furious madness and rage against the town of Mansoul, and fight it he would. Also the townsmen, and captains within, they had their hopes and their expectations heightened, believing at last the day would be theirs, so they feared them the less. Their subordinate Preacher too made a sermon about it, and he took that theme for his text, 'Gad, a troop shall overcome him; but he shall overcome at the last.' Ge. xlix. 19. Whence he showed that though Mansoul should be sorely put to it at the first, yet the victory should most certainly be Mansoul's at the last.

Diabolus. His kindness turned into furious madness.

So Diabolus commanded that his drummer should beat a charge against the town, and the captains also that were in the town sounded a charge against them, but they had no drum, they were trumpets of silver with which they sounded against them. Then they which were of the camp of Diabolus came down to the town to take it, and the captains in the castle, with the slingers at Mouthgate played upon them amain. And now there was nothing heard in the camp of Diabolus but horrible rage and blasphemy; but in the town good words, prayer, and singing of psalms. The enemy replied with horrible objections, and the terribleness of their drum; but the town made answer with the slapping of their slings, and the melodious noise of their trumpets. And thus the fight lasted for several days together, only now and then they had some small intermission, in the which the townsmen refreshed themselves, and the captains made ready for another assault.

With heart and mouth.

The captains of Emmanuel were clad in silver armour, and the soldiers in that which was of proof; the soldiers of Diabolus were clad in iron, which was made to give place to Emmanuel's engine-shot. In the town some were hurt, and some were greatly wounded. Now the worst on it was, a surgeon was scarce in Mansoul, for that Emmanuel at present was absent. Howbeit, with the leaves of a tree the wounded were kept from dying; yet their wounds did greatly putrify, and some did grievously stink.[2] Re. xxii. 2. Ps. xxxviii. 5. Of these were wounded, to wit,

My Lord Reason, he was wounded in the head.

Another that was wounded was the brave Lord Mayor, he was wounded in the Eye.

Who of Mansoul were wounded.

Another that was wounded was Mr. Mind, he received his wound about the Stomach.[3]

The honest subordinate Preacher also, he received a shot not far off the heart, but none of these were mortal.

Many also of the inferior sort were not only wounded, but slain outright.

Hopeful thoughts.

Now in the camp of Diabolus were wounded and slain a considerable number. For instance.

Captain Rage he was wounded, and so was Captain Cruel.

Who in the camp of Diabolus were wounded and slain.

Captain Damnation was made to retreat, and to intrench himself further off of Mansoul; the standard also of Diabolus was beaten down, and his standard-bearer Captain Muchhurt, had his brains beat out with a sling-stone, to the no little grief and shame of his prince Diabolus.

Many also of the Doubters were slain outright, though enough of them are left alive to make Mansoul shake and totter. Now the victory that day being turned to Mansoul, did put great valour into the townsmen and captains, and did cover Diabolus's camp with a cloud, but withal it made them far more furious. So the next day Mansoul rested, and commanded that the bells should be rung; the trumpets also joyfully sounded, and the captains shouted round the town.

The victory did turn that day to Mansoul.

My Lord Will-be-will also was not idle, but did notable service within against the domestics, or the Diabolonians that were in the town, not only by keeping of them in awe, for he lighted on one at last whose name was Mr. Anything,[4]

My Lord Will-be-will taketh one Anything, and one Looseloot, and committeth them to ward.

[1] 'Qnat,' now spelt 'squat,' to lie or sit close, still, or lurking—

'Squat like a toad.'—Milton.

In a Glasgow edition, 1720, it is altered to 'quiet.' In 1752, it is 'lay so close.'—(Ed.)

[2] Stinking and loathsome is sin in the sight of God. May we be sensible of the filthiness of sin, as David was:—'Mine iniquities are gone over my head; my wounds stink *and* are corrupt, because of my foolishness.' Ps. xxxviii. 4, 5.—(Ed.)

[3] A curious idea, but fully borne out both by reason and Scripture. Gluttony or drunkenness injures the mind. Peter says, 'Add to knowledge temperance.' 2 Pe. i. 6.—(Ed.)

[4] Anything means indifference about religion, a conformity or opposition to it, as convenience requires.—(Burder.)

a fellow of whom mention was made before; for it was he, if you remember, that brought the three fellows to Diabolus, whom the Diabolonians took out of Captain Boanerges' company; and that persuaded them to list themselves under the tyrant, to fight against the army of Shaddai; my Lord Will-be-will did also take a notable Diabolonian, whose name was Loosefoot;[1] this Loosefoot was a scout to the vagabonds in Mansoul, and that did use to carry tidings out of Mansoul to the camp, and out of the camp to those of the enemies in Mansoul; both these my lord sent away safe to Mr. Trueman the jailer, with a commandment to keep them in irons; for he intended then to have them out to be crucified, when it would be for the best to the corporation, and most for the discouragement of the camp of the enemies.

The captains consult to fall upon the enemy.

My Lord Mayor also, though he could not stir about so much as formerly, because of the wound that he lately received, yet gave he out orders to all that were the natives of Mansoul to look to their watch, and stand upon their guard, and, as occasion should offer, to prove themselves men.

Mr. Conscience the preacher, he also did his utmost to keep all his good documents[2] alive upon the hearts of the people of Mansoul.

[Chapter XV.]

[Contents:—The inhabitants of Mansoul make a rash sortie on the enemy by night, but are repulsed with loss—Diabolus makes a desperate attack upon Feelgate, which, being weak, he forces; and his army of Doubters possess the town, and do incredible mischief—The inhabitants, sorely aggrieved, determine on a new application to Emmanuel, and procure the assistance of the Secretary in preparing the petition, which is presented by Captain Credence — He is favourably received, and appointed Lord Lieutenant over all the forces.]

Well, a while after the captains and stout ones of the town of Mansoul agreed and resolved upon a time to make a sally out upon the camp of Diabolus, and this must be done in the night,[3] and there was the folly of Mansoul, for the night is always the best for the enemy, but the worst for Mansoul to fight in; but yet they would do it, their courage was so high; their last victory also still stuck in their memories.

They fight in the night, who do lead the van.

So the night appointed being come, the Prince's brave captains cast lots who should lead the van in this new and desperate expedition against Diabolus, and against his Diabolonian army, and the lot fell to Captain Credence, to Captain Experience, and to Captain Goodhope to lead the Forlorn Hope. This Captain Experience the Prince created such when himself did reside in the town of Mansoul; so, as I said, they made their sally out upon the army that lay in the siege against them; and their hap was to fall in with the main body of their enemies. Now Diabolus and his men being expertly accustomed to night work, took the alarm presently, and were as ready to give them battle, as if they had sent them word of their coming. Wherefore to it they went amain, and blows were hard on every side; the hell-drum also was beat most furiously, while the trumpets of the Prince most sweetly sounded. And thus the battle was joined, and Captain Insatiable looked to the enemies carriages,[4] and waited when he should receive some prey.

How they fall on.

The Prince's captains fought it stoutly, beyond what indeed could be expected they should; they wounded many; they made the whole army of Diabolus to make a retreat. But I cannot tell how, but the brave Captain Credence, Captain Goodhope, and Captain Experience, as they were upon the pursuit, cutting down, and following hard after the enemy in the rear, Captain Credence stumbled and fell, by which fall he caught so great a hurt that he could not rise till Captain Experience did help him up, at which their men were put in disorder; the captain also was so full of pain that he could not forbear but aloud to cry out; at this the other two captains fainted, supposing that Captain Credence had received his mortal wound: their men also were more disordered, and had no list to fight. Now Diabolus being very observing though at this time as yet he was put to the worst, perceiving that a halt was made among the men that were the pursuers, what does he but taking it for granted that the captains were either wounded or dead; he therefore makes at first a stand, then faces about, and so comes up upon the Prince's army with as much of his fury as hell could help him to, and his hap was to fall in just among the three captains, Captain Credence, Captain Goodhope, and Captain Experience, and did cut, wound, and pierce them so dreadfully, that what through discouragement, what through disorder, and what through the wounds that now they had received, and also the loss of much blood, they scarce were able, though they had for their power the three best bands in Mansoul, to get safe into the hold again.

They fight bravely.

Captain Credence hurt.

The rest of the captains faint. FAITH ESSENTIAL.

Diabolus takes courage.

The Prince's forces beaten.

[1] Loosefoot may signify a careless walk and conversation.—(Burder.)

[2] The books, chapters, or verses of holy Writ.—(Ed.)

[3] Night, or a time of desertion, was the best for the enemy; for then self-confidence prevailed, the soul depended upon a fancied inherent strength of its own, which is perfect weakness. In the Lord alone have we righteousness and strength for the battle.—(Mason.)

[4] Behaviour, deportment.—(Ed.)

Satan sometimes makes saints eat their own words.

Now, when the body of the Prince's army saw how these three captains were put to the worst, they thought it their wisdom to make as safe and good a retreat as they could, and so returned by the sally-port again, and so there was an end of this present action.[1] But Diabolus was so flushed with this night's work, that he promised himself, in few days, an easy and complete conquest over the town of Mansoul; wherefore, on the day following, he comes up to the sides thereof with great boldness, and demands entrance, and that forthwith they deliver themselves up to his government. The Diabolonians too, that were within, they began to be somewhat brisk, as we shall show afterward.

Diabolus flushed.

He demands the town.

The Lord Mayor's answer.

But the valiant Lord Mayor replied that what he got he must get by force, for as long as Emmanuel their Prince was alive, though he at present was not so with them as they wished, they should never consent to yield Mansoul up to another.

Brave Will-be-will's speech.

And with that the Lord Will-be-will stood up and said, 'Diabolus, thou master of the den, and enemy to all that is good, we, poor inhabitants of the town of Mansoul, are too well acquainted with thy rule and government, and with the end of those things that for certain will follow submitting to thee, to do it.[2] Wherefore, though while we were without knowledge we suffered thee to take us, as the bird that saw not the snare fell into the hands of the fowler, yet, since we have been turned from darkness to light, we have also been turned from the power of Satan to God. And though, through thy subtilty, and also the subtilty of the Diabolonians within, we have sustained much loss, and also plunged ourselves into much perplexity, yet give up ourselves, lay down our arms, and yield to so horrid a tyrant as thou, we shall not, die upon the place we choose rather to do. Besides, we have hopes that in time deliverance will come from court unto us, and therefore we yet will maintain a war against thee.'

The captains encouraged.

This brave speech of the Lord Will-be-will, with that also of the Lord Mayor, did somewhat abate the boldness of Diabolus, though it kindled the fury of his rage. It also succoured the townsmen and captains, yea, it was as a plaster to the brave Captain Credence's wound; for you must know, that a brave speech now, when the captains of the town with their men of war came home routed, and when the enemy took courage and boldness at the success that he had obtained, to draw up to the walls and demand entrance as he did, was in season, and also advantageous.

The Lord Will-be-will also did play the man within, for while the captains and soldiers were in the field, he was in arms in the town, and wherever by him there was a Diabolonian found, they were forced to feel the weight of his heavy hand, and also the edge of his penetrating sword; many therefore of the Diabolonians he wounded, as the Lord Cavil, the Lord Brisk, the Lord Pragmatic, and the Lord Murmur, several also of the meaner sort he did sorely maim, though there cannot at this time an account be given you of any that he slew outright. The cause, or rather the advantage, that my Lord Will-be-will had at this time to do thus, was, for that the captains were gone out to fight the enemy in the field. For now, thought the Diabolonians within, is our time to stir and make an uproar in the town; what do they therefore but quickly get themselves into a body, and fall forthwith to hurricaning in Mansoul,[3] as if now nothing but whirlwind and tempest should be there, wherefore, as I said, he takes this opportunity to fall in among them with his men, cutting and slashing with courage that was undaunted, at which the Diabolonians with all haste dispersed themselves to their holds, and my lord to his place as before.

Will-be-will's gallantry.

This brave act of my lord did somewhat revenge the wrong done by Diabolus to the captains, and also did let them know that Mansoul was not to be parted with for the loss of a victory or two; wherefore the wing of the tyrant was clipped again—as to boasting I mean—in comparison of what he would have done if the Diabolonians had put the town to the same plight to which he had put the captains.

Nothing like faith to crush Diabolus.

Well, Diabolus yet resolves to have the other bout with Mansoul; for, thought he, since I beat them once, I may beat them twice; wherefore he commanded his men to be ready at such an hour of the night, to make a fresh assault upon the town, and he it gave out in special that they should bend all their force against Feelgate,[4] and attempt

He tries what he can do upon the sense and feeling of the Christian.

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[1] The night of darkness and desertion was not a proper season for this effort. It seems intended to show the effects of the prevalence of a self-confident spirit, which cannot issue well; for faith, hope, and experience were wounded.—(Burder.)

[2] Misery without remedy and without end; eternal death; the being cut off from God, the root and fountain of happiness.—(Mason.)

[3] If this word was coined by Bunyan, he could not have introduced anything more appropriate. No word in common use could convey an idea of the wretchedly uneasy state of the soul in such a siege. Evil thoughts and imaginations are hurricaning within him; it is a tempest rushing upon him at once from all quarters; like Bunyan's feelings, as described in *Grace Abounding*, No. 187.—(Ed.)

[4] Again Diabolus determines to attack Mansoul by Feelgate. The cry was incessantly to be *Hell-fire! Hell-fire!* Christian, depend not upon your frames or feelings, but upon

to break into the town through that; the word that then he did give to his officers and soldiers, was Hell-fire. And, said he, if we break in upon them, as I wish we do, either with some, or with all our force, let them that break in look to it, that they forget not the word. And let nothing be heard in the town of Mansoul but Hell-fire, Hell-fire, Hell-fire! The drummer was also to beat without ceasing, and the standard-bearers were to display their colours, the soldiers too were to put on what courage they could, and to see that they played manfully their parts against the town.

So the night was come, and all things by the tyrant made ready for the work; he suddenly makes his assault upon Feelgate, and after he had a while struggled there, he throws the gates wide open. For the truth is, those gates were but weak, and so most easily made to yield. When Diabolus had thus far made his attempt, he placed his captains, to wit, Torment and Nocase there, so he attempted to press forward, but the Prince's captains came down upon him, and made his entrance more difficult than he desired. And, to speak the truth, they made what resistance they could, but the three of their best and most valiant captains being wounded, and by their wounds made much incapable of doing the town that service they would, and all the rest having more than their hands full of the Doubters, and their captains that did follow Diabolus, they were overpowered with force, nor could they keep them out of the town. Wherefore the Prince's men and their captains betook themselves to the castle, as to the strong hold of the town, and this they did partly for their own security, partly for the security of the town, and partly, or rather chiefly, to preserve to Emmanuel the prerogative-royal of Mansoul, for so was the castle of Mansoul.[1]

Feelgate but weak.

When these three captains are disabled, what can the rest do for the town of Mansoul?

The captains therefore being fled into the castle, the enemy, without much resistance, possess themselves of the rest of the town, and spreading themselves as they went into every corner, they cried out as they marched, according to the command of the tyrant, Hell-fire, Hell-fire, Hell-fire! so that nothing for a while, throughout the town of Mansoul, could be heard but the direful noise of Hell-fire, together with the roaring of Diabolus's drum.[2] And now did the clouds hang black over Mansoul, nor to reason did anything but ruin seem to attend it. Diabolus also quartered his soldiers in the houses of the inhabitants of the town of Mansoul. Yea, the subordinate Preacher's house was as full of these outlandish Doubters as ever it could hold; and so was my Lord Mayor's, and my Lord Will-be-will's also. Yea, where was there a corner, a cottage, a barn, or a hog-stye, that now were not full of these vermin? yea, they turned the men of the town out of their houses, and would lie in their beds, and sit at their tables themselves. Ah, poor Mansoul! Now thou feelest the fruits of sin, and what venom was in the flattering words of Mr. Carnal-security! They made great havoc of whatever they laid their hands on; yea, they fired the town in several places, many young children also were by them dashed in pieces, yea, those that were yet unborn they destroyed in their mother's wombs; for you must needs think that it could not now be otherwise; for what conscience, what pity, what bowels of compassion can any expect at the hands of outlandish Doubters; many in Mansoul that were women, both young and old, they forced, ravished, and beast-like abused, so that they swooned, miscarried, and many of them died, and so lay at the top of every street, and in all by-places of the town.

The sad fruits of apostacy.

Guilt.

Good and tender thoughts.

Holy conceptions of good.

And now did Mansoul seem to be nothing but a den of dragons, an emblem of hell, and a place of total darkness. Now did Mansoul lie almost like the barren wilderness, nothing but nettles, briars, thorns, weeds, and stinking things seemed now to cover the face of Mansoul. I told you before how that these Diabolonian Doubters turned the men of Mansoul out of their beds; and now I will add, they wounded them, they mauled them, yea, and almost brained many of them. Many, did I say, yea, most, if not all of them; Mr. Conscience they so wounded, yea, and his wounds so festered, that he could have no ease day nor night, but lay as if continually upon a rack; but that Shaddai rules all, certainly they had slain him outright. My Lord Mayor they so abused that they almost put out his eyes, and had not my Lord Will-be-will got into the castle, they intended to have chopped him all to pieces, for they did look upon him, as his heart now stood, to be one of the very worst that was in Mansoul against Diabolus and his crew. And indeed he hath showed himself a man, and more of his exploits you will hear of afterwards.

Rest.

Sad work among the townsmen

Satan has a particular spite against a sanctified will.

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the immutable and unchangeable Word of God. The terrors of hell will get hold upon him who trusts to his experience, instead of fixing all his hopes in the Lord Jehovah.—(Ed.)

[1] The heart. It is a blessed presage when that is right with God; then may the soul, in the strength of the Lord, exult and say, 'Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; for when I fall, I shall rise again.'—(Mason.)

[2] 'I could neither eat my food, stoop for a pin, chop a stick, or cast mine eye to look on this or that, but still the temptation would come, Sell Christ for this, or sell Christ for that; sell him, sell him.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 135. None but the experienced Christian knows the terror of Diabolus's drum.—(Ed.)

Thoughts.

Now a man might have walked for days together in Mansoul, and scarce have seen one in the town that looked like a religious man. O the fearful state of Mansoul now! Now every corner swarmed with out-landish Doubters;

The soul full of idle thoughts and blasphemies.

red-coats and black-coats[1] walked the town by clusters, and filled up all the houses with hideous noises, vain songs, lying stories, and blasphemous language against Shaddai and his Son.[2] Now, also, those Diabolonians that lurked in the walls and dens and holes that were in the town of Mansoul, came forth and showed themselves, yea, walked with open face in company with the Doubters that were in Mansoul. Yea, they had more boldness now to walk the streets, to haunt the houses, and to show themselves abroad, than had any of the honest inhabitants of the now woful town of Mansoul.[3]

But Diabolus and his out-landish men were not at peace in Mansoul, for they were not there entertained as were the captains and forces of Emmanuel; the townsmen did browbeat them what they could; nor did they partake or make stroy[4] of any of the necessaries of Mansoul, but that which they seized on against the townsmen's will; what they could they hid from them, and what they could not they had with an ill-will. They, poor hearts, had rather have had their room than their company, but they were at present their captives, and their captives for the present they were forced to be. Ro. vii. But, I say, they discountenanced them as much as they were able, and showed them all the dislike that they could.[5]

The captains also from the castle did hold them in continual play with their slings, to the chasing and fretting of the minds of the enemies. True,

Mr. Godly-fear is made keeper of the castle gates.

Diabolus made a great many attempts to have broken open the gates of the castle, but Mr. Godly-fear was made the keeper of that; and he was a man of that courage, conduct and valour, that it was in vain, as long as life lasted within him, to think to do that work though mostly desired, wherefore all the attempts that Diabolus made against him were fruitless. I have wished sometimes that that man had had the whole rule of the town of Mansoul.[6]

Well, this was the condition of the town of Mansoul for about two years and an half;

The town of Mansoul the seat of war.

the body of the town was the seat of war;[7] the people of the town were driven into holes, and the glory of Mansoul was laid in the dust; what rest then could be to the inhabitants, what peace could Mansoul have, and what sun could shine upon it? had the enemy lain so long without in the plain against the town, it had been enough to have famished them; but now when they shall be within, when the town shall be their tent, their trench, and fort against the castle that was in the town when the town shall be against the town, and shall serve to be a defence to the enemies of her strength and life: I say, when they shall make use of the forts, and town-holds, to secure themselves in, even till they shall take, spoil, and demolish the castle,

Heart.

this was terrible; and yet this was now the state of the town of Mansoul.[8]

After the town of Mansoul had been in this sad and lamentable condition for so long a time as I have told you, and no petitions that they presented their Prince with, all this while, could prevail; the inhabitants of the town, to wit, the elders and chief of Mansoul gathered together, and after some time spent in condoling their miserable state, and this miserable judgment coming upon them, they agreed together to draw up yet another petition, and to send it away to Emmanuel for relief. But Mr. Godly-fear stood up, and answered, that he knew that his Lord the Prince never did, nor ever would receive a petition for these matters from the hand of any whoever, unless the Lord Secretary's hand was to it; and this, quoth he, is the reason that you prevailed not all this while. Then they said, they would draw up one, and get the Lord Secretary's hand to it.[9] But Mr. Godly-fear answered

Mr. Godly-fear's advice about drawing up of a petition to the Prince.

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[1] How hard but just a blow is this to the pompous pride both of the military and clerical orders. In Bunyan's time, both these professions were filled with the friends and followers of Diabolus. The black coats are, in our day, much reformed. —(Ed.)

[2] Such is the dreadful nature of unbelief! It is the minister of confusion, lying, vanity, and blaspheming against the faithfulness of a covenant God.—(Mason.)

[3] Imagine a poor harassed soul, a member of a Christian church, in this lamentable state. What would the pastor, elders, and church do with him? How would some argue, He is a disgrace to us, and ought to be cast out! Alas! poor soul, he would get rid of the doubters if he could. While the fear of God is in his heart, pray for him, cherish him, but cast him not out.—(Ed.)

[4] 'Stroy,' obsolete, means destroy—

Some they stroye and some they brenne.'

It was altered, in 1707, to 'make destruction.'—(Ed.)

[5] This is an awful representation of the state of a soul overwhelmed with distressing doubts of God's love, and fear of eternal destruction. 'Torment' and 'Nocase' take possession of the feelings. The understanding is darkened, and the conscience wounded; while a crowd of idle thoughts, vanities, and blasphemies increase the confusion and dismay.—(Ed.)

[6] For a most solemn, encouraging, and admirable treatise on the 'Fear of God,' see Bunyan's Works, vol. i. p. 437.—(Ed.)

[7] 'Nothing now, for two years together, would abide with me, but damnation, and an expectation of damnation.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 142.—(Ed.)

[8] In the midst of all this misery, the castle is safe; or, in other words, the heart remains right with God, Godly-fear being the keeper of it. In many a soul where distressing doubts prevail, perhaps for years, yet the fear of God is in the heart, so that it still cleaves to him and opposes sin.—(Burder.)

[9] Prayer must be by the aid of the Holy Spirit and the understanding also. Faith makes it availing in the name of

again, that he knew also that the Lord Secretary would not set his hand to any petition that himself had not a hand in composing and drawing up; and besides, said he, the Prince doth know my Lord Secretary's hand from all the hands in the world; wherefore he cannot be deceived by any pretence whatever; wherefore my advice is, that you go to my Lord, and implore him to lend you his aid. Now he did yet abide in the castle where all the captains and men at arms were.

So they heartily thanked Mr. Godly-fear, took his counsel, and did as he had bidden them; so they went and came to my Lord, and made known the cause of their coming to him, to wit, that since Mansoul was in so deplorable a condition, his highness would be pleased to undertake to draw up a petition for them to Emmanuel, the Son of the mighty Shaddai, and to their King and his Father by him.

Then said the Secretary to them, What petition is it that you would have me draw up for you? But they said, Our Lord knows best the state and condition of the town of Mansoul; and how we are backslidden and degenerated from the Prince; thou also knowest who is come up to war against us, and how Mansoul is now the seat of war.[1] My Lord knows, moreover, what barbarous usages our men, women, and children have suffered at their hands, and how our home-bred Diabolonians do walk now with more boldness than dare the townsmen in the streets of Mansoul. Let our Lord, therefore, according to the wisdom of God that is in him, draw up a petition for his poor servants to our Prince Emmanuel. Well, said the Lord Secretary, I will draw up a petition for you, and will also set my hand thereto. Then said they, But when shall we call for it at the hands of our Lord? but he answered, Yourselves must be present at the doing of it. Yea, you must put your desires to it. True, the hand and pen shall be mine, but the ink and paper must be yours, else how can you say it is your petition? nor have I need to petition for myself, because I have not offended.

The Secretary employed to draw up a petition for Mansoul.

He also addeth as followeth, No petition goes from me in my name to the Prince, and so to his Father by him, but when the people that are chiefly concerned therein do join in heart and soul in the matter, for that must be inserted therein.[2]

So they did heartily agree with the sentence of the Lord, and a petition was forthwith drawn up for them. But now who should carry it, that was next. But the Secretary advised that Captain Credence should carry it, for he was a well-spoken man. They, therefore, called for him, and propounded to him the business. Well, said the captain, I gladly accept of the motion; and though I am lame, I will do this business for you with as much speed, and as well as I can.

The petition drawn up and sent to Emmanuel by the hand of Captain Credence.

The contents of the petition were to this purpose—

'O our Lord and Sovereign Prince Emmanuel, the potent, the long-suffering Prince: grace is poured into thy lips, and to thee belongs mercy and forgiveness, though we have rebelled against thee. We who are no more worthy to be called thy Mansoul, nor yet fit to partake of common benefits, do beseech thee, and thy Father by thee to do away our transgressions. We confess that thou mightest cast us away for them, but do it not for thy name's sake; let the Lord rather take an opportunity at our miserable condition, to let out his bowels and compassions to us; we are compassed on every side, Lord, our own backslidings reprove us; our Diabolonians within our town fright us, and the army of the angel of the bottomless pit distresses us. Thy grace can be our salvation, and whither to go but to thee we know not.

The contents of their petition.

'Furthermore, O gracious Prince, we have weakened our captains, and they are discouraged, sick, and of late some of them grievously worsted and beaten out of the field by the power and force of the tyrant. Yea, even those of our captains in whose valour we did formerly use to put most of our confidence, they are as wounded men. Besides, Lord, our enemies are lively, and they are strong, they vaunt and boast themselves, and do threaten to part us among themselves for a booty. They are fallen also upon us, Lord, with many thousand Doubters, such as with whom we cannot tell what to do; they are all grim-looked, and unmerciful ones, and they bid defiance to us and thee.[3]

'Our wisdom is gone, our power is gone, because thou art departed from us, nor have we what we may call ours but sin, shame, and confusion of face for sin.[4] Take pity upon us, O Lord, take pity upon us, thy miserable town of Mansoul, and save us out of the hands of our enemies. Amen.'

Christ. See Bunyan's admirable treatise on 'Praying in the Spirit,' vol. i. p. 621.—(Ed.)

[1] The Christian's life is a warfare against the world, the flesh, and the devil; but an evil heart of unbelief is that spiritual Goliath which we should constantly intreat the Captain of our salvation to subdue.—(Mason.)

[2] This is an illustration of that text, 'The Spirit helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought.' Ro. viii. 26. And blessed be God, 'He will give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.' Lu. xi. 13.—(Burder.)

[3] 'Now hell rageth, the devil warreth, and all the world resolveth to do the best they can to bring the soul into bondage and ruin. Also, the soul shall not want enemies in its own heart's lust—as covetousness, adultery, blasphemy, unbelief, hardness of heart, coldness, ignorance; with an *innumerable* company of attendants hanging at its heels, ready to sink it into the fire of hell every moment.'—Bunyan's *Law and Grace*, vol. i. p. 546. Who can number his thoughts, even his evil thoughts, that, like legions, war against the soul's peace?—(Ed.)

[4] 'Which burden also did so oppress me, that I could neither stand, nor go, nor lie, either at rest or quiet.'—*Grace Abounding*, No. 165.—(Ed.)

This petition as was touched afore, was handed by the Lord Secretary, and carried to the court by the brave and most stout Captain Credence. Now he carried it out at Mouthgate, for that, as I said, was the sally-port of the town; and he went and came to Emmanuel with it. Now how it came out, I do not know, but for certain it did, and that so far as to reach the ears of Diabolus. Thus I conclude, because that the tyrant had it presently by the end, and charged the town of Mansoul with it, saying, Thou rebellious and stubborn-hearted Man-soul, I will make thee to leave off petitioning; art thou yet for petitioning? I will make thee to leave. Yea, he also knew who the messenger was that carried the petition to the Prince, and it made him both to fear and rage.

Satan cannot abide prayer.

Wherefore he commanded that his drum should be beat again, a thing that Mansoul could not abide to hear; but when Diabolus will have his drum beat, Mansoul must abide the noise. Well, the drum was beat, and the Diabolonians were gathered together.

Then said Diabolus, O ye stout Diabolonians, be it known unto you that there is treachery hatched against us in the rebellious town of Mansoul; for albeit the town is in our possession, as you see, yet these miserable Mansoulians have attempted to dare, and have been so hardy as yet to send to the court to Emmanuel for help. This I give you to understand, that ye may yet know how to carry it to the wretched town of Mansoul. Wherefore, O my trusty Diabolonians, I command that yet more and more ye distress this town of Mansoul, and vex it with your wiles, ravish their women, deflower their virgins, slay their children, brain their ancients, fire their town, and what other mischief you can; and let this be the reward of the Mansoulians from me, for their desperate rebellions against me.[1]

Poor Mansoul.

This you see was the charge, but something stepped in betwixt that and execution, for as yet there was but little more done than to rage.

Moreover, when Diabolus had done thus, he went the next way up to the castle-gates, and demanded that, upon pain of death, the gates should be opened to him, and that entrance should be given him and his men that followed after. To whom Mr. Godly-fear replied—for he it was that had the charge of that gate—that the gate should not be opened unto him, nor to the men that followed after him. He said, moreover, that Mansoul, when she had suffered awhile, should be made perfect, strengthened, settled. 1 Pe. v. 10.

Then said Diabolus, Deliver me then the men that have petitioned against me, especially Captain Credence that carried it to your Prince; deliver that varlet into my hands, and I will depart from the town.

Satan cannot abide faith.

Then up starts a Diabolonian, whose name was Mr. Fooling, and said, My lord offereth you fair, it is better for you that one man perish, than that your whole Mansoul should be undone.

Mr. Fooling.

But Mr. Godly-fear made him this replication. How long will Mansoul be kept out of the dungeon,[2] when she hath given up her faith to Diabolus? As good lose the town as lose Captain Credence; for if one be gone, the other must follow.[3] But to that Mr. Fooling said nothing.

Then did my Lord Mayor reply, and said, O thou devouring tyrant, be it known unto thee, we shall hearken to none of thy words; we are resolved to resist thee as long as a captain, a man, a sling, and a stone to throw at thee, shall be found in the town of Mansoul. But Diabolus answered, Do you hope, do you wait, do you look for help and deliverance? You have sent to Emmanuel, but your wickedness sticks too close in your skirts, to let innocent prayers come out of your lips.[4] Think you that you shall be prevailers and prosper in this design? You will fail in your wish, you will fail in your attempts; for it is not only I, but your Emmanuel is against you. Ps. xli. 10. Yea, it is he that hath sent me against you to subdue you; for what then do you hope, or by what means will you escape?

Diabolus rages.

Then said the Lord Mayor, We have sinned indeed, but that shall be no help to thee, for our Emmanuel hath said it, and that in great faithfulness: 'And him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.' He hath also told us, O our enemy, that all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to the sons of men. Therefore we dare not despair, but will look for, wait for, and hope for deliverance still.[5]

The Lord Mayor's speech just at the time of the return of Captain Credence.

Now by this time Captain Credence was returned and come from the court from Emmanuel to the

[1] When temptations beset, sin invades, lusts rage, evil tempers arise, and we are in danger of falling, then is the time to look up and cry, Lord save, or I perish.—(Mason.) These vexations are the holy thoughts and feelings, which Diabolus and his crew prevent or suppress. This is explained in the margin, p. 350.—(Ed.)

[2] Alluding to the sufferings of Christian and Hopeful in the dungeon of Giant Despair, in Doubting Castle.—(Ed.)

[3] When the shield of faith is wanting, the soul is exposed to all the fiery darts of the wicked one. 'This is the victory, *even* our faith.'—(Mason.)

[4] How true is this remark of the enemy of souls! Our holiest services must be sanctified in the name of the Redeemer. Diabolus can tell truth when it is to his purpose, in distressing a saint, or destroying a sinner.—(Ed.)

[5] Portions of Scripture were the weapons with which our Lord conquered Satan, when tempted in the wilderness. Poor tried soul, you may rely with the most perfect confidence on the Scriptures for support in the most trying hour. 'Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come.' Hab. ii. 3. Any other support is but like a broken reed.—(Ed.)

castle of Mansoul, and he returned to them with a packet. So my Lord Mayor hearing that Captain Credence was come, withdrew himself from the noise of the roaring of the tyrant, and left him to yell at the wall of the town, or against the gates of the castle. So he came up to the captain's lodgings, and saluting him, he asked him of his welfare, and what was the best news at court? But when he asked Captain Credence that, the water stood in his eyes. Then said the captain, Cheer up, my Lord, for all will be well in time; and with that he first produced his packet, and laid it by, but that the Lord Mayor and the rest of the captains took for a sign of good tidings. Now a season of grace being come, he sent for all the captains and elders of the town that were here and there in their lodgings in the castle, and upon their guard, to let them know that Captain Credence was returned from the court, and that he had something in general, and something in special to communicate to them. So they all came up to him, and saluted him, and asked him concerning his journey, and what was the best news at the court? And he answered them as he had done the Lord Mayor before, that all would be well at last. Now when the captain had thus saluted them, he opened his packet, and thence did draw out his several notes for those that he had sent for. And the first note was for my Lord Mayor, wherein was signified:

A sign of goodness.

The packet opened.

That the Prince Emmanuel had taken it well that my Lord Mayor had been so true and trusty in his office, and the great concerns that lay upon him for the town and people of Mansoul; also he bid him to know that he took it well that he had been so bold for his Prince Emmanuel, and had engaged so faithfully in his cause against Diabolus. He also signified at the close of his letter, that he should shortly receive his reward.

A note for my Lord Mayor.

The second note that came out was for the noble Lord Will-be-will, wherein there was signified, That his Prince Emmanuel did well understand how valiant and courageous he had been for the honour of his Lord, now in his absence, and when his name was under contempt by Diabolus. There was signified also that his Prince had taken it well that he had been so faithful to the town of Mansoul in his keeping of so strict a hand and eye over, and so strict a rein upon the necks of the Diabolonians that did still lie lurking in their several holes in the famous town of Mansoul.

A note for the Lord Will-be-will.

He signified, moreover, how that he understood that my lord had with his own hand done great execution upon some of the chief of the rebels there, to the great discouragement of the adverse party, and to the good example of the whole town of Mansoul, and that shortly his lordship should have his reward.

The third note came out for the subordinate Preacher, wherein was signified, That his Prince took it well from him that he had so honestly and so faithfully performed his office, and executed the trust committed to him by his Lord while he exhorted, rebuked, and fore-warned Mansoul according to the laws of the town. He signified moreover, that he took well at his hand that he called to fasting, to sackeloth and ashes, when Mansoul was under her revolt. Also that he called for the aid of the Captain Boanerges to help in so weighty a work, and that shortly he also should receive his reward.

A note for the subordinate Preacher.

The fourth note came out for Mr. Godly-fear wherein his Lord thus signified, That his Lordship observed that he was the first of all the men in Mansoul that detected Mr. Carnal-security, as the only one that through his subtilty and cunning had obtained for Diabolus, a defection and decay of goodness in the blessed town of Mansoul. Moreover, his Lord gave him to understand that he still remembered his tears and mourning for the state of Mansoul. It was also observed by the same note, that his Lord took notice of his detecting of this Mr. Carnal-security, at his own table among his guests, in his own house, and that in the midst of his jolliness, even while he was seeking to perfect his villainies against the town of Mansoul. Emmanuel also took notice that this reverend person, Mr. Godly-fear, stood stoutly to it at the gates of the castle, against all the threats and attempts of the tyrant, and that he had put the townsmen in a way to make their petition to their Prince, so as that he might accept thereof, and as that they might obtain an answer of peace; and that therefore shortly he should receive his reward.

A note for Mr. Godly-fear.

After all this, there was yet produced a note which was written to the whole town of Mansoul, whereby they perceived that their Lord took notice of their so often repeating of petitions to him, and that they should see more of the fruits of such their doings in time to come. Their Prince did also therein tell them, That he took it well, that their heart and mind now at last abode fixed upon him and his ways, though Diabolus had made such inroads upon them, and that neither flatteries on the one hand, nor hardships on the other, could make them yield to serve his cruel designs. There was also inserted at the bottom of this note, That his Lordship had left the town of Mansoul in the hands of the Lord Secretary, and under the conduct of Captain Credence, saying, Beware that you yet yield yourselves unto their governance, and in due time you shall receive your reward.

A note for the town of Mansoul.

So after the brave Captain Credence had delivered his notes to those to whom they belonged, he retired himself to my Lord Secretary's lodgings, and there spends time in conversing with him; for they two were very great one with another, and did indeed know more how things would go with Mansoul than did all the townsmen besides. The Lord Secretary also loved the Captain Credence dearly; yea, many a good bit was sent him from my Lord's table; also he might have a show of countenance when the rest of Mansoul lay under the clouds; so after some time for converse was spent the Captain betook himself to his chambers to rest. But it was not long after but my Lord did send for the captain again. So the captain came to him, and they greeted one another with usual salutations. Then said the captain to the Lord Secretary, What hath my Lord to say to his servant? So the Lord Secretary took him, and had him a-to-side,[1] and after a sign or two of more favour, he said, I have made thee the Lord's lieutenant over all the forces in Mansoul, so that from this day forward, all men in Mansoul shall be at thy word, and thou shalt be he that shall lead in, and that shalt lead out Mansoul. Thou shalt therefore manage, according to thy place, the war for thy Prince, and for the town of Mansoul, against the force and power of Diabolus, and at thy command shall the rest of the captains be.

Captain Credence retires to the Lord Secretary's lodgings.

Captain Credence made the Lord's lieutenant over all the forces in Mansoul.

Now the townsmen began to perceive what interest the captain had, both with the court, and also with the Lord Secretary in Mansoul; for no man before could speed when sent, nor bring such good news from Emmanuel as he. Wherefore what do they, after some lamentation that they made no more use of him in their distresses, but send by their subordinate Preacher to the Lord Secretary, to desire him that all that ever they were and had, might be put under the government, care, custody, and conduct of Captain Credence.[2]

So their preacher went and did his errand, and received this answer from the mouth of his Lord, that Captain Credence should be the great doer in all the King's army, against the King's enemies, and also for the welfare of Mansoul. So he bowed to the ground, and thanked his Lordship, and returned and told his news to the townsfolk. But all this was done with all imaginable secrecy, because the foes had yet great strength in the town. But, to return to our story again:

The town of Mansoul craves that she may be under the conduct of Captain Credence.

[Chapter XVI.]

[Contents:—A new plot is laid to ruin the town by riches and prosperity—Emmanuel, according to his promise, appears in the field, to assist the forces of Mansoul, whereby the whole army of Doubters is completely routed—Emmanuel enters the town amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants.]

When Diabolus saw himself thus boldly confronted by the Lord Mayor, and perceived the stoutness of Mr. Godly-fear, he fell into a rage, and forthwith called a council of war, that he might be revenged on Mansoul. So all the princes of the pit came together, and old Incredulity in the head of them, with all the captains of his army. So they consult what to do. Now the effect and conclusion of the council that day, was how they might take the castle; because they could not conclude themselves masters of the town, so long as that was in the possession of their enemies. So one advised this way, and another advised that; but when they could not agree in their verdict, Apollyon, that president of the council, stood up, and thus he began: My brotherhood, quoth he, I have two things to propound unto you; and my first is this; let us withdraw ourselves from the town into the plain again, for our presence here will do us no good, because the castle is yet in our enemy's hands; nor is it possible that we should take that so long as so many brave captains are in it, and that this bold fellow Godly-fear is made the keeper of the gates of it.

Diabolus rages.

Now when we have withdrawn ourselves into the plain, they, of their own accord, will be glad of some little ease; and it may be, of their own accord, they again may begin to be remiss;[3] and even their so being, will give them a bigger blow than we can possibly give them ourselves. But if that should fail, our going forth of the town may draw the captains out after us, and you know what it cost them, when we fought them in the field before. Besides, can we but draw them out into the field, we may lay an ambush behind the town, which shall, when they are come forth abroad, rush in, and take possession of the castle. But Beelzebub stood up, and replied, saying, It is impossible to draw them all off from the castle; some you may be sure will lie there to keep that; wherefore it will be but in vain thus to attempt, unless we were sure that they will all come out. He therefore concluded that what was done, must be done by some other means. And the most

Look to it, Mansoul.

[1] 'A-to-side,' obsolete, aside, in private, or out of hearing.—(Ed.)

[2] The design of this is to show that the soul is to live by faith, and not by sense. The Spirit of God puts honour upon faith, and makes him chief-captain of the town. This is a prelude to victory over the Doubters.—(Burder.)

[3] A state of spiritual ease and prosperity has its dangers; we must, by the Word and Spirit, in the strength of Jesus, fight every inch of our way to heaven and glory.—(Mason.)

likely means that the greatest of their heads could invent, was that which Apollyon had advised to before, to wit, to get the townsmen again to sin. For, said he, it is not our being in the town, nor in the field, nor our fighting, nor our killing of their men, that can make us the masters of Mansoul; for so long as one in the town is able to lift up his finger against us, Emmanuel will take their parts; and if he shall take their parts, we know what time a-day, it will be with us.[1] Wherefore, for my part, quoth he, there is, in my judgment, no way to bring them into bondage to us, like inventing a way to make them sin. 2 Pe. ii. 18–21. Had we, said he, left all our Doubters at home, we had done as well as we have done now, unless we could have made them the masters and governors of the castle; for Doubters at a distance, are but like objections refelled with arguments. Indeed can we but get them into the hold, and make them possessors of that, the day will be our own. Let us therefore withdraw ourselves into the plain (not expecting that the captains in Mansoul should follow us), but yet, I say, let us do this, and before we so do, let us advise again with our trusty Diabolonians that are yet in their holds of Mansoul, and set them to work to betray the town to us; for they indeed must do it, or it will be left undone for ever. By these sayings of Beelzebub—for I think it was he that gave this counsel—the whole conclave was forced to be of his opinion, to wit, that the way to get the castle was to get the town to sin. Then they fell to inventing by what means to do this thing.[2]

Look to it, Man-soul.

Look to it, Man-soul.

Look to it, Mansoul.

Then Lucifer stood up and said, The counsel of Beelzebub is pertinent; now the way to bring this to pass, in mine opinion, is this: Let us withdraw our force from the town of Mansoul, let us do this and let us terrify them no more, either with summons or threats, or with the noise of our drum, or any other awakening means. Only let us lie in the field at a distance, and be as if we regarded them not; for frights I see do but awaken them, and make them stand more to their arms. I have also another stratagem in my head: You know Mansoul is a market town; and a town that delights in commerce; what therefore if some of our Diabolonians shall feign themselves far countrymen, and shall go out and bring to the market of Mansoul some of our wares to sell; and what matter at what rates they sell their wares, though it be but for half the worth. Now, let those that thus shall trade in their market, be those that are witty and true to us, and I will lay my crown to pawn it will do. There are two that are come to my thoughts already, that I think will be arch at this work, and they are Mr. Penny-wise-pound-foolish, and Mr. Get-i'th'-hundred-and-lose-i'th'-shire;[3] nor is this man with the long name at all inferior to the other. What also if you join with them Mr. Sweet-world, and Mr. Present-good; they are men that are civil and cunning, but our true friends and helpers. Let these with as many more engage in this business for us, and let Mansoul be taken up in much business, and let them grow full and rich, and this is the way to get ground of them; remember ye not that thus we prevailed upon Laodicea, and how many at present do we hold in this snare? Re. iii. 17. Now when they begin to grow full, they will forget their misery, and if we shall not affright them they may happen to fall asleep, and so be got to neglect their town-watch, their castle-watch, as well as their watch at the gates.

Look to it.

Heart.

Yea, may we not by this means so cumber Mansoul with abundance, that they shall be forced to make of their castle a warehouse instead of a garrison fortified against us, and a receptacle for men of war.[4] Thus if we get our goods, and commodities thither, I reckon that the castle is more than half ours. Besides, could we so order it, that it should be filled with such kind of wares, then if we made a sudden assault upon them, it would be hard for the captains to take shelter there. Do you know that of the parable, The deceitfulness of riches choke the word. Lu. viii. 14. And again, When the heart is overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares of this life, all mischief comes upon them at unawares. Lu. xxi. 34–36.

Furthermore, my lords, quoth he, you very well know that it is not easy for a people to be filled with our things, and not to have some of our Diabolonians as retainers to their houses and services. Where is a Mansoulian that is full of this world, that has not for his servants, and waiting-men, Mr. Profuse, or Mr. Prodigality, or some other of our Diabolonian gang, as Mr. Voluptuous, Mr. Pragmatical, Mr. Ostentation, or the like? Now these can take the castle of Mansoul, or blow it up, or make it unfit for a garrison for Emmanuel; and any of these will do. Yea, these, for aught I know, may do it for us sooner than an army of twenty thousand men.

Look to it, Mansoul.

[1] 'Satan trembles when he sees
The meanest saint upon his knees.'

[2] The great object of Satan is to allure Mansoul to sin. He can never win the heart, or castle, unless sin opens the gates.—(Ed.)

[3] 'Penny-wise and pound-foolish' is a well-known proverb, showing the folly of those who lose a pound to gain a penny. 'Get i' th' hundred and lose i' th' shire' is an obsolete proverb, meaning that as a shire or county contains many divisions called hundreds, it would be foolish to lose a county for the sake of gaining a small part of a county called a hundred.—(Ed.)

[4] Great is the danger when the heart, here called the castle, which should be the temple of the Lord, is turned into a warehouse.—Burder.

Wherefore, to end as I began, my advice is, that we quietly withdraw ourselves, not offering any further force, or forcible attempts upon the castle, at least at this time, and let us set on foot our new project, and lets see if that will not make them destroy themselves.[1]

This advice was highly applauded by them all, and was accounted the very master-piece of hell; to wit, to choke Mansoul with a fulness of this world, and to surfeit her heart with the good things thereof. But see how things meet together; just as this Diabolonian council was broken up, Captain Credence received a letter from Emmanuel, the contents of which was this, That upon the third day he would meet him in the field in the plains about Mansoul. Meet me in the field! quoth the captain, what meaneth my Lord by this? I know not what he meaneth by meeting of me in the field. So he took the note in his hand, and did carry it to my Lord Secretary, to ask his thoughts thereupon; for my Lord was a seer in all matters concerning the King, and also for the good and comfort of the town of Mansoul. So he showed my Lord the note, and desired his opinion thereof: for my part, quoth Captain Credence, I know not the meaning thereof. So my Lord did take and read it, and after a little pause he said, The Diabolonians have had against Mansoul a great consultation to-day; they have, I say, this day been contriving the utter ruin of the town; and the result of their council is, to set Mansoul into such a way, which, if taken, will surely make her destroy herself. And to this end they are making ready for their own departure out of the town, intending to betake themselves to the field again, and there to lie till they shall see whether this their project will take or no. But be thou ready, with the men of thy Lord, for on the third day they will be in the plain; there to fall upon the Diabolonians; for the Prince will by that time be in the field; yea, by that it is break of day, sunrising, or before, and that with a mighty force against them. So he shall be before them, and thou shalt be behind them, and betwixt you both their army shall be destroyed.

Captain Credence receives that from his Prince which he understandeth not.

The riddle expounded to Captain Credence.

When Captain Credence heard this, away goes he to the rest of the captains, and tells them what a note he had a while since received from the hand of Emmanuel. And, said he, that which was dark therein, has my Lord, the Lord Secretary, expounded unto me. He told them moreover, what by himself, and by them, must be done to answer the mind of their Lord. Then were the captains glad, and Captain Credence commanded that all the King's trumpeters should ascend to the battlements of the castle, and there in the audience of Diabolus, and of the whole town of Mansoul, make the best music that heart could invent. The trumpeters then did as they were commanded. They got themselves up to the top of the castle, and thus they began to sound; then did Diabolus start, and said, What can be the meaning of this, they neither sound boot and saddle, nor horse and away, nor a charge? What do these mad men mean, that yet they should be so merry and glad? Then answered him one of themselves and said, This is for joy that their Prince Emmanuel is coming to relieve the town of Mansoul; that to this end he is at the head of an army, and that this relief is near.

The captains are gladded to hear.

Curious music made by the trumpeters.

The men of Mansoul also were greatly concerned at this melodious charm of the trumpets. They said, yea, they answered one another, saying, This can be no harm to us; surely this can be no harm to us. Then said the Diabolonians, What had we best to do? And it was answered, It was best to quit the town; and that, said one, Ye may do in pursuance of your last council, and by so doing, also be better able to give the enemy battle, should an army from without come upon us. So on the second day they withdrew themselves from Mansoul, and abode in the plains without; but they encamped themselves before Eyegate, in what terrene and terrible[2] manner they could. The reason why they would not abide in the town, besides the reasons that were debated in their late conclave, was, for that they were not possessed of the stronghold, and because, said they, we shall have more convenience to fight, and also to fly, if need be, when we are encamped in the open plains. Besides, the town would have been a pit for them rather than a place of defence, had the Prince come up, and enclosed them fast therein. Therefore they betook themselves to the field, that they might also be out of the reach of the slings,[3] by which they were much annoyed all the while that they were in the town.

Diabolus withdraws from the town, and why.

Well, the time that the captains were to fall upon the Diabolonians being come, they eagerly prepared themselves for action; for Captain Credence had told the captains over night that they should meet their Prince in the field to-morrow. This therefore made them yet far more desirous to be engaging the enemy, for, You shall see the Prince in the

The time come for the captains to fight them.

[1] Well may Bunyan say, 'Look to it, Mansoul!' How rarely do men grow rich and prosperous without entertaining these Diabolonians—profusion, prodigality, pride, &c.! These are more destructive to the soul than an army of external foes. —(Burder.)

[2] 'Terrene and terrible,' dreadful to mortals.—(Ed.)

[3] Portions from the Bible, probably meaning the epistles of the New Testament.—(Ed.)

field to-morrow, was like oil to a flaming fire; for of a long time they had been at a distance, they therefore were for this the more earnest and desirous of the work. So, as I said, the hour being come, Captain Credence, with the rest of the men of war, drew out their forces before it were day by the sally-port of the town. And being all ready, Captain Credence went up to the head of the army, and gave to the rest of the captains the word, and so they to their under-officers and soldiers. The word was, The sword of the Prince Emmanuel, and the shield of Captain Credence, which is, in the Mansoulian tongue, The word of God and faith. Then the captains fell on, and began roundly to front, and flank, and rear Diabolus's camp.[1]

They draw out into the field.

The word.

Now they left Captain Experience in the town, because he was yet ill of his wounds which the Diabolonians had given him in the last fight. But when he perceived that the captains were at it, what does he, but, calling for his crutches with haste, gets up, and away he goes to the battle, saying, Shall I lie here when my brethren are in the fight? and when Emmanuel the Prince will show himself in the field to his servants? But when the enemy saw the man come with his crutches, they were daunted yet the more; for, thought they, what spirit has possessed these Mansoulians that they fight us upon their crutches! Well, the captains, as I said, fell on, and did bravely handle their weapons, still crying out and shouting, as they laid on blows, The sword of the Prince Emmanuel, and the shield of Captain Credence.[2]

Captain Experience will fight for his Prince upon his crutches.

Now when Diabolus saw that the captains were come out and that so valiantly they surrounded his men, he concluded, that for the present, nothing from them was to be looked for but blows, and the dints[3] of their two-edged sword.

Wherefore he also falls on upon the Prince's army with all his deadly force. So the battle was joined. Now who was it that at first Diabolus met with in the fight, but Captain Credence on the one hand, and the Lord Will-be-will on the other; now Will-be-will's blows were like the blows of a giant, for that man had a strong arm, and he fell in upon the Election-doubters—for they were the life-guard of Diabolus—and he kept them in play a good while, cutting and battering shrewdly. Now when Captain Credence saw my Lord engaged, he did stoutly fall on, on the other hand, upon the same company, also; so they put them to great disorder.[4] Now Captain Goodhope had engaged the Vocation-doubters, and they were sturdy men, but the captain was a valiant man. Captain Experience did also send him some aid, so he made the Vocation-doubters to retreat. The rest of the armies were hotly engaged, and that on every side, and the Diabolonians did fight stoutly. Then did my Lord Secretary command that the slings from the castle should be played, and his men could throw stones at an hair's breadth. But after a while, those that were made to fly before the captains of the Prince did begin to rally again, and they came up stoutly upon the rear of the Prince's army, wherefore the Prince's army began to faint, but remembering that they should see the face of their Prince by and by, they took courage, and a very fierce battle was fought. Then shouted the captains, saying, The sword of the Prince Emmanuel and the shield of Captain Credence, and with that Diabolus gave back, thinking that more aid had been come. But no Emmanuel as yet appeared; moreover, the battle did hang in doubt, and they made a little retreat on both sides. Now, in the time of respite, Captain Credence bravely encouraged his men to stand to it, and Diabolus did the like as well as he could. But Captain Credence made a brave speech to his soldiers, the contents whereof here follow—

The battle joined.

Will-be-will engaged.

Credence engaged.

Goodhope engaged.

The Lord Secretary engaged.

The battle renewed.

A fierce fight.

They both retreat, and, in the time of respite, Captain Credence makes a speech to his soldiers.

Gentlemen soldiers, and my brethren in this design, it rejoiceth me much to see in the field for our Prince this day, so stout and so valiant an army, and such faithful lovers of Mansoul. You have hitherto, as hath become you, shown yourselves men of truth and courage against the Diabolonian forces, so that, for all their boast, they have not yet much cause to boast of their gettings. Now take to yourselves your wonted courage, and show yourselves men even this once only, for in a few minutes after the next engagement this time, you shall see your Prince show himself in the field, for we must make this second assault upon this tyrant Diabolus, and then Emmanuel comes.

No sooner had the captain made this speech to his soldiers, but one Mr. Speedy came post to the captain from the Prince, to tell him that Emmanuel was at hand. This news, when the captain had received, he communicated to the other field-officers, and they again to their soldiers and

[1] How heartily, or, as Bunyan says, 'roundly,' can we fight our implacable foes, when thus armed with 'the Word of God, the sword of Emmanuel, and faith'—the shield of Credence! These are invincible weapons when the Holy Spirit enables us to use them.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Kept by the power of God through FAITH unto salvation.' 1 Pe. i. 5.—(Ed.)

[3] 'Dints,' blows or strokes.—(Ed.)

[4] Election-doubters are the devil's life-guard. When the will, strengthened by faith, attacks them, they are put into disorder, but not destroyed. These doubts are first attacked, for until they are routed the soul has no peace.—(Ed.)

men of war. Wherefore, like men raised from the dead, so the captains and their men arose, made up to the enemy, and cried as before, The sword of the Prince Emmanuel, and the shield of Captain Credence.

The Diabolonians also bestirred themselves and made resistance as well as they could, but in this last engagement the Diabolonians lost their courage, and many of the Doubters fell down dead to the ground. Now when they had been in heat of battle about an hour or more, Captain Credence lift up his eyes and saw, and behold Emmanuel came, and he came with colours flying, trumpets sounding, and the feet of his men scarce touched the ground, they hasted with that celerity towards the captains that were engaged. Then did Credence wind with his men to the townward, and gave to Diabolus the field. So Emmanuel came upon him on the one side, and the enemies place was betwixt them both, then again they fell to it afresh, and now it was but a little while more but Emmanuel and Captain Credence met, still trampling down the slain as they came.

When the enemy is betwixt Christ and faith, then down they go to be sure.

But when the captains saw that the Prince was come, and that he fell upon the Diabolonians on the other side, and that Captain Credence and his Highness had got them up betwixt them, they shouted, they so shouted that the ground rent again, saying, The sword of Emmanuel and the shield of Captain Credence. Now when Diabolus saw that he and his forces were so hard beset by the Prince and his princely army, what does he, and the lords of the pit that were with him, but make their escape and foresake their army, and leave them to fall by the hand of Emmanuel, and of his noble Captain Credence; so they fell all down slain before them, before the Prince, and before his royal army; there was not left so much as one doubter alive, they lay spread upon the ground dead men, as one would spread dung upon the land.[1]

The victory falls to Emmanuel, and to his men, who slay all.

When the battle was over all things came into order in the camp; then the captains and elders of Mansoul came together to salute Emmanuel, while without the corporation; so they saluted him and welcomed him, and that with a thousand welcomes, Song viii. 1, for that he was come to the borders of Mansoul again; so he smiled upon them and said, Peace be to you, [Jn, xx. 19.] Then they addressed themselves to go to the town, they went then to go up to Mansoul, they, the Prince, with all the new forces that now he had brought with him to the war. Also all the gates of the town were set open for his reception, so glad were they of his blessed return. And this was the manner and order of this going of his into Mansoul.

Mansoul salutes the Prince without, he addresses himself to go into the town.

First, as I said, all the gates of the town were set open, yea the gates of the castle also; the elders too of the town of Mansoul placed themselves at the gates of the town to salute him at his entrance thither; and so they did, for as he drew near and approached towards the gates, they said, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.' And they answered again, 'Who is the King of glory?' and they made return to themselves, 'The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. Lift up your heads, O ye gates; even lift *them* up ye everlasting doors.' Ps. xxiv. 7–9.

The manner of his going in.

Secondly, It was ordered also by those of Mansoul, that all the way from the town-gates to those of the castle, his blessed Majesty should be entertained with the song, by them that had could best skill in music in all the town of Mansoul; then did the elders and the rest of the men of Mansoul answer one another as Emmanuel entered the town, till he came at the castle-gates, with songs and sound of trumpets, saying, 'They have seen thy goings, O God, *even* the goings of my God, my King, in the sanctuary.' So 'the singers went before, the players on instruments *followed* after; among *them were* the damsels playing with timbrels.' Ps. lxviii. 25.

Thirdly, Then the captains—for I would speak a word of them—they in their order waited on the Prince as he entered into the gates of Mansoul. Captain Credence went before, and Captain Goodhope with him; Captain Charity came behind with other of his companions, and Captain Patience followed after all, and the rest of the captains—some on the right hand, some on the left—accompanied Emmanuel into Mansoul. And all the while the colours were displayed, the trumpets sounded, and continual shoutings were among the soldiers. The Prince himself rode into the town in his armour, which was all of beaten gold, and in his chariot, the pillars of it were of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it was of purple, the midst thereof being paved with love for the daughters of the town of Mansoul.

Fourthly, When the Prince was come to the entrance of Mansoul, he found all the streets strewed with lilies and flowers, curiously decked with boughs and branches from the green trees that stood round about the town. Every door also was filled with persons

Good and joyful thoughts.

[1] The presence of the Lord decides the contest. Doubts and fears cannot stand before the gracious manifestation of himself to the soul.

'But if Emmanuel's face appear,
My hope, my joy begins;
His name forbids my slavish fear,
His grace removes my sins.'—(Burder.)

who had adorned every one their fore-part against their house, with something of variety and singular excellency to entertain him withall as he passed in the streets; they also themselves, as Emmanuel passed by, did welcome him with shouts and acclamations of joy, saying, Blessed be the Prince that cometh in the name of his Father Shaddai.[1]

Fifthly, At the castle-gates the elders of Mansoul, to wit, the Lord Mayor, the Lord Will-be-will, the subordinate Preacher, Mr. Knowledge, Mr. Mind, with other of the gentry of the place, saluted Emmanuel again. They bowed before him, they kissed the dust of his feet, they thanked, they blessed, and praised his Highness for not taking advantage against them for their sins, but rather had pity upon them in their misery, and returned to them with mercies, and to build up their Mansoul for ever. Thus was he had up straightway to the castle; for that was the royal palace, and the place where his honour was to dwell; the which was ready prepared for his Highness by the presence of the Lord Secretary and the work of Captain Credence.[2] So he entered in.

Sixthly, Then the people and commonalty of the town of Mansoul came to him into the castle to mourn, and to weep, and to lament for their wickedness by which they had forced him out of the town. So they, when they were come, bowed themselves to the ground seven times, they also wept, they wept aloud, and asked forgiveness of the Prince, and prayed that he would again, as of old, confirm his love to Mansoul.

To the which the great Prince replied, Weep not, but 'go your way, eat the fat and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nought is prepared - for the joy of the Lord is your strength.' Ne. viii. 10. I am returned to Mansoul with mercies, and my name shall be set up, exalted, and magnified by it. He also took these inhabitants and kissed them, and laid them in his bosom.

Moreover, he gave to the elders of Mansoul, and to each town-officer, a chain of gold and a signet. He also sent to their wives, ear-rings, and jewels, and bracelets, and other things. He also bestowed upon the true-born children of Mansoul many precious things.

The holy conceptions of Mansoul.

Young and tender holy thoughts.[3]

When Emmanuel the Prince had done all these things for the famous town of Mansoul, then he said unto them, first, Wash your garments, then put on your ornaments, and then come to me into the castle of Mansoul. Ex. ix. 8. So they went to the fountain that was set open for Judah and Jerusalem to wash in, Zec. xiii. 1, and there they washed, and there they made their garments white, and came again to the Prince into the castle, and thus they stood before him. Re. vii. 14, 15.

And now there was music and dancing throughout the whole town of Mansoul, and that because their Prince had again granted to them his presence and the light of his countenance, the bells also did ring, and the sun shone comfortably upon them for a great while together.[4]

The town of Mansoul did also now more throughly seek the destruction and ruin of all remaining Diabolonians that abode in the walls and the dens that they had in the town of Mansoul, for there was of them that had to this day escaped with life and limb from the hand of their suppressors in the famous town of Mansoul.[5]

But my Lord Will-be-will was a greater terror to them now than ever he had been before; forasmuch as his heart was yet more fully bent to seek, contrive, and pursue them to the death; he pursued them night and day, and did put them now to sore distress, as will afterwards appear.

Will-be-will a greater terror to the Diabolonians now, than he had been in former times.

After things were thus far put into order in the famous town of Mansoul, care was taken and order given by the blessed Prince Emmanuel, that the townsmen should, without further delay, appoint some to go forth into the plain to bury the dead that were there—the dead that fell by the sword of Emmanuel and by the shield of the Captain Credence—lest the fumes and ill savours that would arise from them might infect the air, and so annoy the famous town of Mansoul. This also was a reason of this order, to wit, that as much as in Mansoul lay, they might cut off the name, and being, and remembrance of those enemies from the thought of the famous town of Mansoul and its inhabitants.

Orders given out to bury the dead.

So order was given out by the Lord Mayor—that wise and trusty friend of the town of Mansoul—that persons should be employed about this

[1] How gladly is Jesus received! None but those who have experienced it can tell how delightful and welcome is his presence to the soul that has long been vexed with an army of doubts. O let us beware of sin and unbelief, which caused him to withdraw and the doubts to enter. Well may the soul be humbled in the dust in the recollection of its backsliding. —(Burder.) Strewing the streets with flowers, and decorating the fronts of the houses, was customary, in Bunyan's time, in all royal processions.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Giving them the Holy Ghost; - purifying their hearts by faith.' Ac. xv. 8, 9.—(Ed.)

[3] The side notes are Bunyan's key to the text, which, he says,

'Lieth there in the window.'

See last lines of his address 'To the Reader.'—(Ed.)

[4] Though comforts are cheering, let not the believer rest in them, neither be high-minded, but fear; looking to Jesus for strength and grace to persevere.—(Mason.)

[5] 'The joy of the Lord is our strength.' When this is possessed, there will be a double diligence in searching out and destroying our sins.—(Burder.)

necessary business; and Mr. Godly-fear and one Mr. Upright were to be overseers about this matter; so persons were put under them to work in the fields and to bury the slain that lay dead in the plains. And these were their places of employment—some were to make the graves, some to bury the dead, and some were to go to and fro in the plains, and also round about the borders of Mansoul, to see if a skull, or a bone, or a piece of a bone of a Doubter was yet to be seen above ground anywhere near the corporation; and if any were found, it was ordered that the searchers that searched should set up a mark thereby, and a sign, that those that were appointed to bury them might find it, and bury it out of sight, that the name and remembrance of a Diabolonian Doubter might be blotted out from under heaven. And that the children, and they that were to be born in Mansoul, might not know, if possible, what a skull, what a bone, or a piece of a bone of a Doubter was.

Not a skull, or a bone, or a piece of a bone of a Doubter to be left unburied.

So the buriers, and those that were appointed for that purpose, did as they were commanded, they buried the Doubters, and all the skulls and bones, and pieces of bones of Doubters wherever they found them, and so they cleansed the plains. Now also Mr. God's-peace took up his commission and acted again as in former days.

Thus they buried, in the plains about Mansoul, the Election-doubters, the Vocation-doubters, the Grace-doubters, the Perseverance-doubters, the Resurrection-doubters, the Salvation-doubters, and the Glory-doubters, whose captains were Captain Rage, Captain Cruel, Captain Damnation, Captain Insatiable, Captain Brimstone, Captain Torment, Captain Noease, Captain Sepulchre, and Captain Pasthope, and old Incredulity was under Diabolus their general; there were also the seven heads of their army, and they were the Lord Beelzebub, the Lord Lucifer, the Lord Legion, the Lord Apollyon, the Lord Python, the Lord Cerberus, and the Lord Belial. But the princes and the captains, with old Incredulity their general, did all of them make their escape, so their men fell down slain by the power of the Prince's forces, and by the hands of the men of the town of Mansoul. They also were buried as before related, to the exceeding great joy of the now famous town of Mansoul. They that buried them, buried also with them their arms, which were cruel instruments of death, their weapons were arrows, darts, mauls, firebrands, and the like; they buried also their armour, their colours, banners, with the standard of Diabolus, and what else soever they could find that did but smell of a Diabolonian Doubter.[1]

Their arms and armour buried with them.

[Chapter XVII.]

[Contents:—A new army of Bloodmen, or persecutors, attack the town, but are surrounded by the Mansoulians, headed by Faith and Patience—The examination of some of the leaders—Evil-questioning entertains some of the Doubters, but is discovered by Diligence—The principal Doubters tried, convicted, and executed.]

Now when the tyrant was arrived at Hell-gate-hill, with his old friend Incredulity, they immediately descended the den, and having there, with their fellows, for a while condoled their misfortune and great loss that they sustained against the town of Mansoul, they fell at length into a passion, and revenged they would be for the loss that they sustained before the town of Mansoul, wherefore they presently call a council to contrive yet further what was to be done against the famous town of Mansoul; for their yawning paunches could not wait to see the result of their Lord Lucifer's and their Lord Apollyon's counsel that they had given before, for their raging gorge thought every day even as long as a short-for-ever, until they were filled with the body and soul, with the flesh and bones, and with all the delicates of Mansoul. They therefore resolve to make another attempt upon the town of Mansoul, and that by an army mixed, and made up, partly of Doubters and partly of Bloodmen.[2] A more particular account now take of both.

The tyrant resolves to have yet a bout with Mansoul.

The Doubters are such as have their name from their nature, as well as from the lord and kingdom where they are born; their nature is to put a question upon every one of the truths of Emmanuel, and their country is called, The Land of Doubting, and that land lieth off, and furthest remote to the north, between the Land of Darkness and that called the

An army of Doubters and Bloodmen.

[1] Thus was the victory completed, and by this we are taught that doubts of the love of Christ, contrary to the declarations of his Word, should be utterly suppressed, as being infinitely dishonourable to our faithful covenant God, and unspeakably pernicious to our own souls.—(Burder.) Still we are not to forget the danger of their rising from the tomb again to distress us, unless we are found constantly watchful and prayerful. When Greatheart and the Pilgrims had killed Despair, and destroyed Doubting Castle, and are rejoicing over the ruins, Bunyan thus warns them—

'Though Doubting Castle be demolished,
And the Giant Despair hath lost his head,
Sin can rebuild the castle, make it remain,
And make Despair, the giant, live again.'—(Ed.)

[2] Poor Mansoul, having by grace overcome his doubts and fears, having died to sin and risen again to newness of life, is now fit to comfort his brethren in church fellowship. As the Pilgrim was frighted by the lions before the house Beautiful, to prevent his entering into communion with a church, so here they suffer persecution from these lions, here called 'Bloodmen,' and an appropriate title it is for all persecutors. All those who enforce human laws to compel our presence at, or support to, any form of worship, are bloodmen. Bless God that they can only scratch us now; but if they had the power, the same spirit that now scratches would devour the saints of God.—(Ed.)

Valley of the Shadow of Death. For though the Land of Darkness, and that called the Land of the Shadow of Death, be sometimes called as if they were one and the self-same place; yet indeed they are two, lying but a little way asunder, and the Land of Doubting points in, and lieth between them. This is the Land of Doubting, and these that came with Diabolus to ruin the town of Mansoul are the natives of that country.

Of the country of the Doubters, and of the Bloodmen, where they lie.

The Bloodmen are a people that have their name derived from the malignity of their nature, and from the fury that is in them to execute it upon the town of Mansoul; their land lieth under the Dog-star, and by that they are governed as to their intellectuals.

The name of their country is the Province of Loath-good, the remote parts of it are far distant from the Land of Doubting, yet they do both but and bound upon the hill called Hell-gate-hill. These people are always in league with the Doubters, for they jointly do make question of the faith and fidelity of the men of the town of Mansoul, and so are both alike qualified for the service of their prince.

Now of these two countries did Diabolus, by the beating of his drum, raise another army against the town of Mansoul, of five and twenty thousand strong. There were ten thousand Doubters and fifteen thousand Bloodmen, and they were put under several captains for the war, and old Incredulity was again made general of the army.

The number of his new army.

As for the Doubters, their captains were five of the seven that were heads of the last Diabolonian army, and these are their names, Captain Beelzebub, Captain Lucifer, Captain Apollyon, Captain Legion, and Captain Cerberus, and the captains that they had before were some of them made lieutenants, and some ensigns in the army.

But Diabolus did not count that in this expedition of his, these Doubters would prove his principal men, for their manhood had been tried before, also the Mansoulians had put them to the worst, only he did bring them to multiply a number, and to help, if need was, at a pinch; but his trust he put in his Bloodmen, for that they were all rugged villains, and he knew that they had done feats heretofore.[1]

His chief strength lies in the Bloodmen.

As for the Bloodmen, they also were under command, and the names of their captains were, Captain Cain, Captain Nimrod, Captain Ishmael, Captain Esau, Captain Saul, Captain Absalom, Captain Judas, and Captain Pope.

The captains of the Bloodmen.

1. Captain Cain was over two bands, to wit, the zealous and the angry Bloodmen; his standard-bearer bear the red colours, and his escutcheon was the murdering club. Ge. iv. 8.

2. Captain Nimrod was captain over two bands, to wit, the tyrannical and encroaching Bloodmen; his standard-bearer bare the red colours, and his escutcheon was the great blood-hound. Ge. x. 8.

3. Captain Ishmael was captain over two bands, to wit, over the mocking and scornful Bloodmen; his standard-bearer bare the red colours, and his escutcheon was one mocking at Abraham's Isaac. Ge. xxi. 9, 10.

4. Captain Esau was captain over two bands, to wit, the Bloodmen that grudged that another should have the blessing, also over the Bloodmen that are for executing their private revenge upon others; his standard-bearer bare the red colours, and his escutcheon was one privately lurking to murder Jacob. Ge. xxvii. 42–45.

5. Captain Saul was captain over two bands, to wit, the groundlessly jealous, and the devilishly furious Bloodmen; his standard-bearer bear the red colours, and his escutcheon was three bloody darts cast at harmless David. 1 Sa. xviii. 10; xix. 10; xx. 33.

6. Captain Absalom was captain over two bands, to wit, over the Bloodmen that will kill a father or a friend for the glory of this world, also over those Bloodmen that will hold one fair in hand with words, till they shall have pierced him with their swords; his standard-bearer did bare the red colours, and his escutcheon was the son a-pursuing his father's blood. 2 Sa. xv., xvi., xvii.

7. Captain Judas was over two bands, to wit, the Bloodmen that will sell a man's life for money, and those also that will betray their friend with a kiss; his standard-bearer bare the red colours, and his escutcheon was thirty pieces of silver and the halter. Mat. xxvi. 14–16.

8. Captain Pope was captain over one band, for all these spirits are joined in one under him; his standard-bearer bare the red colours, and his escutcheon was the stake, the flame, and the good man in it. Re. xiii. 7, 8. Da. xi. 33.

Now the reason why Diabolus did so soon rally another force after he had been beaten out of the field was, for that he put mighty confidence in his army of Bloodmen, for he put a great deal of more trust in them than he did before in his army of Doubters, though they had also often done great service for him in the strengthening of him in his kingdom. But these Bloodmen he had proved

The conditions of the Bloodmen, their stoutness and valour.

[1] The Bloodmen, or persecutors, are *all rugged* villains; they are strengthened by new doubts arising from persecution for Christ's sake. From *Fox's Martyrs* Bunyan had obtained a good estimate of their character. Persecutor, read your character—a rugged villain, a mastiff who would fasten upon relative, prince, and even the Prince of princes.—(Ed.)

them often, and their sword did seldom return empty. Besides, he knew that these, like mastiffs, would fasten upon any, upon father, mother, brother, sister, prince, or governor, yea, upon the Prince of princes. And that which encouraged him the more, was for that they once did force Emmanuel out of the kingdom of Universe, and why, thought he, may they not also drive him from the town of Mansoul?[1]

They sit down before Mansoul.

So this army of five and twenty thousand strong, was, by their general the Lord Incredulity, led up against the town of Mansoul. Now Mr. Prywell, the scout-master-general, did himself go out to spy, and he did bring Mansoul tidings of their coming; wherefore they shut up their gates and put themselves in a posture of defence against these new Diabolonians that came up against the town.

How they dispose of themselves.

So Diabolus brought up his army and beleaguered the town of Mansoul; the Doubters were placed about Feelgate, and the Bloodmen set down before Eyegate and Eargate.

They summon the town with a threatening.

Now when this army had thus encamped themselves, Incredulity did, in the name of Diabolus, his own name, and in the name of the Bloodmen and the rest that were with him, send a summons as hot as a red hot iron to Mansoul to yield to their demands, threatening that if they still stood it out against them, they would presently burn down Mansoul with fire. For you must know, that as for the Bloodmen, they were not so much that Mansoul should be surrendered, as that Mansoul should be destroyed and cut off out of the land of the living.[2] True, they send to them to surrender, but should they so do, that would not stanch or quench the thirsts of these men. Is. lix. 7. They must have blood, the blood of Mansoul, else they die; and it is from hence that they have their name. Ps. xxvi. 9, 10. Is. lix. 7. Je. xxii. 17. Wherefore these Bloodmen he reserved while now that they might, when all his engines proved ineffectual, as his last and sure card, be played against the town of Mansoul.

Now when the townsmen had received this red hot summons, it begat in them at present some changing and interchanging thoughts, but they jointly agreed, in less than half an hour, to carry the summons to the Prince, the which they did when they had writ at the bottom of it, Lord, save Mansoul from bloody men. Ps. lix. 2.

So he took it and looked upon it, and considered it, and took also notice of that short petition that the men of Mansoul had written at the bottom of it, and called to him the noble Captain Credence, and bid him go, and take Captain Patience with him, and go and take care of that side of Mansoul that was beleaguered by the Bloodmen. He. vi. 12, 15. So they went and did as they were commanded, the Captain Credence went and took Captain Patience, and they both secured that side of Mansoul that was besieged by the Bloodmen.

Then he commanded that Captain Goodhope and Captain Charity, and my Lord Will-be-will, should take charge of the other side of the town, and I, said the Prince, will set my standard upon the battlements of your castle, and do you three watch against the Doubters. This done, he again commanded that the brave captain, the Captain Experience, should draw up his men in the market-place, and that there he should exercise them day by day before the people of the town of Mansoul. Now this siege was long, and many a fierce attempt did the enemy, especially those called the Bloodmen, make upon the town of Mansoul, and many a shrewd brush did some of the townsmen meet with from them, especially Captain Self-denial, who, I should have told you before, was commanded to take care of Eargate and Eyegate now against the Bloodmen. This Captain Self-denial was a young man, but stout, and a townsman of Mansoul, as Captain Experience also was. And Emmanuel, at his second return to Mansoul, made him a captain over a thousand of the Mansoulians, for the good of the corporation. This captain, therefore, being a hardy man, and a man of great courage, and willing to venture himself for the good of the town of Mansoul, would now and then sally out upon the Bloodmen and give them many notable alarms, and entered several brisk skirmishes with them, and also did some execution upon them; but you must think that this could not easily be done, but he must meet with brushes himself, for he carried several of their marks in his face; yea, and some in some other parts of his body.[3]

Captain Self-denial, the last of those that were put in office in the town of Mansoul.

His valour.

His signs of manhood.

So, after some time spent for the trial of the faith, and hope, and love of the town of Mansoul, the Prince Emmanuel upon a day calls his captains and men of war together, and divides them into two companies; this done, he commands

Emmanuel prepares to give the enemy battle. How he ordereth his men.

[1] O the folly of this lying Diabolus! He tried his Bloodmen upon Christ. They, by putting him to death, crushed the head of Satan, shook his power, and will annihilate it, and fill hell with fresh torments. He pursues the same course with the saints of God, and their blood and groans become the fruitful seed of the church. So does Satan aid in destroying himself.—(Ed.)

[2] Satan's uniform aim is to destroy body and soul in hell for ever. But blessed be God, he shall not be able to take the feeblest lamb out of the embraces of covenant love.—(Mason.)

[3] Faith, Patience, and Self-denial are admirably placed in opposition to the Bloodmen, persecutors. How well they behaved in the time of our pilgrim fathers is well known; and

them at a time appointed, and that in the morning very early, to sally out upon the enemy, saying, Let half of you fall upon the Doubters, and half of you fall upon the Bloodmen. Those of you that go out against the Doubters, kill and slay, and cause to perish so many of them as by any means you can lay hands on, but for you that go out against the Bloodmen, slay them not, but take them alive.[1]

The captains go out.

So, at the time appointed, betimes in the morning the captains went out, as they were commanded, against the enemies; Captain Goodhope, Captain Charity, and those that were joined with them, as Captain Innocent and Captain Experience, went out against the Doubters; and Captain Credence and Captain Patience, with Captain Self-denial, and the rest that were to join with them, went out against the Bloodmen.

The Doubters put to flight.

Now those that went out against the Doubters drew up into a body before the plain, and marched on to bid them battle; but the Doubters, remembering their last success, made a retreat, not daring to stand the shock, but fled from the Prince's men, wherefore they pursued them, and in their pursuit slew many, but they could not catch them all. Now those that escaped went some of them home, and the rest, by fives, nines, and seventeens,[2] like wanderers, went straggling up and down the country, where they, upon the barbarous people, showed and exercised many of their Diabolonian actions; nor did these people rise up in arms against them, but suffered themselves to be enslaved by them.[3] They would also after this show themselves in companies before the town of Mansoul, but never to abide it, for if Captain Credence, Captain Goodhope, or Captain Experience did but show themselves, they fled.

The unbeliever never fights the Doubters.

Those that went out against the Bloodmen did as they were commanded, they forbore to slay any, but sought to compass them about. But the Bloodmen, when they saw that no Emmanuel was in the field, concluded also that no Emmanuel was in Mansoul, wherefore they, looking upon what the captains did, to be, as they called it, a fruit of the extravagancy of their wild and foolish fancies, rather despised them than feared them; but the captains, minding their business, at last did compass them round, they also that had routed the Doubters came in amain to their aid; so in fine, after some little struggling—for the Bloodmen also would have run for it, only now it was too late—for though they are mischievous and cruel where they can overcome, yet all Bloodmen are chicken-hearted men when they once come to see themselves matched and equalled—so the captains took them, and brought them to the Prince.

The Bloodmen are taken, and how

Now when they were taken, had before the Prince, and examined, he found them to be of three several counties, though they all came out of one land.

They are brought to the Prince, and found to be of three sorts.

1. One sort of them came out of Blindmanshire, and they were such as did ignorantly what they did. 1 Ti. i. 13–15. Mat. v. 44.

2. Another sort of them came out of Blindzealshire, and they did superstitiously what they did. Lu. vi. 22.

3. The third sort of them came out of the town of Malice in the county of Envy, and they did what they did out of spite and implacableness.[4] Jn. xvi. 2.

For the first of these, to wit, they that came out of Blindmanshire, when they saw where they were, and against whom they had fought, they trembled, and cried as they stood before him; and as many of these as asked him mercy, he touched their lips with his golden sceptre. Ac. ix. 5–6.

They that came out of Blindzealshire, they did not as their fellows did, for they pleaded that they had a right to do what they did, because Mansoul was a town whose laws and customs were diverse from all that dwelt thereabouts. Very few of these could be brought to see their evil; but those that did, and asked mercy, they also obtained favour. Jn. viii. 40.

They that came out of the town of Malice, that is in the county of Envy, they neither wept nor disputed, nor repented, but stood gnawing of their tongues before him for anguish and madness, because they could not have their will upon Mansoul. Re. ix. 20, 21. Now these last, with all those of the other two sorts that did not unfeignedly ask par-

in our happier times they are invaluable guards to support us in the loss of friends or property.—(Ed.)

[1] 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.' This is the imperative command of Emmanuel to his followers, set forth in his sermon on the mount. Your lusts must be crucified, your doubts destroyed, your persecutors pitied and prayed for.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Fives, nines, and seventeens.' Why these odd numbers are given would not be a bad riddle to give our young friends. Five infernal spirits were the leaders of the Satanic army. It consisted of nine companies of Doubters, and eight of Bloodmen, or persecutors. First, five fallen angels; second, nine classes of doubts; and if this was not enough to enslave the soul, they were to be aided by eight classes of persecutors. This may account for the grouping of these dangerous enemies in fives, nines, and seventeens.—(Ed.)

[3] Many are led captive by Satan at his will, bliuded to their misery and fate by the god of this world, in whose delusive arms many of them sleep till death and judgment awake them to behold their awful and remediless state. Lord, pity them!—(Mason.)

[4] These are the three grades of Bloodmen, but all are influenced by hatred to Christianity and a love of plunder. God hates robbery for offerings, yet some blind fanatics will seize their neighbour's goods to save their own pockets in adorning their temples. May God in mercy convert them, as he did Saul of Tarsus.—(Ed.)

don for their faults, those he made to enter into sufficient bond to answer for what they had done against Mansoul and against her King, at the great and general assizes to be holden for our Lord the King, where he himself should appoint for the country and kingdom of Universe.

The Bloodmen are bound over to answer for what they have done at the assizes, the day of judgment.

So they became bound, each man for himself, to come in when called upon, to answer before our Lord the King for what they had done as before.[1]

And thus much concerning this second army that were sent by Diabolus to overthrow Mansoul.

But there were three of those that came from the land of Doubting, who, after they had wandered and ranged the country awhile, and perceived that they had escaped, were so hardy as to thrust themselves, knowing that yet there were in the town Diabolonians—I say they were so hardy as to thrust themselves into Mansoul among them. Three, did I say? I think there were four. Now, to whose house should these Diabolonian Doubters go, but to the house of an old Diabolonian in Mansoul, whose name was Evil-questioning: a very great enemy he was to Mansoul, and a great doer among the Diabolonians there. Well, to this Evil-questioning's house, as was said, did these Diabolonians come—you may be sure that they had directions how to find the way thither; so he made them welcome, pitied their misfortune, and succoured them with the best that he had in his house. Now, after a little acquaintance, and it was not long before they had that, this old Evil-questioning asked the Doubters if they were all of a town—he knew that they were all of one kingdom. And they answered, no, nor not of one shire neither; for I, said one, am an Election-doubter; I, said another, am a Vocation-doubter; then, said the third, I am a Salvation-doubter; and the fourth said he was a Grace-doubter. Well, quoth the old gentleman, be of what shire you will, I am persuaded that you are down boys;[2] you have the very length of my foot,[3] are one with my heart, and shall be welcome to me. So they thanked him, and were glad that they had found themselves a harbour in Mansoul.[4] Then said Evil-questioning to them, How many of your company might there be that came with you to the siege of Mansoul? And they answered, There were but ten thousand Doubters in all, for the rest of the army consisted of fifteen thousand Bloodmen. These Bloodmen, quoth they, border upon our country; but, poor men, as we hear, they were every one taken by Emmanuel's forces. Ten thousand! quoth the old gentleman, I'll promise you that is a round company. But how came it to pass, since you were so mighty a number, that you fainted, and durst not fight your foes? Our general, said they, was the first man that did run for it. Pray, quoth their landlord, who was that your cowardly general? He was once the Lord Mayor of Mansoul, said they. But, pray, call him not a cowardly general; for whether any, from the east to the west, has done more service for our prince, Diabolus, than has my Lord Incredulity, will be a hard question for you to answer. But had they catched him, they would for certain have hanged him; and we promise you hanging is but a bad business.[5] Then, said the old gentleman, I would that all the ten thousand Doubters were now well armed in Mansoul, and myself in the head of them, I would see what I could do. Ay, said they, that would be well if we could see that; but wishes, alas! what are they? And these words were spoken aloud. Well, said old Evil-questioning, take heed that you talk not too loud; you must be quat[6] and close, and must take care of yourselves while you are here, or, I'll assure you, you will be snapt.

Three or four of the Doubters go into Mansoul, are entertained, and by whom.

What sort of Doubters they are.

Talk betwixt the Doubters and old Evil-questioning.

Why? quoth the Doubters.

Why? quoth the old gentleman; why, because both the Prince and Lord Secretary, and their captains and soldiers, are all at present in town; yea, the town is as full of them as ever it can hold. And, besides, there is one whose name is Will-be-will, a most cruel enemy of ours, and him the Prince has made keeper of the gates, and has commanded him that, with all the diligence he can, he should look for, search out, and destroy all and all manner of Diabolonians.

And if he lighteth upon you, down you go, though your heads were made of gold.[7]

And now to see how it happened. One of the Lord Will-be-will's faithful soldiers, whose name was Mr. Diligence, stood all this while listening under old Evil-questioning's eaves, and heard all the talk that had been betwixt

They are overheard.

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[1] Persecutors, who die in impenitence, must appear at the day of judgment, when these ungodly men shall be judged of all their ungodly deeds, and all their hard speeches against Christ in his members. Jude 15.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Down boys,' deep, knowing, determined fellows; as 'down bout,' a tough battle, a set to at hard drinking. In 1696, it was altered to 'town boys,' an unmeaning name. This was continued in 1707; but was restored to 'down boys' in 1720.—(Ed.)

[3] 'Length of my foot,' a proverb meaning similarity of disposition.—(Ed.)

[4] In our best estate we are too prone to question the truth of God's Word and his faithfulness; we believe him able, but harbour doubts as to his willingness to save us. Lord, increase our faith!—(Mason.)

[5] Hanging is a *bad business;* it does not deter men from crime, but the sight of it hardens them in iniquity.—(Ed.)

[6] Cowering, stooping, squat.—(Ed.)

[7] No bribe can save them.—(Ed.)

him and the Doubters that he entertained under his roof.

The soldier was a man that my Lord had much confidence in, and that he loved dearly; and that both because he was a man of courage, and also a man that was unwearied in seeking after Diabolonians to apprehend them.

They are discovered.

Now this man, as I told you, heard all the talk that was between old Evil-questioning and these Diabolonians; wherefore, what does he but go to his Lord, and tells him what he had heard. And sayest thou so, my trusty? quoth my Lord. Ay, quoth Diligence, that I do; and if your Lordship will be pleased to go with me, you shall find it as I have said. And are they there? quoth my Lord; I know Evil-questioning well, for he and I were great in the time of our apostacy. But I know not now where he dwells. But I do, said his man; and, if your Lordship will go, I will lead you the way to his den. Go! quoth my Lord, that I will. Come, my Diligence, let us go find them out. So, my Lord and his man went together the direct way to his house. Now, his man went before to show him his way, and they went till they came even under old Mr. Evil-questioning's wall. Then said Diligence, Hark! my Lord; do you know the old gentleman's tongue when you hear it? Yes, said my Lord, I know it well; but I have not seen him many a day. This I know; he is cunning. I wish he doth not give us the slip. Let me alone for that, said his servant, Diligence. But how shall we find the door? quoth my Lord. Let me alone for that, too, said his man. So he had my Lord Will-be-will about, and showed him the way to the door Then my Lord, without more ado, broke open the door, rushed into the house, and caught them all five together, even as Diligence, his man, had told him. So, my Lord apprehended them and led them away, and committed them to the hand of Mr. Trueman, the jailer, and commanded, and he did put them in ward.[1] This done, my Lord Mayor was acquainted in the morning with what my Lord Will-be-will had done over-night, and his Lordship rejoiced much at the news, not only because there were Doubters apprehended, but because that old Evil-questioning was taken; for he had been a very great trouble to Mansoul, and much affliction to my Lord Mayor himself. He had also been sought for often, but no hand could ever be laid upon him till now.

They are apprehended, and committed to prison.

The Lord Mayor is glad at it.

Well, the next thing was to make preparation to try these five that by my Lord had been apprehended, and that were in the hands of Mr. Trueman, the jailer. So the day was set, and the court called and come together, and the prisoners brought to the bar. My Lord Will-be-will had power to have slain them when at first he took them, and that without any more ado; but he thought it at this time more for the honour of the Prince, the comfort of Mansoul, and the discouragement of the enemy, to bring them forth to public judgment.

They are brought to trial.

But, I say, Mr. Trueman brought them in chains to the bar, to the town-hall, for that was the place of judgment. So, to be short, the jury was pannelled, the witnesses sworn, and the prisoners tried for their lives. The jury was the same that tried Mr. Notruth, Pityless, Haughty, and the rest of their companions.

And first old Questioning himself was set to the bar; for he was the receiver, the entertainer, and comforter of these Doubters, that by nation were outlandish men;[2] then he was bid to hearken to his charge, and was told that he had liberty to object, if he had ought to say for himself. So his indictment was read; the manner and form here follows—

His indictment.

Mr. Questioning, Thou art here indicted by the name of Evil-questioning, an intruder upon the town of Mansoul, for that thou art a Diabolonian by nature, and also a hater of the Prince Emmanuel, and one that hast studied the ruin of the town of Mansoul. Thou art also here indicted for countenancing the King's enemies, after wholesome laws made to the contrary: For, 1. Thou hast questioned the truth of her doctrine and state. 2. In wishing that ten thousand Doubters were in her. 3. In receiving, in entertaining, and encouraging of her enemies that came from their army unto thee. What sayest thou to this indictment, Art thou guilty, or not guilty?

His plea.

My Lord, quoth he, I know not the meaning of this indictment, forasmuch as I am not the man concerned in it; the man that standeth by this charge, accused before this bench, is called by the name of Evil-questioning, which name I deny to be mine, mine being Honest-inquiring.[3] The one indeed sounds like the other; but I trow, your Lordships know, that between these two there is a wide difference; for I hope that a man, even in the worst of times, and that too amongst the worst of men, may make an honest inquiry after things, without running the danger of death.

The Lord Will-be-will's testimony.

Will. Then spake my Lord Will-be-will, for he was one of the witnesses: 'My Lord, and you the honourable bench, and magistrates of the town of Mansoul,

[1] Thus believers, by the almighty power of grace, are enabled to take those captives whose captives they were. Is. xlv. 2, 3.—(Mason.)

[2] Enemies to faith, hope, and love. The soul, by reason of its depravity, is subject to many doubts and unbelieving fears, which Adam, before the fall, was a stranger to.—(Mason.)

[3] How common it is for vice to disguise itself under the

you all have heard with your ears, that the prisoner at the bar has denied his name, and so thinks to shift from the charge of the indictment. But I know him to be the man concerned, and that his proper name is Evil-questioning. I have known him, my Lord, above this thirty years; for he and I, a shame it is for me to speak it, were great acquaintance, when Diabolus, that tyrant, had the government of Mansoul; and I testify that he is a Diabolonian by nature, and enemy to our Prince, and a hater of the blessed town of Mansoul. He has, in times of rebellion, been at, and lain in my house, my Lord, not so little as twenty nights together; and we did use to talk then, for the substance of talk, as he, and his Doubters have talked of late; true I have not seen him many a-day. I suppose that the coming of Emmanuel to Mansoul has made him to change his lodgings, as this indictment has driven him to change his name; but this is the man, my Lord.'

The court. Then said the court unto him, Hast thou any more to say?

Evil. Yes, quoth the old gentleman, that I have; for all that as yet has been said against me, is but by the mouth of one witness, and it is not lawful for the famous town of Mansoul, at the mouth of one witness to put any man to death.

His plea.

Dilig. Then stood forth Mr. Diligence, and said, 'My Lord, as I was upon my watch such a night, at the head of Bad Street in this town, I chanced to hear a muttering within this gentleman's house; then thought I what is to do here? So I went up close, but very softly to the side of the house, to listen, thinking, as indeed it fell out, that there I might light upon some Diabolonian conventicle.[1] So, as I said, I drew nearer and nearer, and when I was got up close to the wall, it was but a while before I perceived that there were out-landish men in the house; but I did well understand their speech, for I have been a traveller myself. Now hearing such language in such a tottering cottage as this old gentleman dwelt in, I clapt mine ear to a hole in the window, and there heard them talk as followeth. This old Mr. Questioning asked these Doubters what they were, whence they came, and what was their business in these parts? And they told[2] him to all these questions, yet he did entertain them. He also asked what numbers there were of them, and they told him ten thousand men. He then asked them why they made no more manly assault upon Mansoul? And they told him; so he called their general coward for marching off when he should have fought for his Prince. Further, this old Evil-questioning wished, and I heard him wish, Would all the ten thousand Doubters were now in Mansoul, and himself in the head of them. He bid them also to take heed and lie quat, for if they were taken they must die, although they had heads of gold.

Mr. Diligence's testimony.

Then said the court, Mr. Evil-questioning, here is now another witness against you, and his testimony is full: 1. He swears that you did receive these men into your house, and that you did nourish them there, though you knew that they were Diabolonians, and the King's enemies. 2. He swears that you did wish ten thousand of them in Mansoul. 3. He swears that you did give them advice to be quat and close lest they were taken by the King's servants. All which manifesteth that thou art a Diabolonian; for hadst thou been a friend to the King, thou wouldest have apprehended them.

The court.

Evil. Then said Evil-questioning, To the first of these I answer, the men that came into mine house were strangers, and I took them in, and is it now become a crime in Mansoul for a man to entertain strangers? That I did also nourish them is true, and why should my charity be blamed? As for the reason why I wished ten thousand of them in Mansoul, I never told it to the witnesses, nor to themselves. I might wish them to be taken, and so my wish might mean well to Mansoul, for aught that any yet knows. I did also bid them take heed that they fell not into the captain's hands; but that might be because I am unwilling that any man should be slain; and not because I would have the King's enemies as such escape.

His plea.

My Lord Mayor then replied, That though it was a virtue to entertain strangers, yet it was treason to entertain the King's enemies. And for what else thou hast said, thou dost by words but labour to evade, and defer the execution of judgment. But could there be no more proved against thee but that thou art a Diabolonian, thou must for that die the death by the law; but to be a

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name of virtue! To understand the difference between Evil-questioning and Honest-inquiry is of the most solemn importance. Honest inquiry is the essential duty of every Christian. Leaving all human aids, our hopes of salvation depend upon our seeking the influence of the Holy Spirit to guide us, that we may understand the Sacred Scriptures; and by a diligent prayerful study of the Bible ALONE, be led into spiritual truth; to the knowledge and obedience of him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Evil questioning is a trusting to our own perverted reason; bringing to the proud bar of our depraved judgment the truths of revelation, wresting and condemning them to our own destruction. Christian inquirer, your duty is perfectly clear—you must make *honest inquiry*, without *evil questioning*.—(ED.)

[1] 'Conventicle,' — from 'convene,' to meet together — a term of reproach given to meetings of Christians, who, refusing to unite with the churches of Antichrist, met in a more private manner, as our Lord and his apostles did. Lu. xxii. 12. Ac. i. 13, 14.—(ED.)

[2] Narrated, made known their treasonable designs.—(ED.)

receiver, a nourisher, a countenancer, and a harbourer of others of them, yea, of outlandish Diabolonians; yea, of them that came from far, on purpose to cut off and destroy our Mansoul; this must not be borne.

His conclusion. Then said Evil-questioning, I see how the game will go; I must die for my name, and for my charity. And so he held his peace.

Then they called the outlandish Doubters to the bar; and the first of them that was arraigned was the Election-doubter; so his indictment was read,

The Election-doubter tried. and because he was an outlandish man, the substance of it was told him by an interpreter; to wit, That he was there charged with being an enemy of Emmanuel the Prince, a hater of the town of Mansoul, and an opposer of her most wholesome doctrine.[1]

Then the judge asked him if he would plead?

His plea. But he said only this, That he confessed that he was an Election-doubter, and that that was the religion that he had ever been brought up in. And said, moreover, If I must die for my religion, I trow, I shall die a martyr,[2] and so I care the less.

Judge. Then it was replied, To question election,

The Court. is to overthrow a great doctrine of the gospel; to wit, the omniscience, and power, and will of God; to take away the liberty of God with his creature; to stumble the faith of the town of Mansoul; and to make salvation to depend upon works, and not upon grace. It also belied the word, and disquieted the minds of the men of Mansoul; therefore, by the best of laws he must die.[3]

Then was the Vocation-doubter called, and set

The Vocation-doubter tried. to the bar; and his indictment for substance was the same with the other, only he was particularly charged with denying the calling of Mansoul.

he judge asked him also what he had to say for himself?

So he replied that he never believed that there was any such thing as a distinct and powerful call of God to Mansoul; otherwise than by the general voice of the Word; nor by that neither, otherwise than as it exhorted them to forbear evil, and to do that which is good, and in so doing, a promise of happiness is annexed.

Then said the Judge, Thou art a Diabolonian; and hast denied a great part of one of the most experimental truths of the Prince of the town of Mansoul; for he has called, and she has heard a most distinct and powerful call of her Emmanuel, by which she has been quickened, awakened, and possessed with heavenly grace to desire to have communion with her Prince, to serve him, and do his will, and to look for her happiness merely of his good pleasure.[4] And for thine abhorrence of this good doctrine, thou must die the death.

Then the Grace-doubter was called, and his indictment was read; and he replied thereto, That though he was of the

The Grace-doubter tried. land of Doubting, his father was the offspring of a Pharisee, and lived in good fashion among his neighbours, and that he taught him to believe, and believe it I do, and will, that Mansoul shall never be saved freely by grace.

Then said the Judge, Why, the law of the Prince is plain: 1. Negatively, Not of works. 2. Positively, By grace you are saved. Ro. iii. Ep. ii. And thy religion settleth in and upon the works of the flesh; for the works of the law are the works of the flesh. Besides, in saying as thou hast done, thou hast robbed God of his glory, and given it to a sinful man; thou hast robbed Christ of the necessity of his undertaking, and the sufficiency thereof, and hast given both these to the works of the flesh. Thou hast despised the work of the Holy Ghost, and hast magnified the will of the flesh, and of the legal mind. Thou art a Diabolonian, the son of a Diabolonian; and for thy Diabolonian principles thou must die.

The court then having proceeded thus far with them, sent out the jury, who forthwith brought them in guilty of death. Then stood up the Recorder, and addressed himself to the prisoners: You, the prisoners at the bar, you

Their sentence to die. have been here indicted, and proved guilty of high crimes against Emmanuel our Prince, and against the welfare of the famous town of Mansoul; crimes for which you must be put to death; and die ye accordingly.[5]

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[1] Though ignorant persons cavil and object, we are bold to affirm, that election by free grace is consonant to the whole tenor of Scripture; a comfortable doctrine, exciting to obedience. 'We love him, because he first loved us.' 1 Jn. iv. 19. —(Mason.)

[2] 'A martyr' is a witness, generally applied among Christians to those who seal with their blood a testimony of love to Christ, and are put to death for their attachment to the gospel; not like the Jesuits under Elizabeth, they came to poison or destroy her, and to overturn the Government, and were put to death as traitors. But if any Christian was put to death for doubting the doctrine of election, he would be entitled to the crown of martyrdom.—(Ed.)

[3] Those who deny election deny, though perhaps unwittingly, the omniscience and sovereignty of God; and unavoidably assert, sometimes without perceiving it, that salvation is not of grace but of works.—(Burder.)

[4] The great mass of mankind in Christendom, because they were baptized in infancy, call themselves Christians, and find shelter under these pleas from the necessity of personal prayerful investigation. They never knew the pangs of the new birth, nor the cry, 'What must I do to be saved?' or, 'Lord, save, I perish!' It is a most extensive and most fatal error, in which myriads of souls have met their doom.—(Ed.)

[5] Thus we are to lay aside every weight, and every besetting sin, He. xii. 12—whatsoever does not tend to promote

So they were senteneed to the death of the cross; The places of their death assigned. The place assigned them for execution was that where Diabolus drew up his last army against Mansoul; save only that old Evil-questioning was hanged at the top of Bad-street, just over against his own door.[1]

[Chapter XVIII.]

[Contents:—More Diabolonians tried and condemned—The Work concludes with an admirable speech of Emmanuel, reciting his gracious acts, and informing his people of his intention to rebuild the town with the greatest splendour, and recommending a suitable conduct in the meantime.]

When the town of Mansoul had thus far rid themselves of their enemies, and of the troublers of their peace; in the next place, a strict commandment was given out, that yet my Lord Will-be-will should, with Diligence, his man, search for, and do his best to apprehend what town-Diabolonians were yet left alive in Mansoul. The names of several of them were—Mr. Fooling, Mr. Let-good-slip, Mr. Slavishfear, Mr. Nolove, Mr. Mistrust, Mr. Flesh, and Mr. Sloth. It was also commanded that he should apprehend Mr. Evil-questioning's children that he left behind him, and that they should demolish his house. The children that he left behind were these—Mr. Doubt, and he was his eldest son; the next to him was Legal-life, Unbelief, Wrong-thoughts-of-Christ, Clip-promise, Carnal-sense, Live-by-feeling, Self-love. All these he had by one wife, and her name was Nohope. She was the kinswoman of old Incredulity; for he was her uncle, and, when her father, old Dark, was dead, he took her, and brought her up; and, when she was marriageable, he gave her to this old Evil-questioning to wife.

A new warrant granted out against the children of Evil-questioning, with others.

Now, the Lord Will-be-will did put into execution his commission, with great Diligence, his man. He took Fooling in the streets, and hanged him up in Want-wit-alley, over against his own house. This Fooling was he that would have had the town of Mansoul deliver up Captain Credence into the hands of Diabolus, provided that then he would have withdrawn his force out of the town. He also took Mr. Let-good-slip one day as he was busy in the market, and executed him according to law.

Will-be-will puts his warrant into execution.

Fooling taken.

Let-good-slip taken.

Now there was an honest poor man in Mansoul, and his name was Mr. Meditation, one of no great account in the days of apostacy, but now of repute with the best of the town. This man therefore they were willing to prefer; now Mr. Let-good-slip had a great deal of wealth heretofore in Mansoul, and at Emmanuel's coming it was sequestered to the use of the Prince, this therefore was now given to Mr. Meditation, to improve for the common good, and after him to his son Mr. Thinkwell; this Thinkwell he had by Mrs. Piety his wife, and she was the daughter of Mr. Recorder.[2]

After this my Lord apprehended Clip-promise, now because he was a notorious villain, for by his doings much of the King's coin was abused, therefore he was made a public example. He was arraigned and judged to be first set in the pillory, then to be whipt by all the children and servants in Mansoul, and then to be hanged till he was dead. Some may wonder at the severity of this man's punishment, but those that are honest traders in Mansoul, are sensible of the great abuse that one clipper of promises in little time may do to the town of Mansoul. And truly my judgment is, that all those of his name and life should be served even as he.[3]

Clip-promise taken.

He also apprehended Carnal-sense, and put him in hold, but how it came about I cannot tell, but he brake prison and made his escape. Yea, and the bold villain will not yet quit the town, but lurks in the Diabolonian dens a days, and haunts like a ghost honest men's houses a nights. Wherefore there was a proclamation set up in the market-place in Mansoul, signifying that whosoever should discover Carnal-sense, and apprehend him and slay him, should be admitted daily to the Prince's table, and should be made keeper of the treasure of Mansoul. Many therefore did bend themselves to do this thing, but take him and slay him they could not, though often he was discovered.[4]

Carnal-sense taken.

But my Lord took Mr. Wrong-thoughts-of-Christ, and put him in prison, and he died there, though it was long first, for he died of a lingering consumption.

Wrong-thoughts-of-Christ taken.

Selflove was also taken and committed to custody, but there were many that were allied to him in Mansoul, so his judgment was deferred, but at last Mr. Self-denial stood up and said, if such villains as these may be

Selflove taken.

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the glory of God, and our progress in the Divine life of faith. —(Mason.)

[1] The reader must keep in mind that the sentence and execution is not against the persons who held these errors, but allegorically the errors themselves must be eradicated or destroyed from the soul of the believer.—(Ed.)

[2] Great is the advantage of meditation; a practice, alas! in which Christians in general are too backward. Much is lost by letting the Word slip, which ought to be laid up and pondered in the heart. This is the way to become spiritually rich.—(Burder.)

[3] The cruelty of these punishments breathes the spirit of the times in which our author lived. Every painful feeling, however, is dissipated by the reflection that it is an allegory, representing how these Diabolonian sinful thoughts ought to be exterminated. To clip the promises is certainly as high a crime as clipping the current coin.—(Ed.)

[4] How closely does carnality cleave to us throughout our

winked at in Mansoul, I will lay down my commission. He also took him from the crowd, and had him among his soldiers, and there he was brained. But some in Mansoul muttered at it, though none durst speak plainly, because Emmanuel was in town. But this brave act of Captain Self-denial came to the Prince's ears, so he sent for him, and made him a Lord in Mansoul.[1] My Lord Will-be-will also obtained great commendations of Emmanuel, for what he had done for the town of Mansoul.

Captain Self-denial made a Lord.

Then my Lord Self-denial took courage, and set to pursuing of the Diabolonians with my Lord Will-be-will; and they took Live-by-feeling, and they took Legal-life, and put them in hold till they died. But Mr. Unbelief was a nimble jack, him they could never lay hold of, though they attempted to do it often. He therefore, and some few more of the subtilest of the Diabolonian tribe, did yet remain in Mansoul, to the time that Mansoul left off to dwell any longer in the kingdom of Universe. But they kept them to their dens and holes; if one of them did appear or happen to be seen in any of the streets of the town of Mansoul, the whole town would be up in arms after them, yea the very children in Mansoul would cry out after them as after a thief, and would wish that they might stone them to death with stones. And now did Mansoul arrive to some good degree of peace and quiet, her Prince also did abide within her borders, her Captains also, and her soldiers did their duties, and Mansoul minded her trade that she had with the country that was afar off; also she was busy in her manufacture.[2] Is. xxxiii. 17. Phi. iii. 20. Pr. xxxi.

Live-by-feeling taken.

The peace of Mansoul, she minds her trade.

When the town of Mansoul had thus far rid themselves of so many of their enemies, and the troublers of their peace; the Prince sent to them, and appointed a day wherein he would at the market-place meet the whole people, and there give them in charge concerning some further matters, that if observed would tend to their further safety and comfort, and to the condemnation and destruction of their home-bred Diabolonians. So the day appointed was come, and the townsmen met together; Emmanuel also came down in his chariot, and all his captains in their state attending of him on the right hand, and on the left. Then was an O yes made for silence, and after some mutual carriages of love, the Prince began, and thus proceeded—

Emmanuel's speech to Mansoul.

You my Mansoul, and the beloved of mine heart, many and great are the privileges that I have bestowed upon you; I have singled you out from others, and have chosen you to myself, not for your worthiness, but for mine own sake. I have also redeemed you, not only from the dread of my Father's law, but from the hand of Diabolus. This I have done because I loved you, and because I have set my heart upon you to do you good. I have also, that all things that might hinder thy way to the pleasures of paradise might be taken out of the way, laid down for thee, for thy soul, a plenary satisfaction, and have bought thee to myself; a price not of corruptible things as of silver and gold, but a price of blood, mine own blood, which I have freely spilt upon the ground to make thee mine. So I have reconciled thee, O my Mansoul, to my Father, and intrusted thee in the mansion-houses that are with my Father in the royal city where things are, O my Mansoul, that eye hath not seen, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive.[3]

Besides, O my Mansoul, thou seest what I have done, and how I have taken thee out of the hands of thine enemies; unto whom thou hast deeply revolted from my Father, and by whom thou wast content to be possessed, and also to be destroyed. I came to thee first by my law, then by my gospel to awaken thee, and show thee my glory. And thou knowest what thou wast, what thou saidst, what thou didst, and how many times thou rebelledst against my Father and me; yet I left thee not; as thou seest this day, but came to thee, have borne thy manners, have waited upon thee and after all accepted of thee, even of my mere grace and favour; and would not suffer thee to be lost, as thou most willingly wouldst have been. I also compassed thee about, and afflicted thee on every side, that I might make thee weary of thy ways, and bring down thy heart with molestation to a willingness to close with thy good and happiness. And when I had gotten a complete conquest over thee, I turned it to thy advantage.[4]

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pilgrimage! Even the apostle complained of this foe—'I am carnal.' The grave is the only secure prison in which he can be for ever shut up. He will never break prison from thence. —(Ed.)

[1] Self-love and self-denial can no more live together in the soul, than can the service of God and mammon. Reader, if a thought of self-love interferes with love to Christ, drag it to self-denial, and it will be brained without the formality of a trial, and God will approve the execution.—(Ed.)

[2] Self-denial must be opposed to self-love. 'If, through the Spirit, we mortify the deeds of the body, we shall live;' and shall also happily experience that 'to be spiritually-minded is life and peace.' But, after all, that villain Unbelief, the worst of all the gang, still lurks secretly in the soul, yet is uniformly opposed whenever he dares to appear.—(Burder.)

[3] 'There I shall bathe my weary soul
In seas of heavenly rest,
And not a wave of trouble roll
Across my peaceful breast.'—(Watts.)

'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!'—(Ed.)

[4] Thus completely is boasting excluded. 'By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, *it is* the gift of God.' Ep. ii. 8.—(Ed.)

Thou seest also what a company of my Father's host I have lodged within thy borders, captains and rulers, soldiers and men of war, engines and excellent devices to subdue and bring down thy foes; thou knowest my meaning, O Mansoul. And they are my servants, and thine too, Mansoul. Yea, my design of possessing of thee with them, and the natural tendency of each of them is to defend, purge, strengthen, and sweeten thee for myself, O Mansoul, and to make thee meet for my Father's presence, blessing, and glory; for thou, my Mansoul, art created to be prepared unto these.

Thou seest moreover, my Mansoul, how I have passed by thy backslidings, and have healed thee. Indeed I was angry with thee, but I have turned mine anger away from thee, because I loved thee still, and mine anger and mine indignation is ceased in the destruction of thine enemies, O Mansoul. Nor did thy goodness fetch me again unto thee, after that I for thy transgressions have hid my face, and withdrawn my presence from thee. The way of backsliding was thine, but the way and means of thy recovery was mine. I invented the means of thy return; it was I that made an hedge and a wall, when thou wast beginning to turn to things in which I delighted not. It was I that made thy sweet, bitter; thy day, night; thy smooth ways thorny; and that also confounded all that sought thy destruction. It was I that set Mr. Godly-fear to work in Mansoul. It was I that stirred up thy conscience and understanding, thy will and thy affections, after thy great and woful decay. It was I that put life into thee, O Mansoul, to seek me, that thou mightest find me, and in thy finding, find thine own health, happiness, and salvation. It was I that fetched the second time the Diabolonians out of Mansoul; and it was I that overcame them, and that destroyed them before thy face.

And now, my Mansoul, I am returned to thee in peace, and thy transgressions against me, are as if they had not been. Nor shall it be with thee as in former days, but I will do better for thee than at thy beginning. For yet a little while, O my Mansoul, even after a few more times are gone over thy head, I will, but be not thou troubled at what I say, I will take down this famous town of Mansoul, stick and stone to the ground. 1Ch. xxix. 30. And will carry the stones thereof, and the timber thereof, and the walls thereof, and the dust thereof, and the inhabitants thereof, into mine own country, even into the kingdom of my Father; and will there set it up in such strength and glory, as it never did see in the kingdom where now it is placed.[1] I will even there set it up for my Father's habitation, for, for that purpose it was at first erected in the kingdom of universe; and there will I make it a spectacle of wonder, a monument of mercy, and the admirer of its own mercy. There shall the natives of Mansoul see all that of which they have seen nothing here; there shall they be equal to those unto whom they have been inferior here. And there shall thou, O my Mansoul, have such communion with me, with my Father, and with your Lord Secretary, as is not possible here to be enjoyed, nor ever could be, shouldest thou live in universe the space of a thousand years.[2]

And there, O my Mansoul, thou shalt be afraid of murderers no more; of Diabolonians, and their threats no more. There, there shall be no more plots, nor contrivances, nor designs against thee, O my Mansoul. There thou shalt no more hear the evil tidings, or the noise of the Diabolonian drum. There thou shalt not see the Diabolonian Standard-bearers, nor yet behold Diabolus his standard. No Diabolonian mount shall be cast up against thee there, nor shall there the Diabolonian standard be set up to make thee afraid. There thou shalt not need captains, engines, soldiers, and men of war. There thou shalt meet with no sorrow, nor grief, nor shall it be possible that any Diabolonian should again, for ever, be able to creep into thy skirts, burrow in thy walls, or be seen again within thy borders all the days of eternity. Life shall there last longer, than here you are able to desire it should, and yet it shall always be sweet and new, nor shall any impediment attend it for ever.

There, O Mansoul, thou shalt meet with many of those that have been like thee, and that have been partakers of thy sorrows; even such as I have chosen, and redeemed and set apart as thou for my Father's court and city royal. All they will be glad in thee, and thou, when thou seest them, shall be glad in thine heart.

There are things, O Mansoul, even things of thy Father's providing and mine, that never were seen since the beginning of the world, and they are laid up with my Father, and sealed up among his treasures for thee, till thou shalt come thither to enjoy them. I told you before that I would remove my Mansoul, and set it up elsewhere, and where I will set it, there are those that love thee, and those that rejoice in thee now, but how much more when they shall see thee exalted to honour. My Father will then send them for you to fetch you; and their bosoms are chariots to put you in. And you, O my Mansoul, shall ride upon the wings

[1] For a most admirable treatise on the resurrection of the body, and its re-union with the soul in bliss unspeakable and eternal, see vol. ii. p. 83.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Blessings abound where'er he reigns,
The prisoner leaps to lose his chains,
The weary find eternal rest,
And all the sons of want are blest.'—(Watts.)

of the wind. They will come to convey, conduct, and bring you to that, when your eyes see more, that will be your desired haven. Ps. lxviii. 17.

And thus, O my Mansoul, I have showed unto thee what shall be done to thee hereafter, if thou canst hear, if thou canst understand; and now I will tell thee what at present must be thy duty and practice, until I shall come and fetch thee to myself, according as is related in the Scriptures of truth.

First, I charge thee that thou dost hereafter keep more white and clean the liveries which I gave thee before my last withdrawing from thee. Do it, I say, for this will be thy wisdom. They are in themselves fine linen, but thou must keep them white and clean.[1] This will be your wisdom, your honour, and will be greatly for my glory. When your garments are white, the world will count you mine. Also when your garments are white, then I am delighted in your ways; for then your goings to and fro will be like a flash of lightning, that those that are present must take notice of, also their eyes will be made to dazzle thereat. Deck thyself therefore according to my bidding, and make to thyself by my law straight steps for thy feet, so shall thy King greatly desire thy beauty, for he is thy Lord, and worship thou him.[2]

Now that thou mayest keep them as I bid thee, I have, as I before did tell thee, provided for thee an open fountain to wash thy garments in. Look therefore that thou wash often in my fountain, and go not in defiled garments; for as it is to my dishonour and my disgrace, so it will be to thy discomfort, when you shall walk in filthy garments. Ze. iii. 3, 4. Let not therefore my garments, your garments, the garments that I gave thee, be defiled or spotted by the flesh. Jude 23. Keep thy garments always white, and let thy head lack no ointment.

My Mansoul, I have oft-times delivered thee from the designs, plots, attempts, and conspiracies of Diabolus, and for all this I ask thee nothing, but that thou render not to me evil for my good, but that thou bear in mind my love, and the continuation of my kindness to my beloved Mansoul, so as to provoke thee to walk, in thy measure, according to the benefit bestowed on thee. Of old the sacrifices were bound with cords to the horns of the golden altar. Consider what is said to thee, O my blessed Mansoul.

O my Mansoul, I have lived, I have died, I live, and will die no more for thee. I live that thou mayest not die. Because I live thou shalt live also. I reconciled thee to my Father by the blood of my cross, and being reconciled thou shalt live through me. I will pray for thee, I will fight for thee, I will yet do thee good.

Nothing can hurt thee but sin; nothing can grieve me but sin; nothing can make thee base before thy foes but sin; Take heed of sin, my Mansoul.[3]

And dost thou know why I at first, and do still suffer Diabolonians to dwell in thy walls, O Mansoul? It is to keep thee wakening, to try thy love, to make thee watchful, and to cause thee yet to prize my noble captains, their soldiers, and my mercy.

It is also that yet thou mayest be made to remember what a deplorable condition thou once wast in. I mean when, not some, but all did dwell, not in thy walls, but in thy castle, and in thy strong hold, O Mansoul!

O my Mansoul, should I slay all them within, many there be without that would bring thee into bondage; for were all those within cut off, those without would find thee sleeping, and then as in a moment they would swallow up my Mansoul. I therefore let them in thee, not to do thee hurt, the which they yet will, if thou hearken to them, and serve them; but to do thee good, the which they must, if thou watch and fight against them. Know therefore that whatever they shall tempt thee to, my design is that they should drive thee, not further off, but nearer to my Father, to learn thee war, to make petitioning desirable to thee, and to make thee little in thine own eyes. Hearken diligently to this, my Mansoul.

Show me then thy love my Mansoul, and let not those that are within thy walls, take thy affections off from him that hath redeemed thy soul. Yea, let the sight of a Diabolonian heighten thy love to me. I came once, and twice, and thrice to save thee from the poison of those arrows that would have wrought thy death; stand for me, thy friend, my Mansoul, against the Diabolonians, and I will stand for thee before my Father, and all his court. Love me against temptation, and I will love thee notwithstanding thine infirmities.

O my Mansoul, remember what my captains, my soldiers, and mine engines have done for thee. They have fought for thee, they have suffered by thee, they have born much at thy hands to do thee

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[1] Holiness of heart and life are indispensable of true discipleship to the holy Jesus; not to justify us, but to evidence our election to eternal life. 'As he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation.' 1 Pe. i. 15. A holy walk preserves communion with our Lord, who is our righteousness and strength.—(Mason.)

[2] How blessed are those who are kept unspotted from the world! who live in the land of Beulah, waiting to be translated to the celestial city; and who, if defiled, are enabled to apply to the fountain opened, and wash away their stains. 'Blessed are the people that are in such a case.'—(Ed.)

[3] Sin hurled the angels out of heaven; sin deprived man of paradise and the favour of God; sin crucified the Lord of life and glory; sin will confine myriads of devils and men in the bottomless pit of misery for ever. May we hate it with a perfect hatred; and the grace of Jesus eradicate the love, and destroy the dominion of it, in our hearts.—(Mason.)

good, O Mansoul. Hadst thou not had them to help thee, Diabolus had certainly made a hand of thee.[1] Nourish them, therefore, my Mansoul. When thou dost well, they will be well; when thou dost ill, they will be ill, and sick, and weak. Make not my captains sick, O Mansoul, for if they be sick, thou canst not be well; if they be weak, thou canst not be strong; if they be faint, thou canst not be stout and valiant for thy King, O Mansoul. Nor must thou think always to live by sense, thou must live upon my Word. Thou must believe, O my Mansoul, when I am from thee, that yet I love thee, and bear thee upon mine heart for ever.

Remember therefore, O my Mansoul, that thou art beloved of me; as I have therefore taught thee to watch, to fight, to pray, and to make war against my foes, so now I command thee to believe that my love is constant to thee. O my Mansoul, how have I set my heart, my love upon thee, watch. Behold, I lay none other burden upon thee, than what thou hast already, hold fast till I come.[2]

[1] 'To make a hand on,' to waste, spoil, or destroy.—Halliwell.—(Ed.)

[2] In this truly evangelical speech, the Lord Jesus is represented as recapitulating his gracious dealings with the souls of his people. Salvation is uniformly ascribed to the free mercy of the Father, and the precious blood of the Son. Every gracious soul will cordially say, 'Not unto me, not unto me, O Lord, but to thy name be all the glory.' Emmanuel then informs them of his intention to take down the present town of Mansoul, and to rebuild it in a more glorious manner; in other words, to remove the believer to glory, and raise up his mortal body to everlasting honour and happiness, when sin, sorrow, and temptation shall never more be known. Till this event takes place, he directs his people to keep their garments white and clean—that is, to be holy in all manner of conversation and godliness; to watch carefully against sin, which is the only thing that can hurt them; and to live every day [in holiness and good works] by faith in the Word of God.—(Burder.)

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

Some say the Pilgrim's Progress is not mine,
Insinuating as if I would shine
In name and fame by the worth of another,
Like some made rich by robbing of their brother.
Or that so fond I am of being sire,
I'll father bastards; or, if need require,
I'll tell a lie in print to get applause.
I scorn it: John such dirt-heap never was,
Since God converted him. Let this suffice
To show why I my Pilgrim patronize.

It came from mine own heart, so to my head,
And thence into my fingers trickled;
Then to my pen, from whence immediatcly
On paper I did dribble it daintily.

Manner and matter too was all mine own,
Nor was it unto any mortal known,
'Till I had done it. Nor did any then
By books, by wits, by tongues, or hand, or pen,
Add five words to it, or write half a line
Thereof: the whole, and every whit, is mine.

Also, for this thine eye is now upon,
The matter in this manner came from none
But the same heart, and head, fingers, and pen,
As did the other. Witness all good men;
For none in all the world, without a lie,
Can say that this is mine, excepting I.

I write not this of any ostentation,
Nor 'cause I seek of men their commendation;
I do it to keep them from such surmise,
As tempt them will my name to scandalize.
Witness my name, if anagram'd to thee,
The letters make, *Nu hony in a B.*

John Bunyan.

THE HEAVENLY FOOTMAN;

OR,

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MAN THAT GETS TO HEAVEN:

TOGETHER WITH THE WAY HE RUNS IN, THE MARKS HE GOES BY; ALSO, SOME DIRECTIONS HOW TO RUN SO AS TO OBTAIN.

'*And it came to pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that he said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain: escape to the mountain, lest thou be consumed.*'—Gen. xix. 17.

London: Printed for John Marshall, at the Bible in Gracechurch Street, 1698.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

About forty years ago a gentleman, in whose company I had commenced my pilgrimage, and who had joined me in communion with a Baptist church, about four years previously, came to my house one Monday morning, greatly delighted with the sermon which our pastor had preached on the previous day, while I was engaged in superintending the Sunday school. It had caused a very remarkable sensation, which, if properly followed up, bid fair to occasion an extraordinary revival of religion in the neighbourhood. He, with the deacons, had begged of our minister to fill up his outline, and prepare the sermon for publication, to which he had consented. He wished to ascertain from me, as a publisher, the expense of printing five thousand copies, being sure that the sale of it would be unprecedented, not only throughout the kingdom, but as far as the English language was spoken. In about a week, the copy fairly written was left with me. The text was Heb. xii. 1, 'Let us run with patience the race that is set before us.' After the introduction that all men desire heaven, but all do not run for it—the word run was explained as a flying, pressing, persevering. Then *seven* reasons, and *nine* directions, were followed by *nine* motives and *nine* uses. This, and the striking ideas and language of the sermon, brought Bunyan to my recollection, and, on comparison, it proved to be the *Heavenly Footman*, with very slight alterations. Having then very recently purchased a neat edition of the book, at a very low price, my inquiry was, whether they would not prefer having the book in its genuine state, especially as it was ready for delivery. I need not add, that all thoughts of circulating the sermon was at once abandoned. In conversation with my excellent pastor, who afterwards for many years bore the honour of a D.D., he acknowledged his obligation to me for detecting the plagiarism before the sermon was published, and explained to me that, when very young, he had read Bunyan's *Heavenly Footman* with intense interest, and made a full analysis of it, in the shape of notes, which, having committed to memory, he preached to a very delighted and deeply impressed congregation; that after a lapse of many years, looking over the outlines of his early sermons, he was struck with it, and believing it to be his own composition, had again used it with such extraordinary success, as led his deacons and members to request him to print it. Doubtless Bunyan being dead has often similarly spoken—may his voice never be lost in silence or be forgotten.

The title of 'Heavenly Footman' was probably suggested by the words of the prophet Jeremiah, 'If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses? And in the land of peace thou trustedst, then how wilt thou do in the swelling of Jordan?' xii. 5, and 'Let us run with patience the race that is set before us.' Heb. xii. 1. The word footman does not refer to that class of servants who are badged and dressed in livery to gratify the pride of their masters, nor to that description of foot-soldiers or infantry, whose business is designated by the blood-stained colour of their clothes. But it refers to those who are travelling on foot to a distant country, engaged on a pilgrimage from earth to heaven. It is worthy of remark, that the whole of the children of God, of every age and clime, class and kindred, the richest and the poorest, all are upon terms of perfect equality in *running* the race set before them. No wealth, nor grade, can procure a horse to carry them, or a carriage to ride in; all must *run on foot*. The only carriage for the foot-sore, weary pilgrim, is the bosom of Christ; he carries the lambs in his bosom, and there is room enough for all; the poorest labourer and the noblest aristocrat meet there upon a level with each other; there is no first class for the rich, and parliamentary train

for the poor. It is *all* first class. In the varied adventures of Christian and his associates, and of Christiana, her children, and her lovely friend Mercy, they never ride. The little one is led by the hand up the steep and rough hill Difficulty, but his own feet carry him throughout the wearisome road. The only carriage was the fiery chariot which carried the soul of the martyred Faithful to the Celestial City; there is no riding to heaven while in the body. Wealth may procure many pleasures to clog the soul in its journey. It may purchase indulgencies; it may incline some disciples to look at sinful imperfections through the wrong end of the telescope; it may purchase prayers—but devotional exercises, bought by gold, will freeze the soul. It is the poor disciple that receives the faithful admonitions of his equally poor fellow-saints. The rich have more ceremony, while the labourer enjoys more richly, more free from restraint, the warm outpourings of a devotional spirit. Still there is nothing to prevent the greatest nobleman or monarch from running to heaven in company with the disciples of our lowly Master. If he refuses this road and this company, he must pursue his downward course to destruction.

The order in which the allegorical works of Bunyan were written, very naturally suggest itself from his own narratives, and from the dates of their publication. It was thus, while suffering his tedious and dangerous imprisonment for Christ's sake, he was led to write an account of the dealings of God with his soul, which work he published in 1666, under the title of *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*. While engaged in writing this remarkable narrative, the almost unbounded allegorical powers of his mind were brought into exercise—

> 'And thus it was: I writing of the way
> And race of saints, in this our gospel-day,
> Fell suddenly into an allegory
> About their journey, and the way to glory.'

Having finished his *Grace Abounding*, he allowed his fertile imagination its full scope, and again wrote the result of his experience in the form of an allegorical narrative, called the *Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come*. At first the thoughts pressed upon him as fast as he could write them, yet he says—

> '——— I did not think
> To show to all the world my pen and ink
> In such a mode.'

And it was several years before he ventured to publish his beautiful allegory. He was released from prison in 1672, having been chosen in the previous year to be the pastor, or ministering elder of the church at Bedford. His time was then much occupied in re-organizing the church, after years of tempest and fiery persecution. At length, having overcome his own and his friends' reluctance to publish so solemn a work on the conversion of a sinner and his way to heaven, in the form of an allegory, the *Pilgrim's Progress* was printed in 1678. The wonderful popularity of this book, and the great good it produced, led him again to turn his *Grace Abounding* into a different form of narrative, in the more profound allegory of the *Holy War;* this was published in 1682, and in two years afterwards he completed the *Pilgrim* by a delightful second part. His long incarceration, followed by sudden and great activity, probably brought down his robust constitution; and as the end of his course drew nigh, he was doubly diligent, for in 1688, before his death-day, which was in August, he published six important treatises, and had prepared fourteen or fifteen others for the press. Among these were his final and almost dying instructions to the pilgrim, under the title of *The Heavenly Footman*, the man whom he describes in the poetical apology to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, as he that

> ——— 'Runs and runs,
> Till he unto the gate of glory comes.'

This treatise sheds a lustre over the latter days of our immortal allegorist. It is evidently the production of a mind expanded and chastened with the rich experience of sanctified age. In it we are reminded of those important directions to heavenly footmen, contained in his most admired books. Is there a Slough of Despond to be passed, and a hill Difficulty to be overcome? Here the footman is reminded of 'many a dirty step, many a high hill, a long and tedious journey through a vast howling wilderness;' but he is encouraged, 'the land of promise is at the end of the way.' p. 382. Must the man that would win eternal glory draw his sword, put on his helmet, and fight his way into the temple—the heavenly footman must press, crowd, and thrust through all that stand between heaven and his soul. p. 381. Did Ignorance, who perished from the way, say to the pilgrims, 'You go so fast, I must stay awhile behind?' He who runs to heaven is told that the heavy-heeled, lazy, wanton, and foolish professor 'will not attain the prize. p. 382. The wicket-gate, at the head of the way, is all-important; none can get to heaven unless they enter by Christ, the door and way, so the footman is reminded that it matters not how fast he runs, he can never attain the prize, if he is in the wrong road. p. 382. Did the pilgrims so severely suffer from entering upon Byepath-meadow, and even after that bitter experience were they again misled into a bye path, by a black man clothed in white raiment? Our footman is warned—Beware then of bye and crooked

paths that lead to death and damnation; the way to heaven is one, still there are many well-beaten bye-paths that butt or shoot down upon it, and which lead to destruction. p. 384. To prevent vain and foolish company from calling you out of the path, or from loitering in it, say, I am in haste, I am running for a prize; if I win I am made, I win ALL; if I lose I lose all, and am undone. p. 386. So it was with Faithful when even Christian, who saw him before, cried Ho ho, so ho. Faithful answered, 'No, I am upon my life, the avenger of blood is behind me.' In the same way the pilgrims refused the invitations of Demas with his silver mine. No, says the heavenly footman, I am running for heaven, for my soul, for God, for Christ, from hell and everlasting damnation. p. 386. Did the poor pilgrims go grunting, puffing, and sighing, one tumbleth over a bush, another sticks fast in the dirt, one cries out, I am down, and another, Ho! where are you? *Pilgrim's Progress.* p. 236. So the footman is told that he will 'meet with cross, pain, and wearisomeness to the flesh, with briars and quagmires, and other encumbrances,' through all which he must persevere. p. 387. Did Formalist and Hypocrite turn off into bye-ways at the foot of the hill Difficulty, and miserably perish? Did Mistrust and Timorous run back for fear of the persecuting lions, Church and State? So the man that runs for heaven is cautioned—'Some when they come at the cross can go no further, but back again to their sins they go, stumble and break their necks, or turn aside to the left or to the right, and perish.' p. 388. Be not ready to halt, nor run hobbling and halting, but, like my Lord Will-be-will in the *Holy War*, when fighting against Diabolus, get thy will tipt with heavenly grace, and go full speed for heaven. These quotations tend to prove that this invaluable treatise is a summary of the guide books which Bunyan had before written. It was doubtless one of the last productions of his prolific pen.

Two passages in the *Heavenly Footman* appear to favour the idea, that a period in life is, in some cases, fixed, beyond which there is no repentance; thus in p. 373, in a solemn warning against procrastination he says, 'Dost thou know whether the day of grace will last a week longer or no? For the day of grace is past with some before their life is ended;' and p. 382, 'sometimes sinners have not heaven gates open to them so long as they suppose; and if they be once shut against a man, they are so heavy that all the men in the world, nor all the angels in heaven, can open them. Francis Spira can tell thee what it is to stay till the gate of mercy be quite shut.' It becomes an interesting inquiry as to who Bunyan means by the 'some' of whom he says, 'that the day of grace is past before their life is ended.' This cannot refer to those who, neglecting the Saviour, are in a perishing condition. No minister felt a more ardent desire to rouse them to a sense of their danger and to guard them against despair than John Bunyan. In his *Jerusalem Sinner Saved* he thus argues 'Why despair? thou art yet in the land of the living.' 'It is a sin to begin to despair before one sets his foot over the threshhold of hell gates.' 'What, despair of bread in a land that is full of corn? Despair of mercy when our God is full of mercy, thou scrupulous fool; despair when we have a redeeming Christ alive. Let them despair that dwell where there is no God, and that are confined to those chambers of death which can be reached by no redemption. In Bunyan's *Come and Welcome*, he proves that it would be 'high blasphemy and damnable wickedness' to imagine that Christ would cast out any that come to God by him. He cannot mean the backslider, for Bunyan was such. David also, to an awful extent, and Peter to the denial of his Lord. No, he may mean those who, while neglecting the Saviour, are overtaken by madness, or more probably to such as Judas, Spira, and others who sell their Master, or renounce him. If a man abandons the Saviour, there is no other name under heaven whereby he can be saved; 'there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin;' he is a despiser of God's way of salvation, and tramples under foot the Son of God. While such a career continues, fiery indignation must be his wretched destiny. They who contemn the heavenly gift—the Holy Ghost—the word of God—the powers of the world to come—if they persevere unto death in such sentiments, the day of grace is past. There have been some who, like Esau, having sold their birthright, sought repentance even with tears, but found it not—they sought it not in God's appointed way. All hope depends upon such sinners coming unto Christ, humbled and broken-hearted. He is willing, He is able to save even then to the uttermost, but they will not.' He has promised, and will perform his word, 'him that cometh to me I will in nowise cast out.' The volume of inspiration is crowned at its close with the same cheering encouragement, 'And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And WHOSOEVER WILL, let him take the water of life freely.' I cannot imagine that any man would have sung with greater pleasure than Bunyan that hymn of Dr. Watts'—

> 'Life is the time to serve the Lord,
> The time to insure the great reward;
> And while the lamp holds out to burn,
> The vilest sinner may return.'

They only who reject the counsel and mercy of God, shut heaven's gates against their own souls, and rush upon Jehovah's buckler like Judas, or Spira, or like one of Bunyan's early friends, John Childs, who apostatized for fear of persecution, and perished by his own hand. To such only the day of grace

is past; they have set themselves in the scorner's seat, from which they will be hurled into unutterable wretchedness.

Bunyan well knew that idleness engenders poverty and crime, and is the parent of every evil; and he exhorts his runner to the greatest diligence, not to 'fool away his soul' in slothfulness, which induces carelessness, until the sinner is remedyless. Our first care is to get into the right way, and then *so* to run that 'the devil, who is light of foot,' may not overtake and trip us up. Running to heaven does not prevent the true, the real enjoyment of earthly blessings, but sanctifies and heightens them. The great impetus in our course is love to the prize—to Christ, to heaven; 'having our affections set upon things above.' Looking unto Jesus. His righteousness imputed unto us by the shedding of his blood, marks all the road, and while we keep that in sight we cannot err. In all earthly things we anticipate too much—but in the glories of heaven, our anticipations are feeble indeed, compared with eternal realities. Could the saints in glory impart to us a sense of their indescribable happiness, with what activity and perseverance we should run. The case of Lot, when flying from destruction, is put by Bunyan with peculiar force —he dared not to look back even to see what had become of his wife, lest death should overtake his own soul. p. 394. O, my reader, may we be stimulated so to run as to obtain that crown of glory which is imperishable, immortal, and eternal.

'Charles Doe, one of Bunyan's personal friends, having purchased the copyright of this work, kept it for some years, in hope of publishing it with other treatises, as a second folio volume, to complete his works; but failing in this object, he printed it separately in 1698, and appended an interesting list of Bunyan's works, with thirty cogent reasons why these invaluable labours should be preserved and handed down, to bless succeeding ages.

An earnest desire to preserve, in their perfect integrity, all the treatises as they were originally published, will induce me, at the end of the works, to reprint those interesting additions.

GEO. OFFOR.

AN EPISTLE TO ALL THE SLOTHFUL AND CARELESS PEOPLE.

FRIENDS,

SOLOMON saith, that 'The desire of the slothful killeth him;' and if so, what will slothfulness itself do to those that entertain it? Pr. xxi. 25. The proverb is, 'He that sleepeth in harvest *is* a son that causeth shame. Pr. x. 5. And this I dare be bold to say, no greater shame can befal a man, than to see that he hath fooled away his soul, and sinned away eternal life. And I am sure this is the next way to do it; namely, to be slothful; slothful, I say, in the work of salvation. The vineyard of the slothful man, in reference to the things of this life, is not fuller of briars, nettles, and stinking weeds, than he that is slothful for heaven, hath his heart full of heart-choaking and soul-damning sin.

Slothfulness hath these two evils: First, To neglect the time in which it should be getting of heaven; and by that means doth, in the Second place, bring in untimely repentance. I will warrant you, that he who shall lose his soul in this world through slothfulness, will have no cause to be glad thereat when he comes to hell.

Slothfulness is usually accompanied with carelessness, and carelessness is for the most part begotten by senselessness; and senselessness doth again put fresh strength into slothfulness, and by this means the soul is left remediless.

Slothfulness shutteth out Christ; slothfulness shameth the soul. Ca. v. 2–4. Pr. xiii. 4.

Slothfulness, it is condemned even by the feeblest of all the creatures. 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise. Pr. vi. 6. The sluggard will not plow by reason of the cold;' xx. 4; that is, he will not break up the fallow ground of his heart, because there must be some pains taken by him that will do it; '*therefore* shall he beg in harvest,' that is, when the saints of God shall have their glorious heaven and happiness given to them; but the sluggard shall '*have* nothing,' that is, be never the better for his crying for mercy, according to that in Mat. xxv. 10–12.

If you would know a sluggard in the things of heaven, compare him with one that is slothful in the things of this world. As, 1. He that is slothful is loth to set about the work he should follow: so is he that is slothful for heaven. 2. He that is slothful is one that is willing to make delays: so is he that is slothful for heaven. 3. He that is a sluggard, any small matter that cometh in between, he will make it a sufficient excuse to keep him off from plying his work: so it is also with him that is slothful for heaven. 4. He that is slothful doth his work by the halves; and so it is with him that is slothful for heaven. He may almost, but he shall never altogether obtain perfection of deliverance from hell; he may almost, but he shall never, without he mend, be altogether a saint. 5. They that are slothful, do usually lose the season in which things are to be done: and thus it is also with them that are slothful for heaven, they miss the season of grace. And therefore, 6. They that are sloth-

ful have seldom or never good fruit: so also it will be with the soul-sluggard. 7. They that are slothful they are chid for the same: so also will Christ deal with those that are not active for him. Thou wicked or slothful servant, out of thine own mouth will I judge thee; thou saidst I was thus, and thus, wherefore then gavest not thou my money to the bank? &c. Lu. xix. 22. Take the unprofitable servant, and cast him into utter darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Mat. xxv. 26–30.

WHAT SHALL I SAY? Time runs; and will you be slothful? Much of your lives are past; and will you be slothful? Your souls are worth a thousand worlds; and will you be slothful? The day of death and judgment is at the door; and will you be slothful? The curse of God hangs over your heads; and will you be slothful? Besides, the devils are earnest, laborious, and seek by all means every day, by every sin, to keep you out of heaven, and hinder you of salvation; and will you be slothful? Also your neighbours are diligent for things that will perish; and will you be slothful for things that will endure for ever? Would you be willing to be damned for slothfulness? Would you be willing the angels of God should neglect to fetch your souls away to heaven when you lie a-dying, and the devils stand by ready to scramble for them?* Was Christ slothful in the work of your redemption? Are his ministers slothful in tendering this unto you? And, lastly, If all this will not move, I tell you God will not be slothful or negligent to damn you—whose damnation now of a long time slumbereth not—nor the devils will not neglect to fetch thee, nor hell neglect to shut its mouth upon thee.

Sluggard, art thou asleep still? art thou resolved to sleep the sleep of death? Wilt neither tidings from heaven or hell awake thee? Wilt thou say still, '*Yet* a little sleep, a little slumber,' and 'a little folding of the hands to sleep?' Pr. vi. 10. Wilt thou yet turn thyself in thy sloth, as the door is turned upon the hinges? O that I was one that was skilful in lamentation, and had but a yearning heart towards thee, how would I pity thee! How would I bemoan thee! O that I could with Jeremiah let my eyes run down with rivers of water for thee! Poor soul, lost soul, dying soul, what a hard heart have I that I cannot mourn for thee! If thou shouldst lose but a limb, a child, or a friend, it would not be so much, but poor man it is THY SOUL; if it was to lie in hell but for a day, but for a year, nay, ten thousand years, it would (in comparison) be nothing. But O it is for ever! O this cutting EVER! What a soul-amazing word will that be, which saith, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into EVERLASTING fire'! &c.†

Object. But if I should set in, and run as you would have me, then I must run from all my friends; for none of them are running that way.

Answ. And if thou dost, thou wilt run into the bosom of Christ and of God, and then what harm will that do thee?

Object. But if I run this way, then I must run from all my sins.

Answ. That is true indeed; yet if thou dost not, thou wilt run into hell-fire.

Object. But if I run this way, then I shall be hated, and lose the love of my friends and relations, and of those that I expect benefit from, or have reliance on, and I shall be mocked of all my neighbours.

Answ. And if thou dost not, thou art sure to lose the love and favour of God and Christ, the benefit of heaven and glory, and be mocked of God for thy folly, 'I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh;' and if thou wouldst not be hated and mocked, then take heed thou by thy folly dost not procure the displeasure and mockings of the great God; for his mocks and hatred will be terrible, because they will fall upon thee in terrible times, even when tribulation and anguish taketh hold on thee; which will be when death and judgment comes, when all the men in the earth, and all the angels in heaven, cannot help thee. Pr. i. 26–28.

Object. But surely I may begin this time enough, a year or two hence, may I not?

Answ. 1. Hast thou any lease of thy life? Did ever God tell thee thou shalt live half a year, or two months longer? nay, it may be thou mayst not live so long. And therefore, 2. Wilt thou be so sottish and unwise, as to venture thy soul upon a little uncertain time? 3. Dost thou know whether the day of grace will last a week longer or no? For the day of grace is past with some before their life is ended: and if it should be so with thee,

* It was the commonly received opinion that, at the moment of death, the angels and devils strove to carry away the soul. If the dying man had received the consecrated wafer, the devils were scared at it, and lost their victim. Hence the prayer—'From lightning, battle, murder, and *sudden* death, good Lord, deliver us;' a curious contrast to, 'Thy will be done!' Were they sinners above all men upon whom the tower in Siloam fell and slew them? Lu. xiii. 4. O that men would rely upon the righteousness of Christ stimulating them to run for glory, as heavenly footmen, and not upon the nostrums of Antichrist!—ED.

† In a very beautifully ornamented Liturgy of the Church of England, prior to the Reformation, after the Salisbury use, printed in 1526 (in the Editor's library), is this direction—'These iii. prayers be wrytten in the chapel of the holy crosse in Rome, who that deuoutly say them they shall obteyne ten hundred thousand years of pardon for deadly sins graunted of oure holy father Jhon xxii pope of Rome.' The three prayers only occupy twenty-six short lines, and may be gravely repeated in two minutes. Such was and IS Popery!! But at the end of all this promised pardon for a million of years—what then? Will eternal torments commence?—ED.

wouldst thou not say, O that I had begun to run before the day of grace had been past, and the gates of heaven shut against me. But, 4. If thou shouldst see any of thy neighbours neglect the making sure of either house or land to themselves, if they had it proffered to them, saying, Time enough hereafter, when the time is uncertain; and besides, they do not know whether ever it will be proffered to them again, or no: I say, Wouldst thou not then call them fools? And if so, then dost thou think that thou art a wise man to let thy immortal soul hang over hell by a thread of uncertain time, which may soon be cut asunder by death?

But to speak plainly, all these are the words of a slothful spirit. Arise man, be slothful no longer; set foot, and heart, and all into the way of God, and run, the crown is at the end of the race; there also standeth the loving fore-runner, even Jesus, who hath prepared heavenly provision to make thy soul welcome, and he will give it thee with a willinger heart than ever thou canst desire it of him. O therefore do not delay the time any longer, but put into practice the words of the men of Dan to their brethren, after they had seen the goodness of the land of Canaan: 'Arise,' say they, &c., 'for we have seen the land, and behold it *is* very good; and *are* ye still,' or do you forbear running? 'Be not slothful to go, *and* to enter to possess the land.' Ju. xviii. 9. Farewell.

I wish our souls may meet with comfort at the journey's end.

JOHN BUNYAN.

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These be the contents of this little book;
If thou wilt see further, then thorow it look.

THE HEAVENLY FOOTMAN.

'SO RUN, THAT YE MAY OBTAIN.'—1 COR. IX. 24.

HEAVEN and happiness is that which every one desireth, insomuch that wicked Balaam could say, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.' Nu. xxiii. 10. Yet for all this, there are but very few that do obtain that ever-to-be-desired glory, insomuch that many eminent professors drop short of a welcome from God into his pleasant place.

The apostle, therefore, because he did desire the salvation of the souls of the Corinthians, to whom he writes this epistle, layeth them down in these words, such counsel, which if taken, would be for their help and advantage. *First*, Not to be wicked, and sit still, and wish for heaven; but TO RUN for it. *Second*, Not to content themselves with every kind of running; but, saith he, 'SO RUN, that ye may obtain.' As if he should say, Some, because they would not lose their souls, they begin to run betimes, Ec. xii. 1, they run apace, they run with patience, He. xii. 1, they run the right way. Mat. xiv. 26. Do you so run? Some run from both father and mother, friends and companions, and thus, that they may have the crown. Do you so run? Some run through temptations, afflictions, good report, evil report, that they may win the pearl. 1 Co. iv. 13. 2 Co. vi. Do you so run? 'So run that ye may obtain.'

These words, they are taken from men's running for a wager: a very apt similitude to set before the eyes of the saints of the Lord. 'Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain.' That is, do not only run, but be sure you win as well as run. 'So run, that ye may obtain.'

I shall not need to make any great ado in opening the words at this time, but shall rather lay down one doctrine that I do find in them; and in prosecuting that, I shall show you, in some measure, the scope of the words.

[I. THE DOCTRINE OF THE TEXT.]

The doctrine is this: THEY THAT WILL HAVE HEAVEN, MUST RUN FOR IT; I say, they that will have heaven, they must run for it. I beseech you to heed it well. 'Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run ye.' The prize is heaven, and if you will have it, you must run for it. You have another scripture for this in the 12th of the Hebrews, the 1st, 2d, and 3rd verses: 'Wherefore seeing we also,' saith the apostle, 'are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset *us*, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us.' And LET US RUN, saith he. Again, saith Paul, 'I therefore so run, not as uncertainly, so fight I,' &c.

[II. THE WORD RUN OPENED.]

But before I go any further, observe,

First—FLYING—That this running is not an ordinary, or any sort of running, but it is to be understood of the swiftest sort of running; and therefore in the 6th of the Hebrews it is called 'a fleeing;' that 'we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge, to lay hold upon the hope set before us.' Mark, 'who have fled.' It is taken from that 20th of Joshua, concerning the man that was to flee to the city of refuge, when the avenger of blood was hard at his heels, to take vengeance on him for the offence he had committed; therefore it is a RUNNING or FLYING for one's life. A running with all might and main, as we use to say. So run!

Second—PRESSING—This running in another place is called a pressing. 'I press toward the mark;' Ph. iii. 14; which signifieth, that they that will have heaven, they must not stick at any difficulties they meet with; but press, crowd, and thrust through all that may stand between heaven and their souls. So run!

Third—CONTINUING—This running is called in another place, 'a continuing in the way of life. If ye continue in the faith grounded, and settled, and *be* not moved away from the hope of the gospel' of Christ. Col. i. 23. Not to run a little now and then, by fits and starts, or half-way, or almost thither; but to run for my life, to run through all difficulties, and to continue therein to the end of the race, which must be to the end of my life. 'So run, that ye may obtain.'

[III. SEVERAL REASONS FOR CLEARING THIS DOCTRINE.]

And the reasons for this point are these,

First. Because all or every one that runneth doth not obtain the prize; there be many that do run, yea, and run far too, who yet miss of the crown that standeth at the end of the race. You know that all that run in a race do not obtain the victory; they all run, but one wins. And so it is here; it is not every one that runneth, nor every one that seeketh, nor every one that striveth for the mastery, that hath it. Lu. xiii. Though a man do strive for the mastery, saith Paul, '*yet* he is not crowned, except he strive lawfully;' that is, unless he so

run, and so strive, as to have God's approbation. 2 Tim. ii. 5. What, do you think that every heavy-heeled professor will have heaven? What, every lazy one; every wanton and foolish professor, that will be stopped by anything, kept back by anything, that scarce runneth so fast heaven-ward as a snail creepeth on the ground? Nay, there are some professors do not go on so fast in the way of God as a snail doth go on the wall; and yet these think, that heaven and happiness is for them. But stay, there are many more that run than there be that obtain; therefore he that will have heaven must RUN for it.

Second, Because you know that though a man do run, yet if he do not overcome, or win, as well as run, what will he be the better for his running? He will get nothing. You know the man that runneth, he doth do it that he may win the prize; but if he doth not obtain, he doth lose his labour, spend his pains and time, and that to no purpose; I say, he getteth nothing. And ah! how many such runners will there be found at the day of judgment! Even multitudes, multitudes that have run, yea, run so far as to come to heaven gates, and not able to get any further, but there stand knocking, when it is too late, crying, Lord, Lord, when they have nothing but rebukes for their pains. Depart from me, you come not here, you come too late, you run too lazily; the door is shut.[1] 'When once the master of the house is risen up,' saith Christ, 'and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us, I will say, I know ye not, Depart,' &c. Lu. xiii. 25. O sad will the estate of those be that run and miss; therefore, if you will have heaven, you must run for it; and 'so run that ye may obtain.'

Third, Because the way is long (I speak metaphorically), and there is many a dirty step, many a high hill, much work to do, a wicked heart, world, and devil, to overcome; I say, there are many steps to be taken by those that intend to be saved, by running or walking, in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham. Out of Egypt thou must go through the Red Sea; thou must run a long and tedious journey, through the vast howling wilderness, before thou come to the land of promise.

Fourth, They that will go to heaven they must run for it; because, as the way is long, so the time in which they are to get to the end of it is very uncertain; the time present is the only time; thou hast no more time allotted thee than that thou now enjoyest. 'Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth.' Pr. xxvii. 1. Do not say, I have time enough to get to heaven seven years hence; for I tell thee, the bell may toll for thee before seven days more be ended;[2] and when death comes, away thou must go, whether thou art provided or not; and therefore look to it; make no delays; it is not good dallying with things of so great concernment as the salvation or damnation of thy soul. You know he that hath a great way to go in a little time, and less by half than he thinks of, he had need RUN for it.

Fifth, They that will have heaven they must run for it; because the devil, the law, sin, death, and hell, follow them. There is never a poor soul that is going to heaven, but the devil, the law, sin, death, and hell, make after that soul. 'Your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.' 1 Pe. v. 8. And I will assure you, the devil is nimble, he can run apace, he is light of foot, he hath overtaken many, he hath turned up their heels, and hath given them an everlasting fall. Also the law, that can shoot a great way, have a care thou keep out of the reach of those great guns, the ten commandments. Hell also hath a wide mouth; it can stretch itself further than you are aware of. And as the angel said to Lot, Take heed, 'look not behind thee, neither tarry thou in all the plain,' that is, any where between this and heaven, 'lest thou be consumed.'[3] Ge. xix. 17. So say I to thee, Take heed, tarry not, lest either the devil, hell, death, or the fearful curses of the law of God, do overtake thee, and throw thee down in the midst of thy sins, so as never to rise and recover again. If this were well considered, then thou, as well as I, wouldst say, They that will have heaven must run for it.

Sixth, They that will go to heaven must run for it; because perchance the gates of heaven may be shut shortly. Sometimes sinners have not heaven-gates open to them so long as they suppose; and if they be once shut against a man, they are so heavy, that all the men in the world, nor all the angels in heaven, are not able to open them. I shut, 'and no man openeth,' saith Christ. And how if thou shouldst come but one quarter of an hour too late? I tell thee, it will cost thee an eternity to bewail thy misery in. Francis Spira can tell thee what it is to stay till the gate of merey

[1] How awfully is this pictured to the soul in that solemn account of the day of death and judgment in Mat. xxv.; and how strikingly applied in the *Pilgrim's Progress* in the character of Ignorance.—(ED.)

[2] 'When the bell begins to toll,
Lord have mercy on the soul.'

The Papists imagine that there is an extraordinary power in the bell hallowed by baptism to drive away the spirits of darkness, so that the departing soul may take its journey without molestation!! It was also intended to rouse the faithful to pray for the dead person's soul. This, and other superstitious practices, were suspended during the Protectorate in some parishes, if not generally, but were revived at the Restoration, because the omission injured the revenues of the church.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*.—(ED.)

[3] This quotation, probably made from memory, is a mixture of the Genevan and the present version.—(ED.)

be quite shut; or to run so lazily, that they be shut before thou get within them.[1] What, to be shut out! what, out of heaven! Sinner, rather than lose it, run for it; yea, and 'so run that thou mayst obtain.'

Seventh, Lastly, Because if thou lose, thou losest all, thou losest soul, God, Christ, heaven, ease, peace, &c. Besides, thou layest thyself open to all the shame, contempt, and reproach, that either God, Christ, saints, the world, sin, the devil, and all, can lay upon thee. As Christ saith of the foolish builder, so will I say of thee, if thou be such a one who runs and missest; I say, even all that go by will begin to mock at thee, saying, This man began to run well, but was not able to finish. Lu. xiv. 28–30. But more of this anon.

Quest. But how should a poor soul do to run? For this very thing is that which afflicteth me sore, as you say, to think that I may run, and yet fall short. Methinks to fall short at last, O, it fears me greatly. Pray tell me, therefore, how I should run.

Answ. That thou mightest indeed be satisfied in this particular, cousider these following things.

[IV. Nine Directions how to Run.]

The First Direction.—If thou wouldst so run as to obtain the kingdom of heaven, then be sure that thou get into the way that leadeth thither. For it is a vain thing to think that ever thou shalt have the prize, though thou runnest never so fast, unless thou art in the way that leads to it. Set the case, that there should be a man in London that was to run to York for a wager; now, though he run never so swiftly, yet if he run full south, he might run himself quickly out of breath, and be never the nearer the prize, but rather the further off. Just so is it here; it is not simply the runner, nor yet the hasty runner, that winneth the crown, unless he be in the way that leadeth thereto.[2] I have observed, that little time which I have been a professor, that there is a great running to and fro, some this way, and some that way, yet it is to be feared most of them are out of the way, and then, though they run as swift as the eagle can fly, they are benefitted nothing at all.

Here is one runs a-quaking, another a-ranting; one again runs after the Baptism, and another after the Independency. Here is one for free-will, and another for Presbytery; and yet possibly most of all these sects run quite the wrong way, and yet every one is for his life, his soul, either for heaven or hell.[3]

If thou now say, Which is the way? I tell thee it is Christ, the Son of Mary, the Son of God Jesus saith, 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me.' Jn. xiv. 6. So then thy business is, if thou wouldst have salvation, to see if Christ be thine, with all his benefits; whether he hath covered thee with his righteousness, whether he hath showed thee that thy sins are washed away with his heart-blood, whether thou art planted into him, and whether thou have faith in him, so as to make a life out of him, and to conform thee to him. That is, such faith as to conclude that thou art righteous, because Christ is thy righteousness, and so constrained to walk with him as the joy of thy heart, because he saveth thy soul. And for the Lord's sake take heed, and do not deceive thyself, and think thou art in the way upon too slight grounds; for if thou miss of the way, thou wilt miss of the prize; and if thou miss of that, I am sure thou wilt lose thy soul, even that soul which is worth more than the whole world.

But I have treated more largely on this in my book of the two covenants, and therefore shall pass it now; only I beseech thee to have a care of thy soul, and that thou mayest so do, take this counsel: Mistrust thy own strength, and throw it away; down on thy knees in prayer to the Lord for the spirit of truth; search his word for direction; fly seducers' company; keep company with the soundest Christians, that have most experience of Christ; and be sure thou have a care of Quakers, Ranters, Freewillers; also do not have too much company with some Anabaptists, though I go under that name myself.[3] I tell thee this is such a serious

[1] Francis Spira, in 1548, being a lawyer in great repute in Italy, professed gospel principles, but afterwards relapsed into Popery, and became a victim of black despair. The man in the iron cage, at the Interpreter's house, probably referred to Spira. The narrative of his fearful state is preceded by a poem:—

'Here see a soul that's all despair, a man
All hell, a spirit all wounds. Who can
A wounded spirit bear?
Reader, wouldst see what you may never feel,
Despair, racks, torments, whips of burning steel?
Behold this man, this furnace, in whose heart
Sin hath created hell. O! in each part
What flames appear?
His thoughts all stings; words, swords;
Brimstone his breath;
His eyes, flames; wishes, curses; life, a death,
A thousand deaths live in him, he not dead—
A breathing corpse in living scalding lead.—(Ed.)

[2] How plain and important is this direction. Saul the persecutor ran fast, but the faster he ran in his murderous zeal the further he ran from the prize. Let every staunch sectarian examine prayerfully his way, especially if the sect he belongs to is patronized by princes, popes, or potentates, and endowed with worldly honours. He may be running *from* and not *to* heaven.—(Ed.)

[3] He that trusts in the sect to which he belongs is assuredly in the wrong way, whether it be the Church of Rome or England, Quaking, Ranting, Baptists, or Independents. Trust in Christ must be all in all. First be in Christ, then run for heaven, looking unto Christ. Keep fellowship with those who are the purest, and run fastest in the ordinances of the gospel which are revealed in the Word. Follow no human authority nor craft, seek the influence of the Holy Spirit for yourself, that you may be led into all truth, then you will so run as to obtain.—(Ed.)

matter, and I fear thou wilt so little regard it, that the thoughts of the worth of the thing, and of thy too light regarding of it, doth even make my heart ache whilst I am writing to thee. The Lord teach thee the way by his Spirit, and then I am sure thou wilt know it. So RUN.

Only by the way, let me bid thee have a care of two things, and so I shall pass to the next thing.

I. Have a care of relying on the outward obedience to any of God's commands, or thinking thyself ever the better in the sight of God for that. 2. Take heed of fetching peace for thy soul from any inherent righteousness; but if thou canst believe that as thou art a sinner, so thou art justified freely by the love of God, through the redemption that is in Christ; and that God for Christ's sake hath forgiven thee, not because he saw any thing done, or to be done, in or by thee, to move him thereunto to do it; for that is the right way; the Lord put thee into it, and keep thee in it.

The Second Direction.—As thou shouldst get into the way so thou shouldst also be much in studying and musing on the way. You know men that would be expert in any thing, they are usually much in studying of that thing, and so likewise is it with those that quickly grow expert in any way. This therefore thou shouldst do; let thy study be much exercised about Christ, which is the way; what he is, what he hath done, and why he is what he is, and why he hath done what is done; as, why 'He took upon him the form of a servant,' why he 'was made in the likeness of men.' Ph. ii. 7. Why he cried; why he died; why he bear the sin of the world; why he was made sin, and why he was made righteousness; why he is in heaven in the nature of man, and what he doth there? 2 Co. v. 21. Be much in musing and considering of these things; be thinking also enough of those places which thou must not come near, but leave some on this hand, and some on that hand; as it is with those that travel into other countries, they must leave such a gate on this hand, and such a bush on that hand, and go by such a place, where standeth such a thing. Thus, therefore, thou must do: Avoid such things which are expressly forbidden in the Word of God. 'Withdraw thy foot far from her, and come not nigh the door of her house, for her steps take hold on hell, going down to the chambers of death.' Pr. v., vii. And so of every thing that is not in the way, have a care of it, that thou go not by it; come not near it, have nothing to do with it. So RUN.

The Third Direction.—Not only thus, but, in the next place, thou must strip thyself of those things that may hang upon thee to the hindering of thee in the way to the kingdom of heaven, as covetousness, pride, lust, or whatever else thy heart may be inclining unto, which may hinder thee in this heavenly race. Men that run for a wager, if they intend to win as well as run, they do not use to encumber themselves, or carry those things about them that may be a hinderance to them in their running. 'Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things,' 1 Co. ix. 25, that is, he layeth aside every thing that would be any ways a disadvantage to him; as saith the apostle, 'Let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us.' He. xii. 1. It is but a vain thing to talk of going to heaven, if thou let thy heart be encumbered with those things that would hinder. Would you not say that such a man would be in danger of losing, though he run, if he fill his pockets with stones, hang heavy garments on his shoulders, and great lumpish shoes on his feet?[1] So it is here; thou talkest of going to heaven, and yet fillest thy pocket with stones, *i.e.*, fillest thy heart with this world, lettest that hang on thy shoulders, with its profits and pleasures. Alas, alas, thou art widely mistaken! If thou intendest to win, thou must strip, thou must lay aside every weight, thou must be temperate in all things. Thou must so RUN.

The Fourth Direction.—Beware of by-paths; take heed thou dost not turn into those lanes which lead out of the way. There are crooked paths, paths in which men go astray, paths that lead to death and damnation, but take heed of all those. Is. lix. 8. Some of them are dangerous because of practice; Pr. vii. 25; some because of opinion, but mind them not; mind the path before thee, look right before thee, turn neither to the right hand nor to the left, but let thine eyes look right on, even right before thee. Pr. iii. 17. 'Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established. Turn not to the right hand nor to the left. Remove thy foot *far* from evil.' Pr. iv. 26, 27. This counsel being not so seriously taken as given, is the reason of that starting from opinion to opinion, reeling this way and that way, out of this lane into that lane, and so missing the way to the kingdom. Though the way to heaven be but one, yet there are many crooked lanes and by-paths shoot down upon it, as I may say. And again, notwithstanding the kingdom of heaven be the biggest city, yet usually those by-paths are most beaten, most travellers go those ways; and therefore the way to heaven is hard to be found, and as hard to be kept in, by reason of these. Yet, nevertheless, it is in

[1] How plain is this direction, and how does it commend itself to our common-sense; lumpish shoes, and pockets filled with stones, how absurd for a man who is running a race!! Stop, my dear reader, have you cast away all useless encumbrances, and all easily besetting sins? Is your heart full of mammon, or pride, or debauchery? if so, you have no particle of strength to run for heaven, but are running upon swift perdition.—(ED.)

this case as it was with the harlot of Jericho; she had one scarlet thread tied in her window, by which her house was known. Jo. ii. 18. So it is here, the scarlet streams of Christ's blood run throughout the way to the kingdom of heaven;[1] therefore mind that, see if thou do find the besprinkling of the blood of Christ in the way, and if thou do, be of good cheer, thou art in the right way; but have a care thou beguile not thyself with a fancy, for then thou mayst light into any lane or way; but that thou mayst not be mistaken, consider, though it seem never so pleasant, yet if thou do not find that in the very middle of the road there is writing with the heart-blood of Christ, that he came into the world to save sinners, and that we are justified, though we are ungodly; shun that way; for this it is which the apostle meaneth when he saith, We have 'boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us, through the vail, that is to say, his flesh.' He. x. 19, 20. How easy a matter is it in this our day, for the devil to be too cunning for poor souls, by calling his by-paths the way to the kingdom! If such an opinion or fancy be but cried up by one or more, this inscription being set upon it by the devil, 'This is the way of God,' how speedily, greedily, and by heaps, do poor simple souls throw away themselves upon it; especially if it be daubed over with a few external acts of morality, if so good.[2] But this is because men do not know painted by-paths from the plain way to the kingdom of heaven. They have not yet learned the true Christ, and what his righteousness is, neither have they a sense of their own insufficiency; but are bold, proud, presumptuous, self-conceited. And therefore,

The Fifth Direction. Do not thou be too much in looking too high in thy journey heavenwards. You know men that run in a race do not use to stare and gaze this way and that, neither do they use to cast up their eyes too high, lest happily,[3] through their too too much gazing with their eyes after other things, they in the meantime stumble and catch a fall. The very same case is this; if thou gaze and stare after every opinion and way that comes into the world; also if thou be prying overmuch into God's secret decrees, or let thy heart too much entertain questions about some nice foolish curiosities, thou mayst stumble and fall, as many hundreds in England have done, both in Ranting and Quakery, to their own eternal overthrow; without the marvellous operation of God's grace be suddenly stretched forth to bring them back again. Take heed therefore, follow not that proud and lofty spirit, that, devil-like, cannot be content with his own station. David was of an excellent spirit where he saith, 'Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty, neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me. Surely I have behaved and quieted myself as a child that is weaned of his mother: my soul *is* even as a weaned child.' Ps. cxxxi. 1, 2. Do thou so RUN.

The Sixth Direction. Take heed that you have not an ear open to every one that calleth after you as you are in your journey. Men that run, you know, if any do call after them, saying, I would speak with you, or go not too fast, and you shall have my company with you, if they run for some great matter, they use to say, Alas, I cannot stay, I am in haste, pray talk not to me now; neither can I stay for you, I am running for a wager: if I win I am made, if I lose I am undone, and therefore hinder me not. Thus wise are men when they run for corruptible things, and thus should thou do, and thou hast more cause to do so than they, forasmuch as they run but for things that last not, but thou for an incorruptible glory. I give thee notice of this betimes, knowing that thou shalt have enough call after thee, even the devil, sin, this world, vain company, pleasures, profits, esteem among men, ease, pomp, pride, together with an innumerable company of such companions; one crying, Stay for me; the other saying, Do not leave me behind; a third saying, And take me along with you. What, will you go, saith the devil, without your sins, pleasures, and profits? Are you so hasty? Can you not stay and take these along with you? Will you leave your friends and companions behind you? Can you not do as your neighbours do, carry the world, sin, lust, pleasure, profit, esteem among men, along with you? Have a care thou do not let thine ear now be open to the tempting, enticing, alluring, and soul-entangling flatteries of such sink-souls[4] as these are. 'My son,' saith Solomon, 'if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.' Pr. i. 10.

[1] This is one of those beautiful ideas which so abound in all Bunyan's works. Our way to the kingdom is consecrated by the cross of Christ, and may be known throughout by the sprinkling of his blood, his groans, his agonies. All the doctrines that put us in the way are sanctified by the atonement; all the spurs to a diligent running in that way are powerful as motives, by our being bought with that precious price, the death of Emmanuel. O! my soul, be thou found looking unto Jesus, he is THE WAY, the only way to heaven.—(Ed.)

[2] Strange infatuation, desperate pride, that man should reject the humbling simplicity of Divine truth, and run so anxiously, greedily, and in hosts, in the road to ruin, because priestcraft calls it 'The way of God;' preferring the miserable sophistry of Satan and his emissaries to the plain directions of Holy Writ. O! reader, put not your trust in man, but, while God is ready to direct you, rely solely on his Holy Word.—(Ed.)

[3] 'Happily,' or haply, were formerly used to express the same meaning.—(Ed.)

[4] 'Sink-souls' is one of Bunyan's strong Saxonisms, full of meaning. 'Sink' is that in which filth or foulness is deposited.

'She poured forth out of her hellish sink
Her fruitful cursed spawn.'—Spencer.—(Ed.)

You know what it cost the young man which Solomon speaks of in the 7th of the Proverbs, that was enticed by a harlot, 'With her much fair speech she' won him, and 'caused him to yield, with the flattering of her lips she forced him,' till he went after her 'as an ox to the slaughter, or as a fool to the correction of the stocks;' even so far, 'till the dart struck through his liver, and knew not that it *was* for his life. Hearken unto me now therefore,' saith he, 'O ye children, and attend to the words of my mouth, let not thine heart decline to her ways, go not astray in her paths, for she hath cast down many wounded, yea, many strong *men* have been slain by her,' that is, kept out of heaven by her, 'her house *is* the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death.' Soul, take this counsel and say, Satan, sin, lust, pleasure, profit, pride, friends, companions, and everything else, let me alone, stand off, come not nigh me, for I am running for heaven, for my soul, for God, for Christ, from hell and everlasting damnation: if I win, I win all, and if I lose, I lose all; let me alone, for I will not hear. So RUN.

The Seventh Direction. In the next place, be not daunted though thou meetest with never so many discouragements in thy journey thither. That man that is resolved for heaven, if Satan cannot win him by flatteries, he will endeavour to weaken him by discouragements; saying, thou art a sinner, thou hast broke God's law, thou art not elected, thou comest too late, the day of grace is past, God doth not care for thee, thy heart is naught, thou art lazy, with a hundred other discouraging suggestions. And thus it was with David, where he saith, '*I had fainted*, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.' Ps. xxvii. 13, 14. As if he should say, the devil did so rage and my heart was so base, that had I judged according to my own sense and feeling, I had been absolutely distracted; but I trusted to Christ in the promise, and looked that God would be as good as his promise, in having mercy upon me, an unworthy sinner; and this is that which encouraged me, and kept me from fainting. And thus must thou do when Satan, or the law, or thy own conscience, do go about to dishearten thee, either by the greatness of thy sins, the wickedness of thy heart, the tediousness of the way, the loss of outward enjoyments, the hatred that thou wilt procure from the world, or the like; then thou must encourage thyself with the freeness of the promises, the tender-heartedness of Christ, the merits of his blood, the freeness of his invitations to come in, the greatness of the sin of others that have been pardoned, and that the same God, through the same Christ, holdeth forth the same grace free as ever. If these be not thy meditations, thou wilt draw very heavily in the way to heaven, if thou do not give up all for lost, and so knock off from following any farther; therefore, I say, take heart in thy journey, and say to them that seek thy destruction, 'Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy, when I fall I shall arise, when I sit in darkness the Lord *shall be* a light unto me.' Mi. vii. 8. So RUN.

The Eighth Direction. Take heed of being offended at the cross that thou must go by, before thou come to heaven. You must understand, as I have already touched, that there is no man that goeth to heaven but he must go by the cross. The cross is the standing way-mark by which all they that go to glory must pass by. 'We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.' Ac. xiv. 22. 'Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.' 2 Ti. iii. 12. If thou art in the way to the kingdom, my life for thine thou wilt come at the cross shortly—the Lord grant thou dost not shrink at it, so as to turn thee back again. 'If any *man* will come after me,' saith Christ, 'let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me.' Lu. ix. 23. The cross it stands, and hath stood, from the beginning, as a way-mark to the kingdom of heaven.[1] You know if one ask you the way to such and such a place, you, for the better direction, do not only say, this is the way, but then also say, you must go by such a gate, by such a style, such a bush, tree, bridge, or such like. Why, so it is here; art thou inquiring the way to heaven? Why, I tell thee, Christ is the way; into him thou must get, into his righteousness, to be justified; and if thou art in him, thou wilt presently see the cross, thou must go close by it, thou must touch it, nay, thou must take it up, or else thou wilt quickly go out of the way that leads to heaven, and turn up some of those crooked lanes that lead down to the chambers of death.

How thou mayest know the cross by these six things. 1. It is known in the doctrine of justification. 2. In the doctrine of mortification. 3. In the doctrine of perseverance. 4. In self-denial. 5. Patience. 6. Communion with poor saints.

1. In the doctrine of justification; there is a great deal of the cross in that: a man is forced to suffer the destruction of his own righteousness for the righteousness of another. This is no easy matter for a man to do; I assure to you it stretcheth every vein in his heart before he will be brought to yield to it. What, for a man to deny, reject,

[1] This is one of Bunyan's most deeply expressive directions to the heaven-ward pilgrim; may it sink into our hearts. Christ is the way, the cross is the standing way-mark throughout the road, never out of sight. In embracing the humbling doctrines of grace, in sorrow for sin, in crucifying self, in bearing each other's burdens, in passing through the river that will absorb our mortality—from the new birth to our inheritance—the cross is the *way-mark*.—(Ed.)

abhor, and throw away all his prayers, tears, alms, keeping of sabbaths, hearing, reading, with the rest, in the point of justification, and to count them accursed;[1] and to be willing, in the very midst of the sense of his sins, to throw himself wholly upon the righteousness and obedience of another man, abhorring his own, counting it as deadly sin, as the open breach of the law; I say, to do this in deed and in truth, is the biggest piece of the cross; and therefore Paul calleth this very thing a suffering; where he saith, 'And I have SUFFERED the loss of all things,' which principally was his righteousness, 'that I might win Christ, and be found in him, not having,' but rejecting, 'mine own righteousness.' Phi. iii. 8, 9. That is the first.

2. In the doctrine of mortification is also much of the cross. Is it nothing for a man to lay hands on his vile opinions, on his vile sins, of his bosom sins, of his beloved, pleasant, darling sins, that stick as close to him, as the flesh sticketh to the bones? What, to lose all these brave things that my eyes behold, for that which I never saw with my eyes? What, to lose my pride, my covetousness, my vain company, sports, and pleasures, and the rest? I tell you this is no easy matter; if it were, what need all those prayers, sighs, watchings? What need we be so backward to it? Nay, do you not see, that some men, before they will set about this work, they will even venture the loss of their souls, heaven, God, Christ, and all? What means else all those delays and put-offs, saying, Stay a little longer, I am loth to leave my sins while I am so young, and in health? Again, what is the reason else, that others do it so by the halves, coldly and seldom, notwithstanding they are convinced over and over; nay, and also promise to amend, and yet all's in vain? I will assure you, to cut off right hands, and to pluck out right eyes, is no pleasure to the flesh.

3. The doctrine of perseverance is also cross to the flesh; which is not only to begin, but for to hold out, not only to bid fair, and to say, Would I had heaven, but so to know Christ, to put on Christ, and walk with Christ as to come to heaven. Indeed, it is no great matter to begin to look for heaven, to begin to seek the Lord, to begin to shun sin. O but it is a very great matter to continue with God's approbation! 'My servant Caleb,' saith God, is a man of 'another spirit, he hath followed me,' followed me always, he hath continually followed me, 'fully, he shall possess the land.' Nu. xiv. 24. Almost all the many thousands of the children of Israel in their generation, fell short of perseverance when they walked from Egypt towards the land of Canaan. Indeed they went to the work at first pretty willingly, but they were very short-winded, they were quickly out of breath, and in their hearts they turned back again into Egypt.

It is an easy matter for a man to run hard for a spurt, for a furlong, for a mile or two; O, but to hold out for a hundred, for a thousand, for ten thousand miles: that man that doth this, he must look to meet with cross, pain, and wearisomeness to the flesh, especially if as he goeth he meeteth with briars and quagmires, and other incumbrances, that make his journey so much the more painfuller.

Nay, do you not see with your eyes daily, that perseverance is a very great part of the cross? why else do men so soon grow weary? I could point out a many, that after they have followed the ways of God about a twelvemonth, others it may be two, three, or four, some more, and some less years, they have been beat out of wind, have taken up their lodging and rest before they have got half-way to heaven, some in this, and some in that sin; and have secretly, nay, sometimes openly said, that the way is too strait, the race too long, the religion too holy, and cannot hold out, I can go no farther.

4, 5, 6. And so likewise of the other three, to wit, patience, self-denial, communion, and communication with and to the poor saints. How hard are these things? It is an easy matter to deny another man, but it is not so easy a matter to deny one's self; to deny myself out of love to God, to his gospel, to his saints, of this advantage, and of that gain; nay, of that which otherwise I might lawfully do, were it not for offending them. That scripture is but seldom read, and seldomer put in practice, which saith, '1 will eat no flesh while the world standeth, if it make my brother to offend. 1 Co. viii. 13. Again, 'We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves.' Ro. xv. 1. But how froward, how hasty, how peevish, and self-resolved are the generality of professors at this day! Also, how little considering the poor, unless it be to say, Be thou warmed and filled! But to give is a seldom work; also especially to give to any poor. Ga. vi. 10. I tell you all things are cross to flesh and blood; and that man that hath but a watchful eye over the flesh, and also some considerable measure of strength against it, he shall find his heart in these things like unto a starting horse, that is rid without a curbing bridle, ready to start at everything that is offensive to him; yea, and ready to run away too, do what the rider can.

It is the cross which keepeth those that are kept from heaven. I am persuaded, were it not

[1] Our holiest, happiest duties, IF they interfere with a simple and exclusive reliance upon Christ for justification, must be accursed in our esteem; while, if they are fulfilled in a proper spirit of love to him, they become our most blessed privileges. Reader, be jealous of your motives.—(ED.)

for the cross, where we have one professor, we should have twenty; but this cross, that is it which spoileth all.

Some men, as I said before, when they come at the cross they can go no farther, but back again to their sins they must go. Others they stumble at it, and break their necks; others again, when they see the cross is approaching, they turn aside to the left hand, or to the right hand, and so think to get to heaven another way; but they will be deceived. 'Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus SHALL,' mark, shall be sure to 'suffer persecution.' 2 Ti. iii. 12. There are but few when they come at the cross, cry, 'Welcome cross, as some of the martyrs did to the stake they were burned at. Therefore, if thou meet with the cross in thy journey, in what manner soever it be, be not daunted, and say, Alas, what shall I do now! But rather take courage, knowing, that by the cross is the way to the kingdom. Can a man believe in Christ and not be hated by the devil? Can he make a profession of this Christ, and that sweetly and convincingly, and the children of Satan hold their tongue? Can darkness agree with light? or the devil endure that Christ Jesus should be honoured both by faith and a heavenly conversation, and let that soul alone at quiet? Did you never read, that 'the dragon persecuteth the woman?' Re. xii. And that Christ saith, 'In the world ye shall have tribulation.' Jn. xvi. 33.

The Ninth Direction. Beg of God that he would do these two things for thee: *First*, Enlighten thine understanding. And, *Second*, Inflame thy will. If these two be but effectually done, there is no fear but thou wilt go safe to heaven.

[*First, Enlighten thine understanding.*] One of the great reasons why men and women do so little regard the other world, it is because they see so little of it.[1] And the reason why they see so little of it is because they have their understandings darkened. And therefore, saith Paul, do not you believers 'walk as do other Gentiles, even in the vanity of their minds, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance,' or foolishness 'that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart.' Ep. iv. 17, 18. Walk not as those, run not with them: alas, poor souls, they have their understandings darkened, their hearts blinded, and that is the reason they have such undervaluing thoughts of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the salvation of their souls. For when men do come to see the things of another world, what a God, what a Christ, what a heaven, and what an eternal glory there is to be enjoyed; also when they see that it is possible for them to have a share in it, I tell you it will make them run through thick and thin to enjoy it. Moses, having a sight of this, because his understanding was enlightened, he feared not the wrath of the king, but chose 'rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.' He refused to be called the son of the king's daughter; accounting it wonderful riches to be counted worthy of so much as to suffer for Christ, with the poor despised saints; and that was because he saw him who was invisible, and 'had respect unto the recompence of the reward.' He. xi. 24–27. And this is that which the apostle usually prayeth for in his epistles for the saints, namely, 'That they might know what is the hope of God's calling, and the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints.' Ep. i. 18. And that they might 'be able to comprehend with all saints, what *is* the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge.' Ep. iii. 18, 19. Pray therefore that God would enlighten thy understanding: that will be very great help unto thee. It will make thee endure many a hard brunt for Christ; as Paul saith, 'After ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions. You took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance.' He. x. 32–34. If there be never such a rare jewel lie just in a man's way, yet if he sees it not, he will rather trample upon it than stoop for it, and it is because he sees it not. Why, so it is here, though heaven be worth never so much, and thou hast never so much need of it, yet if thou see it not, that is, have not thy understanding opened or enlightened to see it, thou wilt not regard at all: therefore cry to the Lord for enlightening grace, and say, Lord, open my blind eyes: Lord, take the vail off my dark heart, show me the things of the other world, and let me see the sweetness, glory, and excellency of them for Christ his sake. This is the first.

[*Second. Inflame thy will.*] Cry to God that he would inflame thy will also with the things of the other world. For when a man's will is fully set to do such or such a thing, then it must be a very hard matter that shall hinder that man from bringing about his end. When Paul's will was set resolvedly to go up to Jerusalem, though it was signified to him before what he should there suffer, he was not daunted at all; nay, saith he, 'I am ready,' or willing, 'not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus.' Ac. xxi. 13. His will was inflamed with love to Christ; and therefore all the persuasions that could be used

[1] This is a very solemn warning. But is it asked how are we to see that that is invisible, or to imagine bliss that is past our understanding? The reply is, treasure up in your heart those glimpses of glory contained in the Word. Be daily in communion with the world of spirits, and it may be your lot, with Paul, to have so soul-ravishing a sense of eternal realities, as scarcely to know whether you are in the body or not.—(Ed.)

wrought nothing at all. Your self-willed people nobody knows what to do with them; we used to say, He will have his own will, do all what you can. Indeed to have such a will for heaven, is an admirable advantage to a man that undertaketh the race thither; a man that is resolved, and hath his will fixed, saith he, I will do my best to advantage myself; I will do my worst to hinder my enemies; I will not give out as long as I can stand; I will have it or I will lose my life; 'though he slay me yet will I trust in him.' Job xiii. 15. 'I will not let thee go except thou bless me.' Ge. xxxii. 26. I WILL, I WILL, I WILL, O this blessed inflamed will for heaven! What is like it? If a man be willing, then any argument shall be matter of encouragement; but if unwilling, then any argument shall give discouragement; this is seen both in saints and sinners; in them that are the children of God, and also those that are the children of the devil. As,

1. The saints of old, they being willing and resolved for heaven, what could stop them? Could fire or faggot, sword or halter, stinking dungeons, whips, bears, bulls, lions, cruel rackings, stoning, starving, nakedness, &c. He. xi. 'Nay, in all these things they were more than conquerors, through him that loved them;' Ro. viii. 37. who had also made them 'willing in the day of his power.'

2. See again, on the other side, the children of the devil, because they are not willing [to run to heaven], how many shifts and starting-holes they will have. I have married a wife, I have a farm, I shall offend my landlord, I shall offend my master, I shall lose my trading, I shall lose my pride, my pleaures, I shall be mocked and scoffed, therefore I dare not come. I, saith another, will stay till I am older, till my children are out of sight, till I am got a little aforehand in the world, till I have done this and that, and the other business; but alas, the thing is, they are not willing; for were they but soundly willing, these, and a thousand such as these, would hold them no faster than the cords held Samson when he broke them like burned flax. Ju. xv. 14. I tell you the will is all: that is one of the chief things which turns the wheel either backwards or forwards; and God knoweth that full well, and so likewise doth the devil; and therefore they both endeavour very much to strengthen the will of their servants. God, he is for making of his a willing people to serve him; and the devil, he doth what he can to possess the will and affection of those that are his, with love to sin; and therefore when Christ comes close to the matter, indeed, saith he, 'Ye will not come to me.' Jn. v. 40. 'How often would I have gathered you as a hen *doth* her chickens, and ye would not.' Lu. xiii. 34. The devil had possessed their wills, and so long he was sure enough of them. O therefore cry hard to God to inflame thy will for heaven and Christ: thy will, I say, if that be rightly set for heaven, thou wilt not be beat off with discouragements; and this was the reason that, when Jacob wrestled with the angel, though he lost a limb, as it were, and the hollow of his thigh was put out of joint, as he wrestled with him, yet, saith he, 'I will not,' mark, 'I WILL NOT let thee go except thou bless me.' Ge. xxxii. 24–26. Get thy will tipt with the heavenly grace, and resolution against all discouragements, and then thou goest full speed for heaven; but if thou falter in thy will, and be not found there, thou wilt run hobbling and halting all the way thou runnest, and also to be sure thou wilt fall short at the last. The Lord give thee a will and courage!

[Lord Will-be-will.]

[Lord Will-be-will.]

Thus have I done with directing thee how to run to the kingdom; be sure thou keep in memory what I have said unto thee, lest thou lose thy way. But because I would have thee think of them, take all in short in this little bit of paper.

1. Get into the way. 2. Then study on it. 3. Then strip, and lay aside everything that would hinder. 4. Beware of bye-paths. 5. Do not gaze and stare too much about thee, and be sure to ponder the path of thy feet. 6. Do not stop for any that call after thee, whether it be the world, the flesh, or the devil; for all these will hinder thy journey, if possible. 7. Be not daunted with any discouragements thou meetest with as thou goest. 8. Take heed of stumbling at the cross. 9. Cry hard to God for an enlightened heart, and a willing mind, and God give thee a prosperous journey. Yet before I do quite take my leave of thee, let me give thee a few motives along with thee. It may be they will be as good as a pair of spurs to prick on thy lumpish heart in this rich voyage.[1]

[V. NINE MOTIVES TO URGE US ON IN THE WAY.]

The First Motive. Consider there is no way but this, thou must either win or lose. If thou winnest, then heaven, God, Christ, glory, ease, peace, life, yea, life eternal, is thine; thou must be made equal to the angels in heaven; thou shalt sorrow no more, sigh no more, feel no more pain; thou shalt be out of the reach of sin, hell, death, the devil, the grave, and whatever else may endeavour thy hurt. But contrariwise, and if thou lose, then thy loss is heaven, glory, God, Christ, ease, peace,

[1] How characteristic of Bunyan is this sentence, 'the rich voyage.' God environing us about with his presence in time, and eternal felicity in the desired haven: 'the lumpish heart' at times apparently indifferent to the glorious harvest: 'a pair of spurs' to prick us on in the course. The word voyage (from *via*, a way) was in Bunyan's time equally used for a journey by sea or land, it is now limited to travelling by sea. —(ED.)

and whatever else which tendeth to make eternity comfortable to the saints; besides, thou procurest eternal death, sorrow, pain, blackness, and darkness, fellowship with devils, together with the everlasting damnation of thy own soul.

The Second Motive. Consider that this devil, this hell, death and damnation, followeth after thee as hard as they can drive, and have their commission so to do by the law, against which thou hast sinned; and therefore for the Lord's sake make haste.

The Third Motive. If they seize upon thee before thou get to the city of Refuge, they will put an everlasting stop to thy journey. This also cries, Run for it.

The Fourth Motive. Know also, that now heaven gates, the heart of Christ, with his arms, are wide open to receive thee. O methinks that this consideration, that the devil followeth after to destroy, and that Christ standeth open-armed to receive, should make thee reach out and fly with all haste and speed! And therefore,

The Fifth Motive. Keep thine eye upon the prize; be sure that thy eyes be continually upon the profit thou art like to get. The reason why men are so apt to faint in their race for heaven, it lieth chiefly in either of these two things:

1. They do not seriously consider the worth of the prize; or else if they do, they are afraid it is too good for them; but most lose heaven for want of considering the price and the worth of it. And therefore, that thou mayst not do the like, keep thine eye much upon the excellency, the sweetness, the beauty, the comfort, the peace, that is to be had there by those that win the prize. This was that which made the apostle run through anything; good report, evil report, persecution, affliction, hunger, nakedness, peril by sea, and peril by land, bonds and imprisonments. Also it made others endure to be stoned, sawn asunder, to have their eyes bored out with augurs, their bodies broiled on gridirons, their tongues cut out of their mouths, boiled in cauldrons, thrown to the wild beasts, burned at the stakes, whipped at posts, and a thousand other fearful torments, 'while they looked not at the things which are seen,' as the things of this world, 'but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen *are* temporal; but the things which are not seen *are* eternal.' 2 Co. iv. 18. O this word 'eternal,' that was it that made them, that when they might have had deliverance, they would not accept of it; for they knew in the world to come they should have a better resurrection. He. xi. 35.

2. And do not let the thoughts of the rareness of the place make thee say in thy heart, This is too good for me; for I tell thee, heaven is prepared for whosoever will accept of it, and they shall be entertained with hearty good welcome. Consider, therefore, that as bad as thou have got thither; thither went scrubbed,* beggarly Lazarus, &c. Nay, it is prepared for the poor: 'Hearken, my beloved brethren,' saith James, *take notice of it,* 'Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom?' Ja. ii. 5. Therefore take heart and RUN, man. And,

The Sixth Motive. Think much of them that are gone before. First, How really they got into the kingdom. Secondly, How safe they are in the arms of Jesus; would they be here again for a thousand worlds? Or if they were, would they be afraid that God would not make them welcome? Thirdly, What would they judge of thee if they knew thy heart began to fail thee in thy journey, or thy sins began to allure thee, and to persuade thee to stop thy race? would they not call thee a thousand fools? and say, O, that he did but see what we see, feel what we feel, and taste of the dainties that we taste of! O, if he were here one quarter of an hour, to behold, to see, to feel, to taste and enjoy but the thousandth part of what we enjoy, what would he do? What would he suffer? What would he leave undone? Would he favour sin? Would he love this world below? Would he be afraid of friends, or shrink at the most fearful threatenings that the greatest tyrants could invent to give him? Nay, those who have had but a sight of these things by faith, when they have been as far off from them as heaven from earth, yet they have been able to say with a comfortable and merry heart, as the bird that sings in the spring, that this and more shall not keep them from running to heaven. Sometimes, when my base heart hath been inclining to this world, and to loiter in my journey towards heaven, the very consideration of the glorious saints and angels in heaven, what they enjoy, and what low thoughts they have of the things of this world together, how they would befool me if they did but know that my heart was drawing back; [this] hath caused me to rush forward, to disdain these poor, low, empty, beggarly things, and to say to my soul, Come, soul, let us not be weary; let us see what this heaven is; let us even venture all for it, and try if that will quit the cost. Surely Abraham, David, Paul, and the rest of the saints of God, were as wise as any are now, and yet they lost all for this glorious kingdom. O! therefore, throw away stinking lusts, follow after righteousness, love the Lord Jesus, devote thyself unto his fear, I'll warrant thee he will give thee a goodly recompense. Reader, what sayst thou to this? Art [thou] resolved to follow me? Nay, resolve if thou

* 'Scrubbed;' worthless, vile, insignificant in the sight of man, who judges from the outward, temporal condition; but, in the case of Lazarus, precious in the sight of God.—(ED.)

canst to get before me. 'So run, that ye may obtain.'

The Seventh Motive. To encourage thee a little farther, set to the work, and when thou hast run thyself down weary, then the Lord Jesus will take thee up, and carry thee. Is not this enough to make any poor soul begin his race? Thou, perhaps, criest, O but I am feeble, I am lame, &c.: well, but Christ hath a bosom; consider, therefore, when thou hast run thyself down weary, he will put thee in his bosom: 'He shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry *them* in his bosom, *and* shall gently lead those that are with young.' Is. xl. 11. This is the way that fathers take to encourage their children, saying; Run, sweet babe, while thou art weary, and then I will take thee up and carry thee. 'He will gather his lambs with his arm, and carry *them* in his bosom.' When they are weary they shall ride.[1]

The Eighth Motive. Or else he will convey new strength from heaven into thy soul, which will be as well—'The youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall; but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew *their* strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint.' Is. xl. 30, 31. What shall I say besides what hath already been said? Thou shalt have good and easy lodging, good and wholesome diet, the bosom of Christ to lie in, the joys of heaven to feed on. Shall I speak of the satiety and of the duration of all these? Verily to describe them to the height it is a work too hard for me to do.'[2]

The Ninth Motive. Again methinks the very industry of the devil, and the industry of his servants, &c., should make you that have a desire to heaven and happiness to run apace. Why, the devil, he will lose no time, spare no pains, also neither will his servants, both to seek the destruction of themselves and others: and shall not we be as industrious for our own salvation? Shall the world venture the damnation of their souls for a poor corruptible crown; and shall not we venture the loss of a few trifles for an eternal crown? Shall they venture the loss of eternal friends, as God to love, Christ to redeem, the Holy Spirit to comfort, heaven for habitation, saints and angels for company, and all this to get and hold communion with sin, and this world, and a few base, drunken, swearing, lying, covetous wretches, like themselves? And shall not we labour as hard, run as fast, seek as diligently, nay, a hundred times more diligently, for the company of these glorious eternal friends, though with the loss of such as these, nay, with the loss of ten thousand times better than these poor, low, base, contemptible things? Shall it be said at the last day, that wicked men made more haste to hell than you did make to heaven?[3] That they spent more hours, days, and that early and late, for hell, than you spent for that which is ten thousand thousand of thousands times better? O let it not be so, but run with all might and main.

Thus you see I have here spoken something, though but little. Now I shall come to make some use and application of what hath been said, and so conclude.

[VI. Nine Uses of this Subject.]

The first use. You see here, that he that will go to heaven, he must run for it; yea, and not only run, but so run, that is, as I have said, to run earnestly, to run continually, to strip off every thing that would hinder in his race with the rest. Well then, do you so run? And now let us examine a little.

1. Art thou got into the right way? Art thou in Christ's righteousness? Do not say yes in thy heart, when in truth there is no such matter. It is a dangerous thing, you know, for a man to think he is in the right way, when he is in the wrong. It is the next way for him to lose his way, and not only so, but if he run for heaven, as thou sayst thou dost, even to lose that too. O this is the misery of most men, to persuade themselves that they run right, when they never had one foot in the way! The Lord give thee understanding here, or else thou art undone for ever. Prithee, soul, search when was it thou turned out of thy sins and righteousness into the righteousness of Jesus Christ. I say, dost thou see thyself in him? and is he more precious to thee than the whole world? Is thy mind always musing on him? Dost thou love to be talking of him—and also to be walking with him? Dost thou count his company more precious than the whole world? Dost thou count all things but poor, lifeless, empty, vain things, without communion with him? Doth his company sweeten all things—and his absence imbitter all things? Soul, I beseech thee, be serious, and lay it to heart, and do not take things of such weighty concernment as the salvation or damnation of thy soul, without good ground.

[1] What an inexhaustible source of comfort is contained in this passage. Blessed carriage, in which the poorest, weakest of Christ's flock shall ride. Millions of gold could not purchase the privilege thus to ride in ease and safety, supported and guarded by Omnipotence, and guided by Omniscience.—(Ed.)

[2] Summed up by the Psalmist, 'Happy *is that* people that is in such a case. Happy *is that* people whose God *is* the Lord.' Ps. cxliv. 15.—(Ed.)

[3] How severe and cutting, but how just, is this reflection upon many, that wicked men, for the gratification of destructive propensities, should evince greater zeal and perseverance to light up the fire of hell in their consciences, than some professing Christians do in following after peace and holiness. 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise.' —(Ed.)

2. Art thou unladen of the things of this world, as pride, pleasures, profits, lusts, vanities? What! dost thou think to run fast enough with the world, thy sins and lusts in thy heart? I tell thee, soul, they that have laid all aside, every weight, every sin, and are got into the nimblest posture, they find work enough to run; so to run as to hold out. To run through all that opposition, all these jostles, all these rubs, over all these stumbling-blocks, over all the snares from all these intanglements, that the devil, sin, the world, and their own hearts, lay before them; I tell thee, if thou art agoing heavenward, thou wilt find it no small or easy matter. Art thou therefore discharged and unladen of these things? Never talk of going to heaven if thou art not. It is to be feared thou wilt be found among the many that 'will seek to enter in, and shall not be able.' Lu. xiii. 24.

The second use. If so, then, in the next place, what will become of them that are grown weary before they are got half way thither? Why, man, it is he that holdeth out to the end that must be saved; it is he that overcometh that shall inherit all things; it is not every one that begins. Agrippa gave a fair step for a sudden, he steps almost into the bosom of Christ in less than half an hour. Thou, saith he to Paul, hast 'almost persuaded me to be a Christian.' Ac. xxvi. 28. Ah! but it was but almost; and so he had as good have been never a whit; he stept fair indeed, but yet he stept short; he was hot while he was at it, but he was quickly out of wind. O this but almost! I tell you, this but almost, it lost his soul. Methinks I have seen sometimes how these poor wretches that get but almost to heaven, how fearfully their almost, and their but almost, will torment them in hell; when they shall cry out in the bitterness of their souls, saying, I was *almost* a Christian. I was *almost* got into the kingdom, *almost* out of the hands of the devil, *almost* out of my sins, *almost* from under the curse of God; *almost*, and that was all; *almost*, but not altogether. O that I should be *almost* at heaven, and should not go quite through! Friend, it is a sad thing to sit down before we are in heaven, and to grow weary before we come to the place of rest; and if it should be thy case, I am sure thou dost not so run as to obtain. But again,

The third use. In the next place, What then will become of them that some time since were running post-haste to heaven, insomuch that they seemed to outstrip many, but now are running as fast back again? Do you think those will ever come thither? What, to run back again, back again to sin, to the world, to the devil, back again to the lusts of the flesh? O! 'It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than after they have known *it*, to turn,' to turn back again, 'from the holy commandment.' 2 Pe. ii. 22. Those men shall not only be damned for sin, but for professing to all the world that sin is better than Christ; for the man that runs back again, he doth as good as say, 'I have tried Christ, and I have tried sin, and I do not find so much profit in Christ as in sin.'[1] I say, this man declareth this, even by his running back again. O sad! what a doom they will have, who were almost at heaven-gates, and then run back again. 'If *any* draw back,' saith Christ [by his apostle], 'my soul shall have no pleasure in him.' He. x. 38. Again, 'No man having put his hand to the plough,' that is, set forward, in the ways of God, 'and looking back,' turning back again, 'is fit for the kingdom of God.' Lu. ix. 62. And if not fit for the kingdom of heaven, then for certain he must needs be fit for the fire of hell. And therefore, saith the apostle, those that 'bring forth' these apostatizing fruits, as 'briars and thorns, are rejected, and nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.' He. vi. 8. O there is never another Christ to save them by bleeding and dying for them! And if they shall not escape that neglect, then how shall they escape that reject and turn their back upon 'so great a salvation?' He. ii. 3. And if the righteous, that is, they that run for it, will find work enough to get to heaven, 'then where will the ungodly' backsliding 'sinner appear?' or if Judas the traitor, or Francis Spira the backslider,[2] were but now alive in the world to whisper these men in the ear a little, and tell them what it hath cost their souls for backsliding, surely it would stick by them and make them afraid of running back again, so long as they had one day to live in this world.

The fourth use. So again, fourthly, how unlike to these men's passions[3] will those be that have all this while sat still, and have not so much as set one foot forward to the kingdom of heaven. Surely he that backslideth, and he that sitteth still in sin, they are both of one mind; the one he will not stir, because he loveth his sins, and the things of this world; the other he runs back again, because he loveth his sins, and the things of this world: is it not one and the same thing? They are all one here, and shall not one and the same hell hold them hereafter! He is an ungodly one that never looked after Christ, and he is an un-

[1] How awful a warning is this to the backslider. A wicked professor is a practical atheist and a contemptible hypocrite. But the backslider is worse, he proclaims, in his downward course, the awful blasphemy that 'sin is better than Christ;' 'hell is preferable to heaven.' O! that some poor bewildered backslider may, by a Divine blessing upon the voice of Bunyan, be arrested in his mad career.—(Ed.)

[2] See the Note on Francis Spira on page 383.

[3] 'Passions;' the old English term for sufferings. It is used in Acts i. emphatically, to express the last sufferings of the Saviour; as also in what is called 'passion week.'—(Ed.)

godly one that did once look after him and then ran quite back again; and therefore that word must certainly drop out of the mouth of Christ against them both, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' Mat. xxv. 41.

The fifth use. Again, here you may see, in the next place, that is, they that will have heaven must run for it; then this calls aloud to those who began but a while since to run, I say, for them to mend their pace if they intend to win; you know that they which come hindmost, had need run fastest. Friend, I tell thee, there be those that have run ten years to thy one, nay, twenty to thy five, and yet if thou talk with them, sometimes they will say they doubt they shall come late enough. How then will it be with thee? Look to it therefore that thou delay no time, not an hour's time, but speedily part with all, with everything that is an hinderance to thee in thy journey, and run; yea, and so run that thou mayest obtain.

The sixth use. Again, sixthly, You that are old professors, take you heed that the young striplings of Jesus, that began to strip but the other day, do not outrun you, so as to have that scripture fulfilled on you, 'The first shall be last, and the last first;' which will be a shame to you, and a credit for them. What, for a young soldier to be more courageous than he that hath been used to wars! To you that are hindmost, I say, strive to outrun them that are before you; and you that are foremost, I say, hold your ground, and keep before them in faith and love, if possible; for indeed that is the right running, for one to strive to outrun another; even for the hindmost to endeavour to overtake the foremost, and he that is before should be sure to lay out himself to keep his ground, even to the very utmost. But then,

The seventh use. Again, How basely do they behave themselves, how unlike are they to win, that think it enough to keep company with the hindmost? There are some men that profess themselves such as run for heaven as well as any; yet if there be but any lazy, slothful, cold, half-hearted professors in the country, they will be sure to take example by them; they think if they can but keep pace with them they shall do fair; but these do not consider that the hindmost lose the prize. You may know it, if you will, that it cost the foolish virgins dear for their coming too late—'They that were ready went in with him, and the door was shut. Afterward,' mark, 'afterward came the other,' the foolish, 'virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us; but he answered, and said,' Depart, 'I know you not.' Mat. xxv. 10–12. Depart, lazy professors, cold professors, slothful professors. O! methinks the Word of God is so plain for the overthrow of your lazy professors, that it is to be wondered men do take no more notice of it. How was Lot's wife served for running lazily, and for giving but one look behind her, after the things she left in Sodom? How was Esau served for staying too long before he came for the blessing? And how were they served that are mentioned in the 13th of Luke, 'for staying till the door was shut?' Also the foolish virgins; a heavy after-groan will they give that have thus staid too long. It turned Lot's wife into a pillar of salt. Ge. xix. 26. It made Esau weep with an exceeding loud and bitter cry. He. xii. 17. It made Judas hang himself: yea, and it will make thee curse the day in which thou wast born, if thou miss of the kingdom, as thou wilt certainly do, if this be thy course. But,

The Eighth Use. Again, How, and if thou by thy lazy running shouldst not only destroy thyself, but also thereby be the cause of the damnation of some others, for thou being a professor thou must think that others will take notice of thee; and because thou art but a poor, cold, lazy runner, and one that seeks to drive the world and pleasure along with thee: why, thereby others will think of doing so too. Nay, say they, why may not we as well as he? He is a professor, and yet he seeks for pleasures, riches, profits; he loveth vain company, and he is proud, and he is so and so, and professeth that he is going for heaven; yea, and he saith also he doth not fear but he shall have entertainment; let us therefore keep pace with him, we shall fare no worse than he. O how fearful a thing will it be, if that thou shalt be instrumental of the ruin of others by thy halting in the way of righteousness! Look to it, thou wilt have strength little enough to appear before God, to give an account of the loss of thy own soul; thou needest not have to give an account for others; why, thou didst stop them from entering in. How wilt thou answer that saying, You would not enter in yourselves, and them that would you hinder; for that saying will be eminently fulfilled on them that through their own idleness do keep themselves out of heaven, and by giving of others the same example, hinder them also.

The Ninth Use. Therefore, now to speak a word to both of you, and so I shall conclude.

1. I beseech you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that none of you do run so lazily in the way to heaven as to hinder either yourselves or others. I know that even he which runs laziest, if he should see a man running for a temporal life, if he should so much neglect his own well-being in this world as to venture, when he is a-running for his life, to pick up here and there a lock of wool that hangeth by the way-side, or to step now and then aside out of the way for to gather up a

straw or two, or any rotten stick, I say, if he should do this when he is a-running for his life, thou wouldest condemn him; and dost thou not condemn thyself that dost the very same in effect, nay worse, that loiterest in thy race, notwithstanding thy soul, heaven, glory, and all is at stake. Have a care, have a care, poor wretched sinner, have a care.

2. If yet there shall be any that, notwithstanding this advice, will still be flaggering and loitering in the way to the kingdom of glory, be thou so wise as not to take example by them. Learn of no man further than he followeth Christ. But look unto Jesus, who is not only 'the author and finisher of faith,' but who did, 'for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is now set down at the right hand of God.' He. xii. 2. I say, look to no man to learn of him no further than he followeth Christ. 'Be ye followers of me,' saith Paul, 'even as I also *am* of Christ.' 1 Co. xi. 1. Though he was an eminent man, yet his exhortation was, that none should follow him any further than he followed Christ.

VII. Provocation. [To run with the foremost.]

Now that you may be provoked to run with the foremost, take notice of this. When Lot and his wife were running from cursed Sodom to the mountains, to save their lives, it is said that his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt; and yet you see that neither her practice, nor the judgment of God that fell upon her for the same, would cause Lot to look behind him. I have sometimes wondered at Lot in this particular; his wife looked behind her, and died immediately, but let what would become of her, Lot would not so much as look behind him to see her. We do not read that he did so much as once look where she was, or what was become of her; his heart was indeed upon his journey, and well it might: there was the mountain before him, and the fire and brimstone behind him; his life lay at stake, and he had lost it if he had but looked behind him. Do thou so run: and in thy race remember Lot's wife, and remember her doom; and remember for what that doom did overtake her; and remember that God made her an example for all lazy runners, to the end of the world: and take heed thou fall not after the same example. But, if this will not provoke thee, consider thus,

1. Thy soul is thy own soul, that is either to be saved or lost; thou shalt not lose *my* soul by *thy* laziness. It is thy own soul, thy own ease, thy own peace, thy own advantage, or disadvantage. If it were my soul that thou art desired to be good unto, methinks reason should move thee somewhat to pity it. But alas, it is thy own, thy own soul. 'What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?' Mar. viii. 36. God's people wish well to the souls of others, and wilt not thou wish well to thy own? And if this will not provoke thee, then think again,

2. If thou lose thy soul, it is thou also that must bear the blame. It made Cain stark mad to consider that he had not looked to his brother Abel's soul. How much more will it perplex thee to think, that thou hadst not a care of thy own? And if this will not provoke thee to bestir thyself, think again, In a spiritual sense.

3. That if thou wilt not run, the people of God are resolved to deal with thee even as Lot dealt with his wife, that is, leave thee behind them. It may be thou hast a father, mother, brother, &c., going post-haste to heaven, wouldst thou be willing to be left behind them? Surely no. Again,

4. Will it not be a dishonour to thee to see the very boys and girls in the country to have more wit than thyself? It may be the servants of some men, as the horsekeeper, ploughman, scullion, &c., are more looking after heaven than their masters. I am apt to think sometimes, that more servants than masters, that more tenants than landlords, will inherit the kingdom of heaven. But is not this a shame for them that are such? I am persuaded you scorn, that your servants should say that they are wiser than you in the things of this world; and yet I am bold to say, that many of them are wiser than you in the things of the world to come, which are of greater concernment.

VIII. A short expostulation.

Well then, sinner, what sayest thou? Where is thy heart? Wilt thou run? Art thou resolved to strip? Or art thou not? Think quickly, man, it is no dallying in this matter. Confer not with flesh and blood; look up to heaven, and see how thou likest it; also to hell—of which thou mayst understand something by my book, called, *A few Sighs from Hell; or the Groans of a damned Soul;* which I wish thee to read seriously over—and accordingly devote thyself. If thou dost not know the way, inquire at the Word of God. If thou wantest company, cry for God's Spirit. If thou wantest encouragement, entertain the promises. But be sure thou begin by times; get into the way; run apace and hold out to the end; and the Lord give thee a prosperous journey. Farewell.

THE HOLY CITY;

OR,

THE NEW JERUSALEM:

WHEREIN ITS GOODLY LIGHT, WALLS, GATES, ANGELS, AND THE MANNER OF THEIR STANDING, ARE EXPOUNDED: ALSO HER LENGTH AND BREADTH, TOGETHER WITH THE GOLDEN MEASURING-REED EXPLAINED: AND THE GLORY OF ALL UNFOLDED.

AS ALSO THE NUMEROUSNESS OF ITS INHABITANTS; AND WHAT THE TREE AND WATER OF LIFE ARE, BY WHICH THEY ARE SUSTAINED.

'*Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.*—Psal. lxxxvii. 3.
'*And the name of the city from* that *day* shall be, *THE LORD* IS *THERE.*'—Ezek. xlviii. 35.

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ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

READER, it will require the utmost effort of your powers of faith in perfectly well authenticated history to believe an almost incredible fact, but which certainly took place in England, under the reformed church in 1665. It is, however, true, that a number of eminently pious, loyal, sober, industrious citizens were immured, by the forms of law, within the walls of a small prison on Bedford Bridge, over the river Ouse, for refusing to attend the parish church or join in the service prescribed by Acts of Parliament, according to the Book of Common Prayer. The Ruler of the universe deigned to approve their conduct, and to visit these prisoners with his peculiar approbation. He made their prison a Bethel, the house of God, and the very gate of heaven—thus richly blessing their souls for refusing to render unto man the things that are God's.

On the Lord's day they were in the habit of uniting in Divine worship. Their prison chamber had received no prelatic consecration, but God was in their midst to bless them. It happened one morning that it came to the turn of a poor itinerant tinker, of extraordinary ability, to address his fellow-prisoners—he had neither written nor even prepared a sermon, and felt, for a time, at a loss for a text or subject. At length, while turning over the sacred pages, his eye was directed to the description of the Holy City—New Jerusalem, which in the latter day will gloriously descend from heaven. His soul was enlarged and enlightened with the dazzling splendour of that sacred city—his heart, which had felt 'empty, spiritless, and barren,' was baptized into his subject—'with a few groans, he carried his meditations to the Lord Jesus for a blessing, which he did forthwith grant according to his grace, and then the preacher did set before his brethren the spiritual meat, and they did all eat and were well refreshed. While distributing the truth, it did so increase in his hand, that of the fragments he gathered up a basket full, and furnished this heavenly treatise.' Such, in substance, is the author's interesting account of the circumstances under which he wrote this book. He adds, with humility, that the men of this world would laugh, in conceit, that one so low, contemptible, and inconsiderable should busy himself with so hard and knotty a subject, but humbly hopes, that though but a babe in Christ, these truths were revealed to him. To the real followers of the lowly Jesus, the poor carpenter's son, 'who had not where to lay his head'—of whom the Jews said, 'How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?' Jn. vii. 15—despised by princes, prelates, scribes, and pharisees—to such, the poverty, the occupation, and the want of book-learning of our author needs no apology. It is all-sufficient to know that he was mighty in the Scriptures, and deeply taught of the Holy Spirit. These are the *only* sources of information relative to the New Jerusalem; and in this treatise the author has richly developed the treasures of the Bible in reference to this solemn subject. To the same prison discipline to which we are indebted for the *Pilgrim's Progress*, we owe this, and other of the labours of that eminent servant of Christ, John Bunyan. Little did the poor tyrants who sent him to jail think that, in such a place, he would have this blessed vision of the heavenly city, or that his severe sufferings would materially aid in destroying their wicked craft.

The subject is one of pure revelation. The philosopher—the theologian—the philologist—the historian, and the antiquarian, are utterly unable to grapple with that which is here so admirably handled by a poor unlettered prisoner for Christ, who, 'from the inexhaustible storehouse of God's

Word, brings forth things new and old to comfort the pilgrim, whether in a prison or a palace, and to enliven his prospects on his way to this celestial city. The New Jerusalem is a sublime object, and we are bound humbly to adore that majestic mercy which has condescended to give us such a glimpse of the glory which, in its unbounded extent, passeth all the powers of our earth-bound souls to conceive.

It is a city whose builder and maker is God—perfect as his infinite wisdom—strong as his omnipotence—eternal as his existence. Who by searching can find out the perfections of the Almighty—they can only be traced by his revealed will, and with our poor powers, even then but faintly. No man ever possessed a more intimate knowledge of the Bible, nor greater aptitude in quoting it than Bunyan: he must have meditated in it day and night; and in this treatise his biblical treasures are wisely used. He begins with the foundation of the walls, and shows that they are based upon the truths taught to the twelve tribes, and by the twelve apostles of the Lamb. All these truths are perfectly handed down to us in holy Writ, alike immutable and unalterable. Cursed are they that add to that book, either by tradition or by the imposition of creeds, rites, and ceremonies, and not less cursed are they that take from it. These solid foundations support walls and gates through which nothing can enter that defileth. It is a pattern to the church on earth, into which none should be admitted but saints, known from their conversation as living epistles. 'Not common stuff, not raked out of the dunghills and muck heaps of this world, and from among the toys of antichrist, but spiritual, heavenly and glorious *precious stones*.'[1] This city has but one street, showing the perfect unity among all its inhabitants, and it is only under the personal reign of Christ that uniformity can exist. The divisions among Christians arise, as Bunyan justly concludes, from 'antichristian rubbish, darkness, and trumpery.' The cause of all the confusion is the lust of man for domination over conscience, the government of which is the sole prerogative of God, and this is strengthened by the hope of passing through time in idleness, luxury, and honour, under the false pretence of apostolic descent transmitted through ceremonies worse than childish. In our Lord's days there was union among his disciples, as there must be under his personal reign in the New Jerusalem. But in the times of the apostles the disciples were divided—one was of Paul—another of Apollos, and others of Cephas. The Holy Ghost issued laws to regulate the church in their disputes—not an act of uniformity, but an injunction to the exercise of mutual forbearance, 'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant.' 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.' Ro. xiv. 4, 5.

After viewing the spiritual unity of the inhabitants of this wonderful city, we are introduced to its temple. How vast the edifice, to contain the millions on millions of worshippers—every inhabitant being present in the general assembly and church of the first-born! Utterly beneath our notice are the most magnificent temples raised by human ingenuity and vanity, when compared with that of the Holy City. Its foundation, the immutability of God—its extent, his divine immensity—its walls, the omnipotence of Jehovah—its treasury, the unsearchable riches of Christ—its worshippers, the countless myriads of the nations of those that are saved—its duration, ETERNITY. It is the inheritance of the Son of God, Jehovah Jesus, and is worthy of HIS inconceivable majesty. In all the multitude not one hypocrite will be found—not one *sleeping* worshipper—no wandering thought—no fear of sin or of Satan and his persecuting agents—death itself will be dead and swallowed up in life and immortality—all are pure—clothed in white robes—the palm of victory in their hands—singing the glorious anthems of heaven. O my soul! who are they that are thus unspeakably blessed? Shall I be a citizen of that city? God has told us who they are—not those who have been cherished by the state—clothed with honour, who have eaten the bread of idleness. No. 'These are they which came out of great tribulation.' Re. vii. 14. From all kindreds, nations, sects, and parties—they who obeyed God and not man in all matters of faith and holiness—those who submitted to the Saviour, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. How vile is that sectarian spirit which in cold blood consigns all but its own sect to eternal misery. How strange the calculation of that Jewish Rabbi,[2] who, dooming to miserable and eternal slavery all but his own little party, gives to every Jew two thousand eight hundred souls to be tormented and tyrannically used as slaves. The bitter sectarian who thus judges that all not of his own party shall be destroyed, will do well to listen to the voice of truth, 'With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged.' All these absurd and wicked feelings are fast wearing away before the advancing spirit of Christianity. When the leaven of Divine truth shall have spread over the whole earth, antichrist will finally fall—then shall this New Jerusalem descend from heaven, and become the glory of the earth. How distant soever that period may seem, it is irresistibly hastening on. Since Bunyan's days, persecution has hid its ugly head—North America, which was then a land of darkness, is

[1] See page 435.

[2] Solomon Jarchi. See Allen's *Modern Judaism*, p. 275.

now widely covered with gospel blessings—slavery is coming to an end—India, the islands of the Pacific, and the vast territories of Australia, are yielding their increase. A few more centuries of progression, increasing in its ratio as time draws to a close, will hasten on the coming of our Lord.

The growth in grace of every Christian goes on thus gradually. Bunyan draws a beautiful picture of this from Eze. xlvii. 3–12. It is so slow as scarcely to be perceptible, and one proof of its growth in our hearts is a doubt as to whether we are progressing at all. The more the light of heaven breaks in upon us, the more clearly it displays our sinful follies. According to the prophet, the waters rise higher and higher, but so slowly as to elude observation, until we find that they have risen from the ancles to the knees, and at length they rise and leave no standing for the feet—the earth recedes with time, and the soul enters upon the ocean of eternal grace and glory. The time is coming when we shall no longer worship in temples made with hands, neither in the mountains of Samaria, nor in the temples of Jerusalem, or Rome, or London. 'The cloud-capt towers—the gorgeous palaces—the solemn temples—yea, the great globe itself, shall dissolve, and, like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wreck behind.' Or in language far more solemn and striking, because they are the unerring words of truth, 'The heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burned up.' Then shall the Holy City—the New Jerusalem—descend from heaven, and all the ransomed of the Lord shall find in it a glorious and everlasting habitation.

Bunyan published this Book in a very small 8vo of 294 pages. It was never reprinted separately from his other works, and even in them it suffered from serious omissions and errors. It is now accurately printed from his original edition. The copy in Dr. Williams' Library, Redeross Street, is remarkably fine and clean, a present, most probably, in the first instance, from the author, having an inscription on the fly leaf, apparently in Bunyan's autograph, 'This for my good and dearly beloved frend mistris Backcraft.' It has a false title, bearing the imprint of 'London, Printed for *Francis Smith*, at the Elephant and Castle without Temple Barr, 1669.' The editor's copy, soiled and tattered, cost him twenty shillings, a striking proof of its rarity. This has the original title, with the real date, 1665, but without a printer's or publisher's name—from which it may be inferred that no one dared to patronize the labours of the poor prisoner—a circumstance tending to make the book more prized by the lovers of Christian liberty. The four dedications are singular, and truly Bunyanish.

Geo. Offor.

THE EPISTLE TO FOUR SORTS OF READERS.

I. To the Godly Reader.

Friend,—Though the men of this world, at the sight of this book, will not only deride, but laugh in conceit, to consider that one so low, contemptible, and inconsiderable as I, should busy myself in such sort, as to meddle with the exposition of so hard and knotty a Scripture as here they find the subject matter of this little book; yet do thou remember that 'God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.' 1 Co. i. 27, 28. Consider also, that even of old it hath been his pleasure to 'hide these things from the wise and prudent, and to reveal them unto babes.' Mat. xi. 25; xxi. 15,16. I tell you that the operation of the Word and Spirit of God, without depending upon that idol,[1] so much adored, is sufficient of itself to search out 'all things, even the deep things of God.' 1 Co. ii. 10.

The occasion of my first meddling with this matter was as followeth:—Upon a certain first-day, I being together with my brethren in our prison chamber, they expected that, according to our custom, something should be spoken out of the Word for our mutual edification; but at that time I felt myself, it being my turn to speak, so empty, spiritless, and barren, that I thought I should not have been able to speak among them so much as five words of truth with life and evidence; but at last it so fell out that providentially I cast mine eye upon the eleventh verse of the one and twentieth chapter of this prophecy; upon which, when I had considered a while, methought I perceived something of that jasper in whose light you there find this holy city is said to come or descend; wherefore having got in my eye some dim glimmerings thereof, and finding also in my heart a desire to see farther thereinto, I with a few groans did carry my meditations to the Lord Jesus for a blessing, which he did forthwith grant according to his

[1] By 'idol' is here meant human wisdom and school learning, which the men of this world adore, and laugh in conceit at the attempt of one who did not possess it to expound the mysteries of the Revelations—forgetting that they can only be spiritually discerned.—(Ed.)

grace; and helping me to set before my brethren, we did all eat, and were well refreshed; and behold also, that while I was in the distributing of it, it so increased in my hand, that of the fragments that we left, after we had well dined, I gathered up this basketful. Methought the more I cast mine eye upon the whole discourse, the more I saw lie in it. Wherefore setting myself to a more narrow search, through frequent prayer to God, what first with doing, and then with undoing, and after that with doing again, I thus did finish it.

But yet, notwithstanding all my labour and travel in this matter, I do not, neither can I expect that every godly heart should in every thing see the truth and excellency of what is here discoursed; neither would I have them imagine that I have so thoroughly viewed this holy city, but that much more than I do here crush out is yet left in the cluster. Alas! I shall only say thus, I haved crushed out a little juice to sweeten their lips withal, not doubting but in a little time more large measures of the excellency of this city, and of its sweetness and glory, will by others be opened and unfolded; yea, if not by the servants of the Lord Jesus, yet by the Lord himself, who will have this city builded and set in its own place.

But, I say, for this discourse, if any of the saints that read herein think they find nought at all but words, as many times it falleth out even in their reading the Scriptures of God themselves, I beg, I say, of such, that they read charitably, judge modestly, and also that they would take heed of concluding that because they for the present see nothing in this or that passage, that therefore there is nothing in it: possibly from that which thou mayest cast away as an empty bone, others may pick both good and wholesome bits, yea, and also out of that suck much nourishing marrow. You find by experience, that that very bit that will not down with one, may yet not only down, but be healthful and nourishing to another. Babes are more for milk than strong meat, though meat will well digest with those that are of riper years. Wherefore that which thy weakness will not suffer thee to feed on, leave; and go to the milk and nourishment that in other places thou shalt find.

II. To the Learned Reader.

My second word is to my wise and learned reader.

Sir,—I suppose, in your reading of this discourse, you will be apt to blame me for two things: First, Because I have not so beautified my matter with acuteness of language as you could wish or desire. Secondly, Because also I have not given you, either in the line or in the margent, a cloud of sentences from the learned fathers, that have, according to their wisdom, possibly, handled these matters long before me.

To the first I say, the matter indeed is excellent and high; but for my part I am weak and low; it also deserveth a more full and profound discourse than my small parts will help me to make upon the matter. But yet seeing the Lord looketh not at the outward appearance, but on the heart, neither regardeth high-swelling words of vanity, but pure and naked truth; and seeing also that a widow's mite being all, even heart as well as substance, is counted more, and better, than to cast in little out of much, and that little too perhaps the worst, I hope my little, being all, my farthing, seeing I have no more, may be accepted and counted for a great deal in the Lord's treasury. Besides, Sir, words easy to be understood do often hit the mark, when high and learned ones do only pierce the air. He also that speaks to the weakest, may make the learned understand him; when he that striveth to be high, is not only for the most part understood but of a sort, but also many times is neither understood by them nor by himself.

Secondly, The reason why you find me empty of the language of the learned, I mean their sentences and words which others use, is because I have them not, nor have not read them: had it not been for the Bible, I had not only not thus done it, but not at all.

Lastly. I do find in most such a spirit of whoredom and idolatry concerning the learning of this world, and wisdom of the flesh, and God's glory so much stained and diminished thereby; that had I all their aid and assistance at command, I durst not make use of ought thereof, and that for fear lest that grace, and these gifts that the Lord hath given me, should be attributed to their wits, rather than the light of the Word and Spirit of God: Wherefore 'I will not *take*' of them 'from a thread even to a shoe-latchet, - lest they should say, We have made Abram rich.' Ge. xiv. 23.

Sir, What you find suiting with the Scriptures take, though it should not suit with authors; but that which you find against the Scriptures, slight, though it should be confirmed by multitudes of them. Yea, further, where you find the Scriptures and your authors jump,[1] yet believe it for the sake of Scripture's authority. I honour the godly as Christians, but I prefer the Bible before them; and having that still with me, I count myself far better furnished than if I had without it all the libraries of the two universities. Besides, I am for drinking water out of my own cistern;[2]

[1] Where the Bible and uninspired authors agree, believe the truth simply for the Bible's sake. How properly jealous was Bunyan as to the supremacy of God's authority.—(Ed.)

[2] See Isa. xxxvi. 16. The fountain of living waters, and not the broken cisterns alluded to in Je. ii. 13.—(Ed.)

what God makes mine by the evidence of his Word and Spirit, that I dare make bold with. Wherefore seeing, though I am without their learned lines, yet well furnished with the words of God, I mean the Bible, I have contented myself with what I there have found, and having set it before your eyes,

I pray read and take, Sir, what you like best;
And that which you like not, leave for the rest.

III. To the Captious Reader.

My third word is to the captious and wrangling reader.

Friend,—However thou camest by this book, I will assure thee thou wast least in my thoughts when I writ it; I tell thee, I intended this book as little for thee as the goldsmith intendeth his jewels and rings for the snout of a sow. Wherefore put on reason, and lay aside thy frenzy; be sober, or lay by the book. Mat. vii. 6.

IV. To the Mother of Harlots, &c.

My fourth word is to the lady of kingdoms, the well-favoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, and the abominations of the earth.

Mistress,—I suppose I have nothing here that will either please your wanton eye or go down with your voluptuous palate. Here is bread indeed, as also milk and meat; but here is neither paint to adorn thy wrinkled face, nor crutch to uphold or undershore thy shaking, tottering, staggering kingdom of Rome; but rather a certain presage of thy sudden and fearful final downfall, and of the exaltation of that holy matron, whose chastity thou dost abhor, because by it she reproveth and condemneth thy lewd and stubborn life. Wherefore, lady, smell thou mayest of this, but taste thou wilt not: I know that both thy wanton eye, with all thy mincing brats that are intoxicated with thy cup and enchanted with thy fornications, will, at the sight of so homely and plain a dish as this, cry, Foh![1] snuff, put the branch to the nose,[1] and say, Contemptible! Mal. i. 12, 13. Eze. viii. 17. 'But wisdom is justified of all her children.' Mat. xi. 19. 'The virgin the daughter of Zion hath despised thee, *and* laughed thee to scorn; Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee,' Is. xxxvii. 22; yea, her God hath smitten his hands at thy dishonest gain and freaks. Eze. xxii. 7–11, &c. 'Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad for her, all ye that love her; rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn for her; that ye may suck and be satisfied with the breasts of her consolations, that ye may milk out and be delighted with the abundance of her glory.' Is. lxvi. 10, 11.

John Bunyan.

[1] Commentators differ as to the meaning of 'put the branch to the nose,' Eze. viii. 17, but all agree it was some well known mode of expressing contempt for God and his worship.—(Ed.)

THE HOLY CITY; OR, THE NEW JERUSALEM.

Revelation xxi. 10–27; xxii. 1–4.

10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, 11 Having the glory of God: and her light *was* like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal: 12 And had a wall great and high, *and* had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels and names written thereon, which are *the names* of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. 13 On the east three gates, on the north three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates. 14 And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. 15 And he that talked with me had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof and the wall thereof. 16 And the city lieth four-square, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length and the breadth and the height of it are equal. 17 And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred *and* forty *and* four cubits, *according to* the measure of a man, that is of the angel. 18 And the building of the wall of it was *of* jasper, and the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glass. 19 And the foundations of the wall of the city *were* garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation *was* jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; 20 The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst. 21 And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls, every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city *was* pure gold, as it were transparent glass. 22 And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple of it. 23 And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof. 24 And the nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. 25 And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there. 26 And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it. 27 And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatsoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

22. 1 And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. 2 In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner of* fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree *were* for the healing of

the nations. [3] And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him. [4] And they shall see his face, and his name *shall be* in their foreheads.

In my dealing with this mystery, I shall not meddle where I see nothing, neither shall I hide from you that which at present I conceive to be wrapt up therein; only you must not from me look for much enlargement, though I shall endeavour to speak as much in few words, as my understanding and capacity will enable me, through the help of Christ.

In this description of this holy city, you have these five general heads:

First, The vision of this city in general. Second, A discovery of its defence, entrances, and fashion, in particular. Third, A relation of the glory of each. Fourth, A discovery of its inhabitants, their quality and numerousness. Fifth, A relation of its maintenance, by which it continueth in life, ease, peace, tranquillity, and sweetness for ever. To all which I shall speak something in their proper places, and shall open them before you.

But before I begin with any of them, I must speak a word or two concerning John's qualification, whereby he was enabled to behold and take a view of this city; which qualification he relateth in these words following:

Verse 10. And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God.

John qualified for this vision.

The angel being to show this holy man this great and glorious vision, he first, by qualifying of him, puts him into a suitable capacity to behold and take the view thereof; 'He carried me away in the spirit.' When he saith, He carried me away in the Spirit, he means he was taken up into the Spirit, his soul was greatly spiritualized. Whence take notice, that an ordinary frame of spirit is not able to comprehend, nor yet to apprehend extraordinary things. Much of the Spirit discerneth much of God's matters; but little of the Spirit discerneth but little of them: 'I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, *even* as unto babes in Christ; I have fed you with milk, and not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able *to bear it*, neither yet now are ye able.' 1 Co. iii. 2.

'And he carried me away in the spirit,' &c. Thus it was with the saints of old, when God had either special work for them to do, or great things for them to see. Ezekiel, when he had the vision of this city in the old law, in the captivity at Babylon, he must be first forefitted with a competent measure of the Spirit. Eze. xl. 2. John also, when he had the whole matter of this prophecy revealed unto him, he must be in the Spirit; 'I was (saith he) in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet' talking with me, &c. Re. i. 10, 11. Whence note again, that when God calls a man to this or that work for him, he first fits him with a suitable spirit. Ezekiel saith, when God bid him stand upon his feet, that the Spirit entered into him, and set him upon his feet. Eze. ii. 1, 2.

When God calls for work he fits for work.

'And he carried me away,' &c. Mark, And he carried me [away] &c. As a man must have much of the Spirit that sees much of God, and his goodly matters; so he must be also carried away with it; he must by it be taken off from things carnal and earthly, and taken up into the glory of things that are spiritual and heavenly. The Spirit loveth to do what it doth in private; that man to whom God intendeth to reveal great things, he takes him aside from the lumber and cumber of this world, and carrieth him away in the solace and contemplation of the things of another world; 'And when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples.' Mar. iv. 34. Mark, and when they were alone; according to that of the prophet, 'Whom shall he teach knowledge, and whom shall he make to understand doctrine? *them that are* weaned from the milk, *and* drawn from the breasts.' Is. xxviii. 9. Whence observe also, he is the man that is like to know most of God, that is oftenest in private with him. Lu. ii. 25–38. He that obeyeth when God saith, Come up hither, he shall see the bride, the Lamb's wife. For 'through desire a man having separated himself, seeketh *and* intermeddleth with all wisdom.' Pr. xviii. 1.

'And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain.' Thus having showed his frame, and inward disposition of spirit, he now comes to tell us also of the place or stage on which he was set; to the end that now being fitted by illumination, he might not be hindered of his vision by ought that might intercept. He carried me away in the Spirit to a great and high mountain. Thus did God of old also; for when he showed to Moses the patterns of the heavenly things, he must ascend to the Mount Sinai. Ex. xix. 3. He must into the mount also, when he hath the view of the Holy Land, and of that goodly mountain Lebanon. De. xxxii. 49. Whence we may learn that the things of God are far from man, as he is natural; and also that there are very great things between us and the sight of them: none can see them but such as are carried away in the Spirit and set on high.

'. . . To a great and high mountain.' This mountain therefore signifieth the Lord Christ, on which the soul must be placed, as on a mighty hill, whereby he may be able, his eyes being anointed with spiritual eye-salve, to see over the tops of those mighty corruptions, temptations, and spiritual enemies, that like high and mighty towers are built by the wicked one, to keep the view of God's

things from the sight of our souls. 2 Co. x. 5, 6. Wherefore Christ is called the Mountain of the Lord's house, or that on which the house of God is placed; he is also called the Rock of ages, and the Rock that is higher than we. 'The hill of God is' an high hill, as Bashan; 'an high hill, *as* the hill of Bashan.' Ps. lxviii. 15. This is the hill from whence the prophet Ezekiel had the vision of this city; Eze. xl. 2. 'And upon this rock (saith Christ) I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Mat. xvi. 18.

[FIRST. The Vision of the Holy City in general.]

'And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem.' Having thus told us how, and with what he was qualified, he next makes relation of what he saw, which was that great city, the holy Jerusalem.

Jerusalem considered in general.

Jerusalem, in the language of the Scripture, is to be acknowledged for the church and spouse of the Lord Jesus; and is to be considered either generally or more particularly. Now as she is to be taken generally, so she is to be understood as being 'the whole family in heaven and earth,' Ep. iii. 15; and as she is thus looked upon, so she is not considered with respect to this or that state and condition of the church here in the world, but simply as she is the church: therefore it is said, when at any time any are converted from Satan to God, that they 'are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem; and to an innumerable company of angels; to the general assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven; to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect; and to Jesus, - and to the blood of sprinkling.' He. xii. 22, 24.

Jerusalem is to be considered more particularly.

But again, as Jerusalem is thus generally to be understood, so also she is to be considered more particularly: 1. Either as she relates to her first and purest state; or, 2. As she relates to her declined and captivated state; or, 3. With reference to her being recovered again from her apostatized and captivated condition. Thus it was with Jerusalem in the letter; which threefold state of this city shall be most exactly answered by our gospel Jerusalem, by our New Testament church. Her first state was in the days of Christ and his apostles, and answereth to Jerusalem in the days of Solomon; her second state is in the days of antichrist, and answereth to the carrying away of the Jews from their city into Babylon; and her third state is this in the text, and answereth to their return from captivity, and rebuilding their city and walls again: all which will be fully manifest in this discourse following.

[*This city is the gospel church returning out of antichristian captivity.*]

Besides, that this holy city that here you read of is the church, the gospel church, returning out of her long and antichristian captivity; consider,

First, She is here called a city, the very name that our primitive church went under, Ep. ii. 19; which name she loseth all the while of her apostatizing and captivity under antichrist; for observe, I say, all the while she is under the scourge of the dragon, beast, and the woman in scarlet, &c., Re. xiii., she goeth under the name of a woman, a woman in travail, a woman flying before the dragon, a woman flying into the wilderness, there to continue in an afflicted and tempted condition, and to be glad of wilderness nourishment, until the time of her enemies were come to an end. Re. xii.

Now the reason why she lost the title of city at her going into captivity is, because then she lost her situation and strength; she followed others than Christ, wherefore he suffered her enemies to scale her walls, to break down her battlements; he suffered, as you see here, the great red dragon, and beast with seven heads and ten horns, to get into her vineyard, who made most fearful work both with her and all her friends; her gates also were now either broken down or shut up, so that none could, according to her laws and statutes, enter into her; her charter also, even the Bible itself, was most grossly abused and corrupted, yea, sometimes burned and destroyed almost utterly; wherefore the Spirit of God doth take away from her the title of city, and leaveth her to be termed a wandering woman, as aforesaid. 'The court which is without the temple (saith the angel) leave out, and measure it not, for it is given unto the Gentiles; and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty *and* two months.' Re. xi. 2. 'The holy city shall they tread under foot;' that is, all the city constitutions, her forts and strength, her laws and privileges for a long time, shall be laid aside and slighted, shall become a hissing, a taunt, and a byeword among the nations. And truly thus it was in the letter, in the destruction of Jerusalem by the king of Babylon and his wicked instruments, by whose hands the city was broken up, the walls pulled down, the gates burned, the houses rifled, the virgins ravished, and the children laid dead in the top of every street. 2 Ch. xxxvi. 17–21. Je. lii. La. i. ii. iii. iv. Now was Zion become a ploughed field, and Jerusalem turned to heaps; a place of briars and thorns, and of wasteness and desolation. Mic. iii. 12. Is. vii. 23, 24.

Second, The phrase also that is joined with this of city doth much concern the point; she is here called 'the new and holy city,' which words are explained by these, 'prepared as a bride and

adorned for her husband.' The meaning is, that she is now got into her form, fashion, order, and privileges again; she is now ready, adorned, prepared, and put into her primitive state; mark, though she was in her state of affliction called a woman, yet she was not then either called a city or a woman adorned; but rather a woman robbed and spoiled, rent and torn among the briars and thorns of the wilderness. Is. v. 6; xlii. 22; xxxii. 13, 14. Wherefore this city is nothing else but the church returned out of captivity from under the reign of antichrist, as is yet farther manifest, because,

Third, We find no city to answer that which was built after the Jews' return from captivity but this; for this, and only this, is the city that you find in this prophecy that is nominated as the antitype of that second of the Jews; wherefore John hath no relation of her while towards the doom of antichrist, and no description of her in particular until antichrist is utterly overthrown; as all may see that wisely read. Re. xvii.–xx.

[*Why the church is called a city.*]

Why the church at this day is called by the name of a city, rather than a woman, temple, house, or the like.

'And showed me that great city.' The Holy Ghost is pleased at this time to give the church the name of a city, rather than any other name, rather than the name of spouse, woman, temple, and the like—though he giveth us her under the name of a woman also, to help us to understand what he means; but, I say, the name of a city is now the name in special, under which the church must go, and that for special reasons.

First. To show us how great and numerous a people will then be in the church; the church may be a woman, a temple, a spouse, when she is but few, a handful, but two or three; but to be a city, and that in her glory, it bespeaks great store of members, inhabitants, and citizens; especially when she goeth under the name of a great city, as here she does. He 'showed me that great city.'

Second. She goeth rather under the name of a city, than temple or spouse, to show us also how plentifully the nations and kingdoms of men shall at that day traffic with her, and in her, for her goodly merchandize of grace and life; to show us, I say, what wonderful custom the church of God at this day shall have among all sorts of people, for her heavenly treasures. It is said of Tyrus and Babylon, that their merchandize went unto all the world, and men from all quarters under heaven came to trade and to deal with them for their wares. Eze. xxvii. Re. xviii. 2, 3. Why thus it will be in the latter day with the church of God; the nations shall come from far, from Tarshish, Pul, Lud, Tubal, Javan, and the isles afar off. They shall come, saith God, out of all nations upon horses and mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem. 'And it shall come to pass, *that* from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord.' Is. lxvi. 19–23. Alas, the church at that day when she is a woman only, or a temple either, may be without that beauty, treasure, amiableness, and affecting glory that she will be endowed with when she is a prosperous city. His marvellous kindness is seen 'in a strong city.' Ps. xxxi. 21. In cities, you know, are the treasures, beauty, and glory of kingdoms; and it is thither men go that are desirous to solace themselves therewith. 'Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined.' Ps. l. 2.

Third. It is called a city, rather than a woman or temple, to show us how strongly and securely it will keep its inhabitants at that day. 'In that day shall this song be sung, - We have a strong city. salvation will *God* appoint *for* walls and bulwarks.' Is. xxvi. 1. And verily if the cities of the Gentiles, and the strength of their bars, and gates, and walls did so shake the hearts, yea, the very faith of the children of God themselves, how secure and safe will the inhabitants of this city be, even the inhabitants of that city which God himself will build,' &c. Dc. ix. 1, 2. Nu. xiii. 28.

[*Fourth*.] But lastly, and more especially, the church is called here a city, chiefly to show us that now she shall be undermost no longer. Babylon reigned, and so shall Jerusalem at that day. 'And thou, O tower of the flock, the stronghold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion, the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem.' Mi. iv. 8. Now shall she, when she is built and complete, have a complete conquest and victory over all her enemies; she shall reign over them; the law shall go forth of her that rules them, and the governors of all the world at that day shall be Jerusalem men. 'And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel *shall possess* that of the Canaanites, *even* unto Zarephath; and the captivity of Jerusalem which *is* in Sepharad shall possess the cities of the south. And saviours shall come up on mount Zion, to judge the mount of Esau, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's.' Ob. 20, 21.[1] 'For the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. - And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off, and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up

[1] The note upon this passage in the Genevan or Puritan version, with which Bunyan was familiar, is, 'God will raise up in his church such as shall rule and govern for the defence of the same, and instruction of his enemies, under Messiah, whom the prophet calleth here the Lord and Head of this kingdom.'—(Ed.)

a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' Mi. iv. 1—3. There brake he 'the ships of Tarshish with an east wind. As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God; God will establish it for ever.' Ps. xlviii. 1—8. For observe it, Christ hath not only obtained the kingdom of heaven for those that are his, when this world is ended, but hath also, as a reward for his sufferings, the whole world given into his hand; wherefore, as all the kings, and princes, and powers of this world have had their time to reign, and have glory in this world in the face of all, so Christ will have his time at this day, to show who is 'the only Potentate - and Lord of lords.' 1 Ti. vi. 15. At which day he will not only set up his kingdom in the midst of their kingdoms, as he doth now, but will set it up even upon the top of their kingdoms; at which day there will not be a nation in the world but must bend to Jerusalem or perish. Is. lx. 12. For 'the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom *is* an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.' Da. vii. 27. 'And his dominion *shall be* from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth.' Zec. ix. 10. O holiness, how shall it shine in kings and nations, when God doth this!

[*This city descends out of heaven from God.*]

'He showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God.' In these words we are to inquire into three things. *First.* What he here should mean by heaven. *Second.* What it is for this city to descend out of it. *Third.* And why she is said to descend out of it from God.

First. For the word *heaven*, in Scripture it is variously to be understood, but generally either materially or metaphorically; now not materially here, but metaphorically; and so is generally, if not always, taken in this book.

Now that it is not to be taken for the material heavens where Christ in person is, consider, that the descending of this city is not the coming of glorified saints with their Lord; because that even after the descending, yea and building of this city, there shall be sinners converted to God; but at the coming of the Lord Jesus from heaven with his saints, the door shall be shut; that is, the door of grace, against all unbelievers. Lu. xiii. 25. Mat. xxv. 10.

Therefore heaven here is to be taken metaphorically, for the church; which, as I said before, is frequently so taken in this prophecy, as also in many others of the holy scriptures. Re. xi. 15; xii. 1—3, 7, 8, 10, 13; xiii 6; xix. 1, 14. Je. li. 48. Mat. xxv. 1, &c. And observe it, though the church of Christ under the tyranny of antichrist, loseth the title of a standing city, yet in the worst of times she loseth not the title of heaven. She is heaven when the great red dragon is in her, and heaven when the third part of her stars are cast unto the earth; she is heaven also when the beast doth open his throat against her, to blaspheme her God, his tabernacle, and those that dwell in her.

Second. Now, then, to show you what we are to understand by this, *that she is said to descend* out of heaven; for indeed to speak properly, Jerusalem is always in the Scriptures set in the highest ground, and men are said to descend, when they go down from her, but to ascend, or go up when they are going thitherwards. Eze. iii. 1. Ne. xii. 1. Mat. xx. 17, 18. Lu. xix. 28; x. 30. But yet though this be true, there must also be something significant in this word descending; wherefore when he saith, he saw this city to descend out of heaven, he would have us understand,

1. That though the church under antichrist be never so low, yet out of her loins shall they come that yet shall be a reigning city. He. vii. 6, 13, 14. Generation is a descending from the loins of our friends; he therefore speaks of the generation of the church. Wherefore the meaning is, That out of the church that is now in captivity, there shall come a complete city, so exact in all things, according to the laws and liberties, privileges and riches of a city, that she shall lie level with the great charter of heaven. Thus it was in the type, the city after the captivity was builded, even by those that once were in captivity, especially by their seed and offspring, Is. xlv.; and thus it shall be in our New Testament New Jerusalem; '*They that shall be of* thee,' saith the prophet, that is, of the church of affliction, they 'shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.' Is. lviii. 12; and again, they that sometimes had ashes for gladness, and the spirit of heaviness instead of the garment of praise, 'they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations; for your shame *ye shall have* double, and *for* confusion they shall rejoice in their portion,' &c. Is. lxi. 3, 4, 7. Thus therefore by descending we may understand that the church's generation shall be this holy city, and shall build up themselves the tower of the flock. Mi. iv. 8.

2. When he saith, This holy city descended out of heaven, he would have us understand also what a blessing and happiness this city at her rebuilding will be to the whole world. Never were kind and seasonable showers more profitable to the tender new-mown grass than will this city at this day be, to the inhabitants of the world; they

will come as a blessing from heaven upon them. As the prophet saith, 'The remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord; as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men.' Mi. v. 7. O the grace, the light and glory that will strike with spangling beams from this city, as from a sun, into the farthest parts of the world! 'Thus saith the Lord, as the new wine is found in the cluster, and *one* saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing *is* in it: so will I do for my servants' sake, that I may not destroy them all: I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my' holy 'mountains: and mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there. And Sharon (where the sweet roses grew, Ca. ii. 1), shall be a fold for flocks, and the valley of Achor a place for the herds to lie down in, for my people that have sought me.' Is. lxv. 8—10. 'In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, *even* a blessing in the midst of the land.' Is. xix. 24. 'And it shall come to pass, *that* as ye were a curse among the heathen, O house of Judah, and house of Israel; so will I save you, and ye shall be a blessing. Fear not, *but* let your hands be strong.' Zec. viii. 13. 'As the dew of Hermon that descended upon the mountains of Zion, for there the Lord commanded the blessing, *even* life for evermore.' Ps. cxxxiii. 3.

[*Third.*] And now for the third particular, namely, What it is to descend out of heaven *from God*.

1. To descend out of heaven, that is, out of the church in captivity, 'from God,' is this: The church is the place in which God doth beget all those that are the children of him; wherefore in that they are said to descend out of heaven 'from God,' it is as if he had said, the children of the church are heaven-born, begotten of God, and brought forth in the church of Christ. For 'Jerusalem which is above is the mother of us all.' Ga. iv. 26. 'The Lord shall count when he writeth up the people, *that* this *man* was born there.' Ps. lxxxvii. 5, 6.

2. When he saith he saw this Jerusalem come out of heaven from God, he means that those of the church in captivity that shall build this city, they shall be a people peculiarly fitted and qualified for this work of God. It was not all the children of Israel that had their hand in building Jerusalem after the captivity of old; 'their nobles put not their necks to the work of the Lord.' Ne. iii. 5. Also there were many of Judah that were sworn to Tobiah, the arch-opposer of the building of the city, because of some kindred and relation that then was between them and him. Ne. vi. 17—19. And as it was then, so we do expect it will be now; some will be even at the beginning of this work, in Babylon, at that time also some will be cowardly and fearful, yea, and even men hired to hinder the work. Ne. vi. 10—12. Wherefore I say, those of the church that at that day builded the city, they were men of a particular and peculiar spirit, which also will so be at the building of New Jerusalem. They whose light breaks forth as the morning, they that are mighty for a spirit of prayer, they that take away the yoke, and speaking vanity, and that draw out their soul to the hungry; they that the Lord shall guide continually, that shall have fat bones, and that shall be as a watered garden, whose waters fail not, &c. Is. lviii. 8—14. Of them shall they be that build the old wastes, and that raise up the foundations of many generations, &c. It was thus in all ages, in every work of God, *some* of his people, *some* of his saints in special in all ages, have been used to promote, and advance, and perfect the work of their generations.

3. This city descends or comes out of heaven from God, that is, by his special working and bringing to pass; it was God that gave them the pattern even when they were in Babylon; it was God that put it into their hearts while there, to pray for deliverance; it was God that put it into the hearts of the kings of the Medes and Persians to give them liberty to return and build; and it was God that quailed the hearts of those that by opposing did endeavour to hinder the bringing the work to perfection; yea, it was God that did indeed bring the work to perfection; wherefore she may well be said to descend 'out of heaven from God:' as he also saith himself by the prophet, I will cause the captivity of Judah, and the captivity of Israel to return, and I will build them as at the first. Ezr. iv. 1—4; vii. 27. Ne. ii. 8—18; iv. 15; vi. 15, 16. Je. xxxiii. 7; xxxii. 44. Eze. xxxvi. 33—37; xxxvii. 11—15. Am. ix. 11.

Lastly, When he saith he saw her descend from God out of heaven, he may refer to her glory, which at her declining departed from her, and ascended to God, as the sap returns into the root at the fall of the leaf; which glory doth again at her return descend, or come into the church, and branches of the same, as the sap doth arise at the spring of the year, for indeed the church's beauty is from heaven, and it either goeth up thither from her, or else comes from thence to her, according to the natures of both fall and spring. Ca. ii.

Thus you see what this heaven is, and what it is for this city to descend out of it; also what it is for this city to descend out of it from God.

[*This city has the glory of God.*]

Ver. 11. 'Having the glory of God.' These last words do put the whole matter out of doubt, and do most clearly show unto us that the descending of this city is the perfect return of the church

out of captivity; the church, when she began at first to go into captivity, her glory began to depart from her; and now she is returning again, she receiveth therewith her former glory, 'having the glory of God.' Thus it was in the type, when Jerusalem went into captivity under the King of Babylon, which was a figure of the captivity of our New Testament church under Antichrist, it is said that then the glory of God departed from them, and went, by degrees, first out of the temple to the threshold of the house, and from thence with the cherubims of glory, for that time, quite away from the city. Eze. x. 4—18; xi. 22, 23. &c.

Again, As the glory of God departed from this city at her going into captivity, so when she returned again, she had also then returned to her the glory of God; whereupon this very prophet that saw the glory of God go from her at her going into captivity, did see it, the very same; and that according as it departed, so return at her deliverance. 'He brought me to the gate,' saith he—that is, when by a vision he saw all the frame and patterns of the city and temple, in the state in which it was to be after the captivity. 'He brought me to the gate - that looketh toward the east, and behold the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the east'—the very same way that it went when it departed from the city. Eze. xi. 23. 'His voice *was* like a noise of many waters, and the earth shined with his glory. *It was* according to the appearance of the vision which I saw, *even* according to the vision which I saw when I came to destroy the city, and the visions were like the vision that I saw by the river Chebar; and I fell upon my face, and the glory of the Lord came into the house by the way of the gate whose prospect *is* toward the east; so the Spirit took me up, and brought me into the inner court, and behold, the glory of the Lord filled the house.' Eze. xliii. 1—5.

Thus you see it was in the destruction and restoration of the Jews' Jerusalem, by which God doth plainly show us how things will be in our gospel church; she was to decline and lose her glory, she was to be trampled—as she was a city—for a long time under the feet of the unconverted and wicked world. Again, she was after this to be builded, and to be put into her former glory; at which time she was to have her glory, her former glory, even the glory of God, returned to her again. 'He showed me,' saith John, 'that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God.' As he saith by the prophet, 'I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies, my house shall be built in it.' Ze. i. 16. And again, 'I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem.' Ze viii. 3.

'Having the glory of God.' There is the grace of God, and the glory of that grace; there is the power of God, and the glory of that power; and there is the majesty of God, and the glory of that majesty. Ep. i. 6. 2 Th. i. 9. Is. ii. 19.

It is true God doth not leave his people in some sense, even in the worst of times, and in their most forlorn condition, Jn. xiv. 18, as he showeth by his being with them in their sad state in Egypt and Babylon, and other of their states of calamity. Da. iii. 25. As he saith, 'Although I have cast them far off among the heathen, and although I have scattered them among the countries, yet will I be to them a little sanctuary in the countries where they shall come.' Eze. ii. 16. God is with his church, even in her greatest adversity, both to limit, bound, measure, and to point out to her her quantity and quality, her beginning and duration of distress and temptation. Is. xxvii. 7—9. Re. ii. 10. But yet I say the glory of God, in the notion of Ezekiel and John, when they speak of the restoration of this city, that is not always upon his people, though always they are beloved and counted for his peculiar treasure. She may then have his grace, but not at the same time the glory of his grace; his power, but not the glory of his power; she may also have his majesty, but not the glory thereof; God may be with his church, even then when the glory is departed from Israel.

The difference that is between her having his grace, power, and majesty, and the glory of each, is manifest in these following particulars;—grace, power, and majesty, when they are in the church in their own proper acts, only as we are considered saints before God, so they are invisible, and that not only altogether to the world, but often to the very children of God themselves; but now when the glory of these do rest upon the church, according to Ezekiel and John; why then it will be visible and apparent to all beholders. 'When the Lord shall build up Zion, he shall APPEAR in his glory,' Ps. cii. 16, as he saith also in another place, 'The Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.' Is. lx. 1—2.

Now, then, to speak a word or two, in particular to the glory of God, that at this day will be found to settle upon this city.

First. Therefore, at her returning, she shall not only have his grace upon her, *but the very glory of his grace shall be seen upon her;* the glory of pardoning grace shall now shine in her own soul, and grace in the glory of it shall appear in all her doings. Now shall both our inward and outward man be most famously adorned and beautified with salvation; the golden pipes that are on the head of the golden candlestick, shall at this day convey, with all freeness, the golden oil thereout, into our golden hearts and lamps. Zec. iv. 2. Our wine shall be mixed with gall no longer, we shall now drink

the pure blood of the grape; the glory of pardoning and forgiving mercy shall so show itself at this day in this city, and shall so visibly abide there in the eyes of all spectators, that all shall be enflamed with it. 'For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp *that* burneth. And the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory; and thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name.' Is. lxii. 1, 2. And again, 'The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.' Is. lii. 10. Ps. xcviii. 2. At that day, the prophet tells us, there shall be holiness upon the very horses' bridles, and that the pots in the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before the altar, and every pot in Jerusalem shall be holiness unto the Lord. Zec. xiv. 20, 21. The meaning of all these places is, that in the day that the Lord doth turn his church and people into the frame and fashion of a city, and when he shall build them up to answer the first state of the church, there will such grace and plenty of mercy be extended unto her, begetting such faith and holiness and grace in her soul, and all her actions, that she shall convince all that are about her that she is the city, the beloved city, the city that the Lord hath chosen; for after that he had said before, he would return to Zion, and dwell in the midst of Jerusalem, Zec. viii. 3, he saith, moreover, that Jerusalem shall be called a city of truth, and the mountain of the Lord of hosts, the holy mountain. 'And all the people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the Lord, and they shall be afraid of thee.' De. xxviii. 10.

Second. As the glory of the grace of God will, at this day, be wonderfully manifest in and over his city; so also at that day will be seen *the glory of his power.* 'O my people,' saith God, 'that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrian; he shall smite thee with a rod, and shall lift up his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt,' that is, shall persecute and afflict thee, as Pharaoh served thy friends of old; but be not afraid, 'For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall cease, and mine anger in their destruction: and the Lord of hosts shall stir up a scourge for him, according to the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb: and *as* his rod *was* upon the sea, so shall he lift it up after the manner of Egypt.' Is. vii; x. 24–26. The sum is, God will, at the day of his rebuilding the New Jerusalem, so visibly make bare his arm, and be so exalted before all by his power towards his people, that no people shall dare to oppose—or stand, if they do make the least attempt to hinder—the stability of this city. 'I will surely (gather, or) assemble, O Jacob, all of thee,' saith God: 'I will surely gather the remnant of Israel - as the sheep of Bozrah, as the flock in the midst of the fold; they shall make great noise by reason of *the multitude of* men. The breaker is come up before them, they have broken up (the antichristian siege that hath been laid against them), they have passed through the gate, and are gone out by it, and their king shall pass before them, and the Lord on the head of them.' Mi. ii. 12, 13. 'Like as the lion and the young lion roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds are called forth against him, *he* will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them: so shall the Lord of hosts come down to fight for Mount Zion, and for the hill thereof.' Is. xxxi. 4. 'The Lord shall go forth as a mighty man, he shall stir up jealousy like a man of war; he shall cry, yea, roar; he shall prevail against his enemies.' Is. xlii. 13. But 'not by might, nor yet by power,' that is, the power and arm of flesh, but by the power of the Word and Spirit of God, which will prevail, and must prevail, to quash and overturn all opposition. Zec. xii. 8. Zep. iii. 8. Joel iii. 16. Zec. iv. 6.

Third. [*The glory of his majesty.*] When God hath thus appeared in the glory of his grace, and the glory of his power, to deliver his chosen, then shall the implacable enemies of God shrink and creep into holes like the locusts and frogs of the hedges, at the appearance of *the glory of the majesty of God.* Now the high ones, lofty ones, haughty ones, and the proud, shall see so evidently the hand of the Lord towards his servants, and his indignation towards his enemies, that 'they shall go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, - and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for the fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth.' Is. ii. 19, 21.

Where the presence of the Lord doth so appear upon a people, that those that are spectators perceive and understand it, it must need work on those spectators one of these two things;—either first a trembling and astonishment, and quailing of heart, as it doth among the implacable enemies, Jos. ii. 8–13, or else a buckling and bending of heart, and submission to his people and ways. Jos. ix. 22–25. As saith the prophet, 'The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee, and all they that despised thee shall fall[1] down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee The city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel.' Is. lx. 14. As Moses said to the children of Israel, 'The Lord your God shall lay the fear of you, and the dread of you, upon all the land that

[1] From the Genevan or Puritan version.

ye shall tread upon, as he hath said unto you.' De. xi. 25.

At this day the footsteps of the Lord will be so apparent and visible in all his actions and dispensations in and towards his people, this holy city, that all shall see, as I have said, how gracious, loving, kind, and good the Lord is now towards his own children; such glory, I say, will be over them, and upon them, that they all will shine before the world; and such tender bowels in God towards them, that no sooner can an adversary peep, or lift up his head against his servants, but his hand will be in the neck of them; so that in short time he will have brought his church into that safety, and her neighbours into that fear and submission, that they shall not again so much as dare to hold up a hand against her, no, not for a thousand years. Re. xx. 3. 'Thus saith the Lord, Behold I will bring again the captivity of Jacob's tents, and have mercy on his dwelling-places; and the city shall be builded on her own heap, and the palace shall remain after the manner thereof. And out of them shall proceed thanksgiving, and the voice of them that make merry; and I will multiply them, and they shall not be few; and I will also glorify them, and they shall not be small: Their children also shall be as aforetime, and their congregation shall be established before me, and I will punish all that oppress them.' Je. xxx. 18–20.

[*The light of this city.*]

Having the glory of God. 'And her light *was* like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal.' Having thus told us of her glory, even of 'the glory of God,' how it at this day will rest upon this city, he now comes to touch a second thing, to wit, 'her light,' and that in which she descends, and by which, as with the light of the sun, she seeth before her, and behind her, and on every side. This therefore is another branch of her duty; she in her descending hath 'the glory of God,' and also 'the light of a stone most precious.'

Ezekiel tells us, that in the vision which he saw when he came to destroy the city—which vision was the very same that he saw again at the restoring of it—he saith, I say, that in this vision, among many other wonders, he saw a fire enfolding itself, and a brightness about it, and that 'the fire also was bright, and that out of it went forth lightning;' that 'the likeness of the firmament upon the - living creatures, *was* as the colour of the terrible crystal;' that the throne also, upon which was placed the likeness of a man, was like, or 'as the appearance of a sapphire-stone.' Eze. i. 4, 13, 14, 22, 26. All which words, with the nature of their light and colour, the Holy Ghost doth in the vision of John comprise, and placeth within the colour of the jasper and the crystal-stone. And indeed, though the vision of John and Ezekiel, touching the end of the matter, be but one and the same, yet they do very much vary and differ in terms and manner of language; Ezekiel tells us that the man that he saw come to measure the city and temple, had in his hand 'a line of flax,' ch. xl. 3, which line John calls a golden reed; Ezekiel tells us that the river came out of, or 'from under the threshold of the house;' ch. xlvii. 1; but John saith it came out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. Ezekiel tells us that on either side of this river grew ALL trees for food; ver. 12; John calls these ALL trees but ONE tree, and tells us that it stood on both sides of this river. The like might also be showed you in many other particulars; as here you see they differ as touching the terms of the light and brightness that appears upon this city at her rebuilding, which the Holy Ghost represents to John under the light and glory of the jasper and crystal-stone; for indeed the end of Ezekiel's vision was to show us, that as when the glory of God departed from the city, it signified that he would take away from them the light of his Word, and their clearness of worship, suffering them to mourn for the loss of the one, and to grope for the want of the other; so at his return again he would give them both their former light of truth, and also the clearness of spirit to understand it, which also John doth show us shall last for ever.

'. . . And her light *was* like unto a stone most precious. . . .' This stone it is to represent unto us the Lord Jesus Christ, in whose light and clearness this city comes out of Babylon; for, as he saith, she hath the glory of God, that is, his visible hand of grace, power, and majesty, to bring her forth; so she comes in the light of this precious stone, which terms, I say, both the prophet Isaiah and the apostle Peter do apply to the Lord Jesus, and none else; the one calling him 'a precious corner-*stone*,' the other calling him the 'chief corner-stone, elect and precious.' Is. xxviii. 16. 1 Pe. ii. 6. Now then when he saith this city hath the light of this stone to descend in, he means that she comes in the shining wisdom, knowledge, understanding, and influences of Christ, out of her afflicted and captivated state; and observe it, she is rather said to descend in the light of this stone, than in the light of God, though both be true, because it is the man Christ, the stone which the builders rejected, 'in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,' of whose fulness we do all receive, and grace for grace; 'for it pleased *the Father* that in him should all fulness dwell.' Col. ii. 3. Jn. i. 16. Col. i. 19. see also Ac. ii. 33. and Ep. iv. 10–13.

This showeth us, then, these two things—

First. That the time of the return of the saints

to build the ruinous city is near, yea, very near, when the light of the Lord Jesus begins to shine unto perfect day in her. God will not bring forth his people out of Babylon, especially those that are to be the chief in the building of this city, without their own judgments. 'They shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion.' Is. lii. 8. As he saith also in another place, 'The light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound.' Is. xxx. 26. 'And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall hearken. The heart also of the rash shall understand knowledge, and the tongue of the stammerers shall be ready to speak plainly.' Is. xxxii. 3, 4. The Lord shall be now exalted, and be very high, for he will fill Zion with judgment and righteousness, and wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times. Is. xxxiii. 5, 6. When Israel went out of Egypt, they wanted much of this, they went out blindfolded, as it were, they went they knew not whither; wherefore they went not in the glory of that which this city descendeth in; as Moses said, 'The Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear, unto this day.' De. xxix. 4. But these shall see every step they take; they shall be like the beasts that had eyes both before and behind: they shall see how far they are come out of Antichrist, and shall see also how far yet they have to go, to the complete rebuilding and finishing of this city.

The light of the church shall be according to the purity of the Word.

Second. This showeth us how sweet and pleasant the way of this church will be at this day before them. Light, knowledge, and judgment in God's matters doth not only give men to see and behold all the things with which they are concerned, but the things themselves being good, they do also by this means convey very great sweetness and pleasantness into the hearts of those that have the knowledge of them. Every step, I say, that now they take, it shall be as it were in honey and butter. 'The ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy [see ver. 2.] upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.' Is. xxxv. 10. As he saith, 'Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built; O virgin of Israel, thou shalt again be adorned with tabrets, and shall go forth in the dances of them that make merry.—For thus saith the Lord, Sing with gladness for Jacob, and shout among the chief of the nations: publish ye, praise ye, and say, O Lord, save thy people, the remnant of Israel. Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the earth, *and* with them the blind and the lame, the woman with child, and her that travaileth with child together; a great company shall return thither.' Je. xxxi. 4, 7, 8.

The way out of Babylon a pleasant way.

By these words, the blind and the lame, the woman with child, and her that travaileth, he would have us understand thus much—

1. That the way of God shall, by the illuminating grace of Christ, be made so pleasant, so sweet, and so beautiful in the souls of all at that day, that even the blindest shall not stumble therein, neither shall the lame refuse it for fear of hurt; yea, the blind, the lame, the woman with child, and her that travaileth shall, though they be of all in most evil case to travel, and go the journey, yet, at this day, by reason of the glorious light and sweetness that now will possess them, even forget their impediments, and dance, as after musical tabrets.

2. This city, upon the time of her rebuilding, shall have her blind men see, her halt and lame made strong; she also that is with child, and her that travaileth, shall jointly see the city-work that at this day will be on foot, and put into form and order, yet before the end. 'Behold, at that time I will undo all that afflict thee,' saith the Lord to his people, 'and I will save her that halteth, and gather her that was driven out, and I will get them praise and fame in every land where they have been put to shame. At that time will I bring you *again*, even in the time that I gather you, for I will make you a name and a praise among all people of the earth, when I turn back your captivity before your eyes, saith the Lord.' Zep. iii. 19, 20.

'And her light *was* like unto a stone most precious.' In that he saith her light is like unto 'A STONE MOST PRECIOUS,' he showeth us how welcome, and with what eagerness of spirit this light will at this day be embraced by the Lord's people. 'Truly the light *is* sweet,' saith Solomon, 'and a pleasant *thing it is* for the eyes to behold the sun.' Ec. xi. 7. And if so, then how beautiful, desirable, and precious will that light be, that is not only heavenly, and from Christ, but that will be universal among all saints, to show them the same thing, and to direct them to and in the same work. The want of this hath, to this day, been one great reason of that crossness of judgment and persuasion that hath been found among the saints, and that hath caused that lingering and disputing about the glorious state of the church in the latter days; some being for its excellency to consist chiefly in outward glory; and others, swerving on the other side, conclude she shall not have any of this: some conceiving that this city will not be built until the Lord comes from heaven in person; others again

Welcome will be that light that doth show us the way out of Babylon.

concluding that when he comes, then there shall be no longer tarrying here, but that all shall forthwith, even all the godly, be taken up into heaven: with divers other opinions in these matters. And thus many 'run to and fro,' but yet, God be thanked, knowledge does increase, though the vision will be sealed, even to the time of the end. Da. xii. 4. But now, I say, at the time of the end, the Spirit shall be poured down upon us from on high, Is. xxxii. 15; now 'they also that erred in spirit shall come to understanding,' Is. xxix. 24; the city shall descend in the light of a stone most precious. The sun will be risen upon the earth, when Lot goeth from Sodom unto Zoar. Ge. xix. 23.

Now there shall be an oneness of judgment and understanding in the hearts of all saints; they shall be now no more two, but one in the Lord's hand. Eze. xxxvii. 19–21. Alas! the saints are yet but as an army routed, and are apt sometimes through fear, and sometimes through forgetfulness, to mistake the word of their captain-general, the Son of God, and are also too prone to shoot and kill even their very right-hand man; but at that day all such doing shall be laid aside, for the knowledge of the glory of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. Is. xi. 9, 13. Which knowledge shall then strike through the heart and liver of all swerving and unsound opinions in Christ's matters; for then shall every one of the Christians call upon the name of the Lord, and that with one pure lip or language, 'to serve him with one consent.' Zep. iii. 9. It is darkness, and not light, that keepeth God's people from knowing one another, both in their faith and language; and it is darkness that makes them stand at so great a distance both in judgment and affections, as in these and other days they have done. But then, saith God, 'I will plant in the wilderness,' that is, in the church that is now bewildered, 'the cedar, the shittah tree, the myrtle, and the oil tree; I will set in the desert the fir tree, the pine, and the box tree together; that they may see and know, and consider and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the holy One of Israel hath created it.' Is. xli. 19, 20. And again, 'The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir tree, and the pine tree, and the box together,' to beautify the house of my glory, and to 'make the place of my feet glorious.' Is. lx. 13.

Never was fair weather after foul—nor warm weather after cold—nor a sweet and beautiful spring after a heavy, and nipping, and terrible winter, so comfortable, sweet, desirable, and welcome to the poor birds and beasts of the field, as this day will be to the church of God. Darkness! it was the plague of Egypt: it is an empty, forlorn, desolate, solitary, and discomforting state; wherefore light, even the illuminating grace of God, especially in the measure that it shall be communicated unto us at this day, it must needs be precious. In light there is warmth and pleasure; it is by the light of the sun that the whole universe appears unto us distinctly, and it is by the heat thereof that everything groweth and flourisheth; all which will now be gloriously and spiritually answered in this holy and new Jerusalem. 2 Th. ii. O how clearly will all the spiders, and dragons, and owls, and foul spirits of Antichrist at that day be discovered by the light hereof! Re. xviii. 1–4. Now also will all the pretty robins and little birds in the Lord's field most sweetly send forth their pleasant notes, and all the flowers and herbs of his garden spring. Then will it be said to the church by her Husband and Saviour, 'Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away; for lo, the winter is past, the rain is over *and* gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing *of birds* is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land; the fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines *with* the tender grape give a *good* smell.' Ca. ii. 10–13. You know how pleasant this is, even to be fulfilled in the letter of it, not only to birds and beasts, but men; especially it is pleasant to such men that have for several years been held in the chains of affliction. It must needs, therefore, be most pleasant and desirable to the afflicted church of Christ, who hath lain now in the dungeon of Antichrist for above a thousand years. But, Lord, how will this lady, when she gets her liberty, and when she is returned to her own city, how will she then take pleasure in the warm and spangling beams of thy shining grace! and solace herself with thee in the garden, among the nuts and the pomegranates, among the lillies and flowers, and all the chief spices. Ca. vii. 11–13.

'Even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal.' These words are the metaphor by which the Holy Ghost is pleased to illustrate the whole business. Indeed similitudes, if fitly spoke and applied, do much set off and out[1] any point that either in the doctrines of faith or manners, is handled in the churches. Wherefore, because he would illustrate, as well as affirm, the glory of this Jerusalem to the life, therefore he concludes his general description of this city with these comparisons:—I saw, saith he, the holy city, the Lamb's wife; I saw her in her spangles, and in all her adorning, but verily she was most excellent. She was shining as the jasper, and as pure and clear as crystal. The jasper, it seems, is a very beautiful and costly stone, inasmuch as that, above all the precious stones, is made use of by the Holy Ghost to show us the glory and shining virtues of the

[1] 'Set out;' render prominent, plain, or conspicuous.—Ed.

Lord Jesus in this New Jerusalem; and yet, behold, the jasper is too short and slender to do the business, there must another stone be added, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal. Yea, saith the Lord Jesus, her cheeks are like rows of jewels, and so are the joints of her thighs; even like the jewels that are 'the work of the hands of a cunning workman.' Ca. i. 9, 10; and vii. 1.

The crystal is a stone so clear and spotless, that even her greatest adversaries, in the midst of all their rage, are not able justly to charge her with the least mote or spot imaginable; wherefore when he saith, that this city in her descending is even like the jasper for light, and like the crystal for clearness; he would have us further learn, that at the day of the descending of this Jerusalem, she shall be every way so accomplished with innocency, sincerity, and clearness in all her actions, that none shall have from her, or her ways, any just occasion given unto them to slight, contemn, or oppose her. For,

First, As she descends, she meddleth not with any man's matters but her own; she comes all along by the King's highway; that is, alone by the rules that her Lord hath prescribed for her in his testament. The governors of this world need not at all to fear a disturbance from her, or a diminishing of ought they have. She will not meddle with their fields nor vineyards, neither will she drink of the water of their wells: only let her go by the King's highway, and she will not turn to the right hand or to the left, until she hath passed all their borders. Nu. xx. 18, 19; xxi. 22. It is a false report then that the governors of the nations have received against the city, this New Jerusalem, if they believe, that according to the tale that is told them, she is and hath been of old a rebellious city, and destructive to kings, and a diminisher of their revenues. I say, these things are lying words, and forged even in the heart of 'Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions.' Eze. iv. 7. For verily this city, in her descending, is clear from such things, even as clear as crystal. She is not for meddling with anything that is theirs, from a thread even to a shoe-latchet. Her glory is spiritual and heavenly, and she is satisfied with what is her own.[1] It is true, the kings and nations of this world shall one day bring their glory and honour to this city; but yet not by outward force or compulsion; none shall constrain them but the love of Christ and the beauty of this city. 'The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.' Is. lx 3. The light and beauty of this city, that only shall engage their hearts, and overcome them. Indeed, if any shall, out of mistrust or enmity against this city and her prosperity, bend themselves to disappoint the designs of the eternal God concerning her building and glory, then they must take what followeth. Her God in the midst of her is mighty, he will rest in his love, and rejoice over her with singing, and will UNDO all that afflict her. Zep. iii. 17–19. Wherefore, 'associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, all ye of far countries; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to naught; speak the word and it shall not stand; for God *is* with us.' Is. viii. 9, 10.

See more of this hereafter.

What work did he make with Og the king of Bashan, and with Sihon, king of the Amorites, for refusing to let his people go peaceably by them, when they were going to their own inheritance. Nu. xxi. 22–35. God is harmless, gentle, and pitiful; but woe be to that people that shall oppose or gainsay him. He is gentle, yet a lion; he is loth to hurt, yet he will not be crossed; 'Fury *is* not in me,' saith he; yet if you set the briars and thorns against him, *He* 'will go through them, and burn them together.' Is. xxvii. 4. Jerusalem also, this beloved city, it will be beautiful and profitable to them that love her; but a cup of trembling, and a burthensome stone to all that burden themselves with her; 'all that burthen themselves with it, shall be cut in pieces, though all the people of the earth be gathered together against her.' Zec. xii. 2, 3.

Again, she will be clear as crystal in the observation of all her turns and stops, in her journeying from Egypt to Canaan, from Babylon to this Jerusalem state. She will, I say, observe both time and order, and will go only as her God doth go before her; now one step in this truth, and then another in that, according to the dispensation of God, and the light of day she lives in. As the cloud goes, so will she; and when the cloud stays, so will she. Re. xiv. 4; Ex. xl. 36–38. She comes in perfect rank and file, 'terrible as an army with banners.' Ca. vi. 10. No Balaam can enchant her; she comes 'out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all spices[2] of the merchants.' Ca. iii. 6. Still

[1] In Bunyan's days, a few fanatics from among the Fifth Monarchy men conceived that the millenium had arrived, and that it was their duty to take possession of the kingdom for Jesus. They were mad enough, like the late Mr. Courtnay, to imagine that their bodies were invulnerable, and they marched out to seize London. A few of the trained bands soon encountered them, some were shot and the rest were punished, and this absurd attempt was at an end in a few hours. This gave the enemies of true religion a pretext, which they eagerly seized, of charging these absurd notions upon all who feared God, and a severe persecution followed. To deprecate and counteract these reports, Bunyan is very explicit in noting the difference between a spiritual and a temporal kingdom.—ED.

[2] 'Spices' is from the Genevan version; our authorized text has 'powders.'—ED.

'leaning upon her beloved.' Ca. viii. 5. The return of Zion from under the tyranny of her afflictors, and her recovery to her primitive purity, is no head-strong brain-sick rashness of her own, but the gracious and merciful hand and goodness of God unto her, therefrom to give her deliverance. 'For thus saith the Lord, That after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon (that is, the time of the reign of Antichrist, and his tyranny over his church) I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place.' Je. xxix. 10. 'Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of the Lord, for (spiritual) wheat, and for wine, and for oil, and for the young of the flock and of the herd; and their soul shall be as a watered garden; and they shall not sorrow any more at all.' Is. lvii. 11; Je. xxxi. 12.

[SECOND. A Discovery of its Defence, Entrances, and Fashion in Particular.]

Verse 12. 'And had a wall great and high, *and* had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are *the names of* the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.' These words do give us to understand, that this holy city is now built, and in all her parts complete, they give us also to understand the manner of her strength, &c.

Of her defence.

'And had a wall.' Having thus, I say, given us a description of this city in general, he now descends to her strength and frame in particular: her frame and strength, I say, as she is a city compact together: as also of her splendour and beauty.

And observe it, that of all the particulars that you read of, touching the fence, fashion, or frame of this city, and of all her glory, the first thing that he presenteth to our view is her safety and security; she 'had a wall.' A wall, you know, is for the safety, security, defence, and preservation of a place, city, or town; therefore it is much to the purpose that in the first place after this general description, he should fall upon a discovery of her security and fortification; for what of all this glory and goodness, if there be no way to defend and preserve it in its high and glorious state? If a man had in his possession even mountains of pearl and golden mines, yet if he had not wherewith to secure and preserve them to himself, from those that with all their might endeavour to get them from him, he might not only quickly lose his treasure, and become a beggar, but also through the very fear of losing them, even lose the comfort of them, while yet in his possession. To speak nothing of the angels that fell, and of the glory that they then did lose, I may instance to you the state of Adam in his excellency; Adam, you know, was once so rich and wealthy, that he had the garden of Eden, the paradise of pleasure, yea, and also the whole world to boot, for his inheritance; but mark, in all his glory, he was without a wall; wherefore presently, even at the very first assault of the adversary, he was not only worsted as touching his person and standing, but even stripped of all his treasure, his paradise taken from him, and he in a manner left so poor, that forthwith he was glad of an apron of fig-leaves to cover his nakedness, and to hide his shame from the face of the sun. Ge. iii. 7. Wherefore, I say, John speaks to the purpose in saying she had a wall; a wall for defence and safety, for security and preservation. Now then she shall lie no longer like blasted bones in an open field or valley; that was her portion in the days of her affliction. Eze. xxxvii. 1, 2.

[*The wall of the city.*]

'And had a wall.' It is said of old Jerusalem, that she had a wall and a wall, two walls for her defence and safety: Je. xxxix. 4; Je. lii. 7; which two, in my judgment, did hold forth these two things. The one, their eternal preservation and security from the wrath of God, through the benefits of Christ; and the other, that special protection and safeguard that the church hath always had from and by the special providence of her God in the midst of her enemies, Wherefore one of these is called by the proper name of salvation, which salvation I take in special to signify our fortification and safety from the wrath of God, and the curse and power of the law and sin. Is. xxvi. 1; Ac. iv. 12. The other is called, A wall of fire round about her; and alludeth to the vision that the prophet's servant was made to see for his comfort, when he was put in fear, by reason of the great company of the enemies that were bending their force against the life of his master. Eze. ii. 5; 2 Ki. vi. 17.

The reason of two walls.

But now in those days, though there were for the defence of the city those two walls, yet they stood a little distance each from other, and had a ditch between them, which was to signify that though then they had the wall of salvation about them, with reference to their eternal state, yet the wall of God's providence and special protection was not yet so nearly joined thereto but that they might, for their foolishness, have that broken down, and they suffered to fall into the ditch that was between them both. Is. xxii. 10-12. And so he saith by the prophet, 'I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard (that is, to this city for the wickedness thereof), I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; *and* break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down.' Is. v. 5-7. Which hedge and wall

could not be that of eternal salvation, for that stood sure, though they should be scattered among the nations 'as *wheat* is sifted in a sieve.' Am. ix. 9. It must therefore be the wall of her special preservation in her outward peace and happiness, which wall was often in those days broken down, and they made havoc of, of all that dwelt about them.

But now touching the safety of New Jerusalem, the city of which I here discourse, she is seen in the vision by John to have but one only wall; to signify that at this day the wall of her eternal salvation, and of God's special providence to protect and defend her, in her present visible and gospel glory, shall be so effectually joined together, that now they shall be no more two, that is, at a distance, with a ditch between, but one sound and enclosing wall; to show us that now the state of this Jerusalem, even touching her outward glory, peace, and tranquillity, will be so stable, invincible, and lasting, that unless that part of the wall which is eternal salvation, can be broken down, the glory of this city shall never be vailed more. Wherefore the prophet, when he speaks with reference to the happy state and condition of this city, he saith, 'Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise,' Is. lx. 18; as he saith also in another place, 'Thine eye shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle *that* shall not be taken down, not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken.' Is. xxxiii. 20. The walls are now conjoined, both joined into one; the Father hath delivered up the great red dragon into the hand of Christ, who hath shut him up and sealed him down, even down for a thousand years. Re. xx. 1–3. Wherefore from the Lord shall there be 'upon every dwelling-place of Mount Zion, and upon her assemblies a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night; for upon all her glory *shall be* a defence.' Is. iv. 5. And 'in that day shall this song be sung: We have a strong city, salvation will *God* appoint *for* walls and bulwarks.' Is. xxvi. 1, 2. The same in effect hath our prophet John, saying 'I saw the holy city, the New Jerusalem,' descending out of heaven from God, 'prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, - The tabernacle of God *is* with men, and he will dwell with them: - and God himself shall be with them, *and be* their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away.' Re. xxi. 1-4.

Two walls made one.

The reason why they both are made one.

'And had a wall great and high.' These words, great and high, are added for illustration, to set out the matter to the height; and indeed the glory of a wall lieth in this, that it is great and high; the walls of the Canaanites were terrible upon this account, and did even sink the hearts of those that beheld them. De. i. 28. Wherefore this city shall be most certainly in safety, she hath a wall about her, a great wall: a wall about her, an high wall. It is great for compass, it incloseth every saint; it is great for thickness, it is compacted of all the grace and goodness of God, both spiritual and temporal; and for height, if you count from the utmost side to the utmost, then it is higher than heaven, who can storm it? He. vii. 26. and for depth, it is lower than hell, who can undermine it? Job xi. 8.

The wall is great and high.

Great mercies, high mercies, great preservation, and a high arm to defend, shall continually at this day encamp this city: God himself will be a continual life-guard to this city; 'I will encamp,' saith he, 'about mine house, because of the army, because of him that passeth by, and because of him that returneth; and no oppressor shall pass through them any more; for now have I seen with mine eyes.' Zec. ix. 8.

The height of the wall.

[*The gates of the city.*]

'And had twelve gates.' Having thus showed us her wall, he now comes to her gates; it had gates, it had twelve gates. By gates in this place we are to understand the way of entrance; gates, you know, are for coming in, and for going out, Je. xvii. 19, 20; and do in this place signify two things. First, An entrance into communion with the God and Saviour of this city. Secondly, Entrance into communion with the inhabitants and privileges of this city; in both which the gates do signify Christ: for as no man can come to the knowledge and enjoyment of the God, and glorious Saviour, but by and through the Lord Christ; so no man can come into true and spiritual communion with these inhabitants, but by him also: 'I am the way,' saith he, 'and the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me:' and again, 'I am the door, by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture.' Jn. x. 1–9; xiv. 6.

The gates of the city.

What the gates signify.

'And had twelve gates.' In that he saith twelve gates, he alludeth to the city of Jerusalem that was of old, which had just so many, Ne. iii. xii. 37–39; and are on purpose put into the number of twelve, to answer to the whole number of the elect of God, which are comprehended within the number of the twelve tribes, whether they are natural Jews or Gentiles; for as all the godly

Twelve gates.

Why twelve gates.

Jews are the seed of Abraham after the flesh, though not godly, because they are the children of the flesh of Abraham; so all the godly Gentiles are the children of Abraham after the spirit, though not by that means made the children of the flesh of Abraham. They both meet then in the spirit and faith of the gospel, as God saith to the Jews, 'When a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the Lord,' that is, become godly, and receive the faith of Christ, let all his males be circumcised, and then let them come near, and keep it, &c. Ex. xii. 48. For they that are of faith, are the children of faithful Abraham, who is called the very father of us all. Ga. iii. 7. Ro. iv. 16. Thus you see all the godly come under the title of the children of Abraham, and of the Jews; and so under the denomination also of being persons belonging to the tribes, the twelve tribes, who answer to those twelve gates. Wherefore the Psalmist minding this, speaking indefinitely of all the godly, under the name of the tribes of Israel; saying, 'Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem. Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together, whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord.' Ps. cxxii. 2–4.

The twelve gates do answer the twelve tribes.

But again, though I am certain that all the Gentiles that are at any time converted, are reckoned within the compass of some of the tribes of Israel, to which the gates of this city may truly be said to answer; yet the gates are here in a special manner called by the name of twelve, to answer to the happy return and restoration of those poor distressed creatures the twelve tribes of the Jews that are scattered abroad, and that are, and for a long time have been to our astonishment and their shame, as vagabonds and stragglers among the nations, Ho. ix. 17, there to continue 'many days, without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an ephod.' Ho. iii. 4. That is, without the true God, the true Saviour, and the true word and ordinances; after which, saith the same prophet, they shall even in the latter days, that is, when this city is builded, return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall then 'fear the Lord and his goodness.' Ho. iii. 5. This the apostle also affirmeth, when he telleth the believing Gentiles that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in: which Israel in this place cannot by any means be taken for the Gentiles that are converted, for this Israel must be rejected until the bulk of the elect Gentiles be converted; besides he calleth this Israel by the name of Israel, even while unconverted; but the converted Gentiles still Gentiles, even when converted: he calls this Israel the natural branches, but the Gentiles wild branches; and tells us further, that when they are converted, they shall be grafted into their own olive tree; but when the Gentiles are converted, they must be cut off of their own stock and tree: read Ro. xi. throughout. Wherefore, I say, the gates are called twelve, to answer these poor creatures, who at this day shall be awakened, and enlightened, and converted to the faith of Jesus. These gates in another place are called a way, and these Jews, the kings of the east; and it is there said also, that at present this way doth want preparing; which is as much as to say this city wants setting up, and the gates want setting in their proper places. Wherefore, saith John, the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates, that is, destroyed the strength and force of the Roman antichrist—for the river Euphrates was the fence of literal Babylon, the type of our spiritual one—which force and fence, when it is destroyed or dried up, then the way of the kings of the east will be prepared, or made ready for their journey to this Jerusalem. Re. xvi. 12. Of this the prophets are full, crying, 'Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumbling block out of the way of my people.' Is. lvii. 14. And again, 'Go through, go through the gates, prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the high way; gather out the stones, lift up a standard for the people. Behold, the Lord hath proclaimed unto the end of the world, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold thy salvation cometh; behold his reward *is* with him, and his work before him. And they shall call them, The holy people, the redeemed of the Lord: and thou shalt be called, Sought out; A city not forsaken.' Is. lxii. 10–12. All which doth most especially relate to the conversion of the Jews in the latter day, who in great abundance shall, when all things are made ready, come flocking in to the Son of God, and find favour, as in the days of old.

[*The angels at the gates, what they are.*]

'And at the gates twelve angels.' By angels in this place, we are to understand the messengers and ministers of the Lord Jesus, by whom the mystery of eternal life and felicity is held forth and discovered before the sons of men; and thus this word angel is frequently taken in this prophecy. Re. i. 20; ii. 1, 8, 12, 18; iii. 1, 7; xiv. 6.

The angels, and what they are.

'And at the gates twelve angels'—

In these words, then, there are two things to be considered. *First.* Why they should be called twelve. And, *Second.* Why they are said to stand at the twelve gates of this new and holy city.

First. They are called twelve, to signify two things. 1. The truth of their doctrine. And, 2. The sufficiency of their

Why the angels are said to be twelve.

doctrine and ministry for the converting of the twelve tribes to the faith of Christ, and privileges of this city.

1. For the truth of their doctrine: for by twelve here he would have us to understand that he hath his eye upon the twelve apostles, or upon the doctrine of the twelve, the apostolical doctrine. As if he should say, This city, the New Jerusalem, shall be every way accomplished with beauty and glory; she shall have a wall for her security, and twelve gates to answer the twelve tribes; yea, and also at these gates the twelve apostles, in their own pure, primitive, and unspotted doctrine. The Romish beasts have corrupted this doctrine by treading it down with their feet, and have muddied this water with their own dirt and filthiness.[1] Eze. xxxiv. 17, 18. But at this day, this shall be recovered from under the feet of these beasts, and cleansed also from their dirt, and be again in the same glory, splendour, and purity, as in the primitive times. It is said that when Israel was passed out of Egypt, beyond the sea, they presently came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, &c., and that they encamped by the waters. Ex. xv. 27. Which twelve wells did figure forth the doctrine of the twelve apostles, out of which the church, at her return from captivity, shall draw and drink, as out of the wells of salvation. Now shall the wells of our father Abraham, which the Philistines have for a great while stopped; now, I say, shall they again be opened by our Isaac, his son; and shall be also called after their own names. Ge. xxvi. 18. This is generally held forth by the prophets, that yet again the church shall be fed upon the mountains of Israel, and that they 'shall lie down in a good fold, and a fat pasture;' yea, 'I will feed my flock, and I will cause them to lie down, saith the Lord God.' Eze. xxxiv. 14, 15.

2. As by these twelve we are to understand the truth and purity of the doctrine of the twelve, so again, by this word twelve, we are to understand the sufficiency of that doctrine and ministry to bring in the twelve tribes to the privileges of this city. Mark, for the twelve tribes there are twelve gates, for every tribe a gate; and at the twelve gates, twelve angels, at every gate an angel. 'O Judah,' saith God, 'he hath set an harvest for thee, when I returned the captivity of thy people.' Ho. vi. 11. And so for the rest of the tribes; before Ephraim and Benjamin, and Manasseh, he will stir up his strength to save them. Ps. lxxx. 2. 'I will hiss for them,' saith God, 'and gather them, for I have redeemed them; and they shall increase as they have increased: and I will sow them among the people, and they shall remember me in far countries, and they shall live with their children, and return again; I will bring them again also out of the land of Egypt, and gather them out of Assyria, and I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon, and *place* shall not be found for them.' Zec. x. 8–10.

[*Second.*] But to come to the second question, that is, Why these twelve angels are said to stand at the gates? which may be for divers reasons. Why the twelve angels stand at the twelve gates.

1. To show us that the doctrine of the twelve is the doctrine that letteth in at these gates, and that also that shutteth out. 'Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted,' saith Christ, '*and* whosesoever *sins* ye retain, they are retained.' Jn. xx. 23. Mat. xviii. 18. And hence it is that the true ministers, in their right administration, are called porters; because as porters stand at the gate, and there open to, or shut upon, those that make an attempt to enter in, Mar. xiii. 34; so the ministers of Christ, by the doctrine of the twelve, do both open to and shut the gates against the persons that will be attempting to enter in at the gates of this city. 2 Ch. xxiii. 19.

2. But again, they are said to stand at the gates for the encouraging and persuading of the tempted and doubting Jews, who at the beginning of their return will be much afflicted under the sight and sense of their own wretchedness. 'Alas! were it not for some to stand at the gates of this city for instruction, and the encouragement of those that will at that day in earnest be looking after life, they might labour as in other things for very, very vanity; and might also be so grievously beat out of heart and spirit, that they might die in despair. But now to prevent this for those that are in the way to Zion with watery eyes, and wetted cheeks, here stand the angels, continually sounding with their golden gospel-trumpets, 'Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, *and* into his courts with praise; be thankful unto him, *and* bless his name. For the Lord *is* good, and his mercy *is* everlasting, and his truth *endureth*' for ever, even 'to all generations.' Ps. c. 4, 5. As he saith again, 'And it shall come to pass in that day, *that* the great trumpet shall be blown, and they shall come which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, and shall worship the Lord in the holy mount at Jerusalem.' Is. xxvii. 13.

[*The names written on the gates.*]

'And at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are *the names* of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. Thus it was in

[1] Referring to the attempts made in Bunyan's days to introduce Popery. It is admirably shown in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 193—'This is the spring that Christian drank of; then it was clear and good, but now it is dirty with the feet of some that are not desirous that pilgrims here should quench their thirst.'—(Ed.)

the vision of the prophet, when he was taking a view of the pattern of this city: 'And the gates of the city,' saith the angel to him, '*shall be* after the names of the tribes of Israel.' Eze. xlviii. 31. Which saying John doth here expound, saying, the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel were writ or set upon them.

This being thus, it cleareth to you what I said but now, to wit, that the gates are called twelve, to answer the twelve tribes, for their names are written thereon. This must therefore, without all doubt, be a very great encouragement to this despised people; I say great encouragement, that notwithstanding all their rebellion, blasphemy, and contempt of the glorious gospel, their names should be yet found recorded and engraved upon the very gates of New Jerusalem. Thus then shall the Jews be comforted in the latter days; and truly they will have but need hereof; for doubtless, at their return, when they are thoroughly sensible of the murder they have committed, not only upon the bodies of the prophets and apostles, but of the Son of God himself, I say this must needs, together with the remembrance of the rest of their villainous actions, exceedingly afflict and distress their bleeding souls. For 'the children of Israel shall come, they and the children of Judah together, going and weeping; they shall go and seek the Lord their God. They shall ask the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward.' Je. l. 4, 5. Mark, 'going and weeping;' there will not be a step that these poor people will take in the day of their returning, but will be watered with the tears of repentance and contrition, under the consideration of the wickedness that, in the days of their rebellion, they have committed against the Lord of glory. As he saith also by another prophet, 'I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for *his* only *son*, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn. In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadad-rimmon in the valley of Megiddon, and the land shall mourn.' Zec. xii. 10–12.

Wherefore, I say, they both have and also will have need of twelve gates, and on them the names of their twelve tribes, with an angel at each, to encourage them to enter this holy and goodly city; and to tell them that yet he counts them his friends in whose house he received the wounds in his hands. Zec. xiii. 6.

But again, As by the names of the twelve tribes written on the gates, we may see what encouragement the Jews will have, at their return, to enter in at them; so we may also understand that by the names of the twelve tribes here written, God would have us to perceive how all must be qualified that from among the Gentiles at this day do enter in at these gates; namely, those, and those only, that be cut out of their own wild olive tree, and transplanted among the children of Israel, into their good olive tree. Such as are Jews inwardly, the Israel of God, according to the new creature, they shall enter, for the holy Gentiles also, by virtue of their conversion, are styled the children of Abraham, Jews, the chosen generation, the peculiar people, the holy nation; and so are spiritually, though not naturally by carnal generation, of the twelve tribes whose names are written upon the gates of the city. Ga. iii. 7. Ro. ii. 28. 1 Pe. ii. 9, 10. 'And it shall come to pass,' saith the prophet, '*that* in what tribe the stranger,' that is, the Gentile 'sojourneth, there shall ye give *him* his inheritance, saith the Lord God.' Eze. xlvii. 23. Thus the Jews and Gentiles shall meet together in the spirit of the gospel, and so both become a righteous nation; to both which the gates of this city shall stand continually open; at which also they may with boldness demand, by the faith of the Lord Jesus, their entrance, both for communion with the God, grace, and privileges of this city, according to that which is written, 'Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in.' Is. xxvi. 2. Thus much of the number of the gates, and now to proceed to the order of them.

[*The order of the gates.*]

Ver. 13. 'On the east three gates, on the north three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates.' I shall not speak anything to the manner of his repeating of the quarters towards which the gates do look; why he should begin at the east, then to the north, afterwards crossing to the south, and last to the west; though I do verily think that the Holy Ghost hath something to show us, wherefore he doth thus set them forth. And possibly he may set them thus, and the west last, not only because the west part of the world is that which always closeth the day, but to signify that the west, when Jerusalem is rebuilded, will be the last part of the world that will be converted, or the gate that will be last, because longest, occupied with the travels of the passengers and wayfaring men in their journey to this Jerusalem. But I pass that.

From the order of their standing, I shall inquire into two things. *First.* Why the gates should look in this manner every way, both east, west, north, and south? *Second.* Why there should be three, just three, on every side of this city? 'On the east three, on the north three, on the south three, and on the west three.'

First. For the first, the gates by looking every way, into all quarters, may signify to us thus much, that God hath a people in every corner of the world. And also, that grace is to be carried out of these gates by the angels in their ministry into every place, to gather them home to him. As it is said of the living creatures, 'Whither the head looked they followed it, they turned not as they went,' Eze. x. 11; so whithersoever the gates look, thither the ministers go, and carry the Word, to gather together the elect. He 'sent them two and two before his face, into every city and place whither he himself would come.' Lu. x. 1. Mat. xxviii. 19. Jn. xi. 52.

Why the gates look every way,

Again, the gates, by their thus looking every way, do signify to us, that from what quarter or part of the world soever men come for life, for those men there are the gates of life, even right before their doors. Come they from the east, why thither look the gates; and so if they come from north, or west, or south. No man needs at all to go about to come at life, and peace, and rest. Let him come directly from sin to grace, from Satan to Jesus Christ, and from this world to New Jerusalem. The twelve brazen oxen that Solomon made to bear the molten sea, 1 Ki. vii. 23–25, they stood just as these gates stand, and signify, as I said before, that the doctrine of the twelve apostles should be carried into all the world, to convert—as in the primitive times, so now at the building of New Jerusalem—and to bring in God's sheep to the fold of his church. Now, I say, as the Word is carried every way, so the gates, the open gates, look also into all corners after them, to signify that loving reception that shall be given to every soul that from any corner of the whole world shall unfeignedly close in with grace, through the Lord Jesus Christ. Thus, therefore, men 'shall come from the east, and *from* the west, and from the north, and *from* the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.' Lu. xiii. 29. Ps. cvii. 1–3.

[*Second.*] 'On the east three gates, on the north three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates.' Having thus showed you in a word, why they stand thus looking into every corner or quarter of the world, I now come to show you why there must be just three looking in this manner every way.

Why there is three gates looking every way.

1. Then, there may be three looking every way, to signify that it is both by the consent of the three persons in the Trinity, that the gospel should thus every way go forth to call men, and also to show you that both the Father, Son, and Spirit, are willing to receive and embrace the sinner, from whatsoever part or corner of the earth he cometh hither for life and safety. Come they from whence they will, the Father is willing to give them the Son, and so is the Son to give them himself, and so is the Spirit to give them its help against whatever may labour to hinder them while they are here. Jn. iii. 16. Re. xxi. 6; xxii. 17.

2. In that three of the gates look every way, it may be also to show us that there is none can enter into this city, but by the three offices of the Lord Jesus. Christ by his priestly office must wash away their sins; and by his prophetical office he must illuminate, teach, guide, and refresh them; and by his kingly office, rule over them and govern them with his Word. He. vii. 5. Jn. xiii. 8. Ac. iii. 22–24. Is. xl. 10, 11; ix. 6, 7. Ps. lxxvi. 1–3; cx. 3.

3. Or, by three gates, may be signified the three states of the saints in this life; an entrance into childhood, an entrance into a manly state, and an entrance into the state of a father of the church. 1 Jn. ii. 12–14. Or, lastly, the three gates may signify the three-fold state we pass through from nature to glory; the state of grace in this life, the state of felicity in paradise, and our state in glory after the resurrection: or thus, the state of grace that possesseth body and soul in this life, the state of glory that possesseth the soul at death, and the state of glory that both body and soul shall be possessed with at the coming of the Lord and Saviour. This was figured forth by the order of the stairs in the temple at Jerusalem, which was first, second, and third, by which men ascended from the lowest to the uppermost room in the house of God; as he tells us, 'They went up with winding stairs' from the first into the second story, and from thence by them into the third. 1 Ki. vi. 8. Thus much for the wall and gates of New Jerusalem.

[*The foundations of the wall.*]

Ver. 14. 'And the wall of this city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.' In these words we have two things considerable:—*First.* That the city-wall hath twelve foundations. *Second.* That in these twelve are the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

The foundations of the wall.

First. It hath twelve foundations. This argueth invincible strength and support. That wall that hath but one foundation, how strongly doth it stand, if it be but safely laid upon a rock, even so strongly that neither wind nor weather, in their greatest vehemency, are able to shake or stir it to make it fall. But I say, how much more when a city hath foundations, twelve foundations, and those also laid by God himself; as it is said concerning the worthies of old, they 'looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker *is* God.' He. xi. 10.

'And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of

the Lamb.' The wall, you know, I told you, is the wall of salvation, or the safety of the church by Jesus Christ, to which is adjoined, as the effect of that, the special providence and protection of God. Now this wall, saith the Holy Ghost, hath twelve foundations, to wit, to bear it up for the continuation of the safety and security of those that are the inhabitants of this city; a foundation is that which beareth up all, and that upon which the stress of all must lie and abide. Now, to speak properly, the foundation of our happiness is but one, and that one none but the Lord Jesus; 'For other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' 1 Co. iii. 11. So then, when he saith the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and that in them also are written the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, he doth not mean that this wall had twelve Christs for its support, but that the doctrine of the twelve apostles is that doctrine upon which both Christ, and grace, and all happiness standeth firm and sure for ever. And to signify also, that neither Christ nor any of his benefits can be profitable unto thee, unless thou receive him alone upon the terms that they do hold him forth and offer him to sinners in their word and doctrine. If 'we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you,' saith Paul, 'than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, if any *man* preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed.' Ga. i. 8, 9.

It is the doctrine of the twelve apostles that holds up the walls of the New Jerusalem.

[*Second.*] 'And in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.' 'And in them their names.' This makes it manifest that by the foundations of this wall, we are to understand the doctrine of the twelve apostles of the Lord Christ, for their names are to it, or found engraved in the foundations. Thus it was with the doctrine which was the foundation of the Jewish church; the first pattern being delivered by the man Moses, his name was always so entailed to that doctrine, that at last it became common, and that by Divine allowance, to call that doctrine by the name of Moses himself. 'There is *one* that accuseth you,' saith Christ, '*even* Moses in whom ye trust.' Jn. v. 45. And again, 'For Moses of old hath in every city them that preach him.' Ac. xv. 21. The same liberty of speech doth the Holy Ghost here use in speaking of the foundations of this wall, which is the doctrine of the twelve. And in that he calleth the doctrine by the name of foundations, and leaveth it only with telling us the names of the twelve apostles are engraven in it; he expects that men should be wise that read him, and that they should be skilful in the word of righteousness, if they come up clearly to the understanding of him.

'And in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.'

Thus you see that the twelve apostles, above all the servants of Christ, are here owned to be the foundations of this wall; and good reason, for they, above all other, are most clear and full in the doctrine of grace, and all doctrines pertaining to life and holiness. 'In other ages,' saith Paul, it 'was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed to the holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit.' Ep. iii. 5. Moses was not fit for this, for his was a more dark and veiled administration; while Moses is read, the veil is over the heart, said Paul. 2 Cor. iii. 13–15. Neither was any of the prophets fit for this, for they were all inferior to Moses, and were, as it were, his scholars. Nu. xii. 6, 7. Nay, John the Baptist is here shut out;—for the 'least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.' Mat. xi. 11.

The doctrine of the twelve, the purest of all other.

The apostles, above all other, were the men that were with the Lord Jesus all the time, from the baptism of John, even until the time he was taken up into heaven; they saw him, heard him, and discoursed with him, and were beholders of all the wondrous works that he did; they did eat and drink with him after his passion, and saw, after he was risen, the print of the nails, and the spear with which he was pierced, when he died for our sins. Lu. xxiv. 39, 40. And because they had seen, felt, and at such a rate experienced all things from the very first, both touching his doctrine, miracles, and life, therefore he said unto them in chief, Ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem and all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the utmost parts of the earth. Ac. i. 8, 21; xiii. 31; x. 39; li. 32. 1 Jn. i. 1–3.

The twelve went beyond all others in their experience.

Further, The apostles were in that marvellous manner endued with the Holy Ghost, that they out-stript all the prophets that ever went before them; neither can I believe that in the best of times there should be any beyond them; yet if it should so fall out that a dispensation should come in which they should have, as to the pouring forth of the Spirit, their equals, yet it could not follow, that therefore the gospel should be offered in other terms than they at first have offered it, especially besides what hath been said of them, if you consider to them it was said, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' Mat. xviii. 18. They, as to their doctrine, were infallible, it was impossible they should err; he that despised their doctrine, despised God himself. Besides, they have given in commandment that all should write after their copy, and that we should judge

The foundation may not be altered.

both men and angels that did, or would do otherwise. 1 Th. iii. 8. Ga. i. 8.

Timothy must have his rule from Paul, and so must holy Titus. All which, if we consider it, the Holy Ghost speaks to the purpose, in saying that in the twelve foundations are found the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. They are called the chief, and such as have laid the foundation, and others build thereon, and that as no men have laid the foundation but they, so none can lay even that foundation otherwise than they afore have laid it. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Ep. iv. 11, 12. 1 Cor. iii. 6–11. He. vi. 1–3.

[*Consideration from these words.*] 'And in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.' These words, then, teach us two things worthy of our Christian consideration.

First. That God hath given to every man a certain and visible mark to aim at for his salvation, or to build his soul upon, namely, the doctrine of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. For in that he saith their names are in the foundations, it is better for us, all things considered, than if he had said in them was the name of God himself; that is, it is more easy to see this way, through the mist of our carnality, what the mystery of his will should be, which is, that we receive Christ according to their doctrine, words, writings, epistles, letters, &c., their names, I say, being there, God counts it as the broad seal of heaven, which giveth authority to all that doctrine whereunto by themselves they are prefixed and subscribed; not where they are writ by others, but by themselves. I say, as the token of every epistle, and of their doctrine for truth, the which Paul insinuates, when he saith that his hand is the token of every epistle. 2 Th. iii. 17. Ga. vi. 11. As he saith again, Am I not an apostle? 1 Co. ix. 1. And again, Behold, I Paul, have written unto you; I Paul, Ga. v. 2. I, an apostle, I, a wise master-builder, I, who am in my doctrine one of the foundations of the wall of salvation, I have written unto you. 1 Cor. xi. 5. And, as I said before, there is reason it should be thus: for as he who was the foundation of the Jewish church, even Moses, received the pattern of all his order from the mouth of the angel in Mount Sinai, so the twelve received their doctrine of faith and manners, the doctrine of the New Testament, from the mouth of the Son of God himself, as from the mouth of the angel of the everlasting covenant, on the mountain of Zion. Ac. vii. 38; i. 3. Mat. xxviii. 19.

The names of the twelve are the broad seals of heaven.

Second. In that he saith the names of the twelve are in the foundations, this shows us the reason of the continual standing of this Jerusalem; it is built upon the doctrine of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, and standeth there. For, observe, so long as he sees this holy city, he sees her standing upon these foundations; but he saw the city till she was taken up, therefore she continued as being settled for ever upon them. Indeed, the primitive city, or first churches, was built upon these foundations, and had also, so long as they there continued, sufficient supportation and upholding by that means. Ep. ii. 20–22. But then, as I have showed you, the wall of her salvation, and the wall of God's special protection, stood at a distance each from other, and were not so conjoined as now they will be. Wherefore they then, to answer the type, did fall into the ditch that was between, and through their foolishness provoked God to remove the wall of his outward protection and safeguard from them, whereupon the wild beast, Antichrist, got into his vineyard, making havoc of all their dainties. But mark, this city is not so, the walls are now conjoined, and for ever fastened upon the foundations,[2] therefore it abides for ever, and ascends higher and higher; yet not from the foundations, but by them into heaven: 'Behold,' saith God, 'I have graven thee upon the palms of *my* hands, thy walls are continually before me.' Is. xlix. 16.

[*How we are to understand the word* TWELVE.]

'And in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.' This word twelve must be warily understood, or else the weak will be ready to stumble and take offence; wherefore, to prevent this, consider,

First. The twelve must be them twelve that were with the Lord Jesus from the baptism of John until the day in which our Lord was taken up. Ac. i. 22.

How you are to understand the word twelve.

Second. These twelve are not neither to be considered simply as twelve Christians, or twelve disciples; but as their witness of the Lord Jesus—they being with him from first to last—were a twelve-fold witness of him in all his things; a twelve-fold seeing with their eyes, a twelve-fold hearing with their ears, a twelve-fold handling also with their hands, and feeling of the Son of God. As one of them said, 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, - and our hands have handled of the word of life: - that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us,' &c. 1 Jn. i. 1, 3. Now this being thus, it followeth that the doctrine of the other

[1] All authority in the church is strictly limited to the written Word. Throw away then to the owls and the bats all tradition, and the power of the church to decree rites and ceremonies. It is treason against God to suppose that he omitted anything from his Bible that his church ought to do, or commanded that which may be neglected, although human laws may authorize such deviation.—(Ed.)

[2] The walls do not go *from* or leave the foundations, but, resting upon them, they gradually ascend to perfection.—(Ed.)

apostles, as of Paul and Barnabas, was still but the doctrine of the twelve; their doctrine, I say, and no other. Wherefore, as Ephraim and Manasseh were dissolved into the twelve tribes, so these two, with all other the apostles of Christ, are dissolved into the number of the twelve, because their doctrine is only the doctrine of the twelve; for they centre in their doctrine; their length, and breadth, and depth, and height being the doctrine of the twelve. So, then, the names of the twelve being found in the foundations of this wall, it argueth that that doctrine is only true that is the doctrine of the twelve eye-witnesses of the Lord Jesus. And again, that at the day of Antichrist's fall, this doctrine shall be in its former purity, and bear the sway, and for ever hold up the wall of safety for the inhabitants of New Jerusalem. And indeed this doctrine, that the doctrine of the twelve is that upon which eternal safety is built and stands, is so true, that it must not be varied from upon pain of eternal damnation. Here centered Luke the Evangelist, here centered Jude, here centered the author to the Hebrews, yea, here centered Paul himself, with all the Old and New Testament. The doctrine of the twelve must be the opener, expounder, and limiter of all doctrines; there also must all men centre, and ground, and stay. A man may talk of, yea, enjoy much of the Spirit of God, but yet the twelve will have the start of him; for they both had the Spirit as he, and more than he. Besides, they together with this, did feel, see, handle, and receive conviction, even by their very carnal senses, which others did not; besides, their names also are found in the foundations of this saving wall, as being there engraved by God himself; which putteth all out of doubt, and giveth us infallible ground that their doctrine is only true, and all men's false that do not keep within the bounds and limits of that. Lu. i. 2. Jude 3, 17. He. ii. 3, 4. 1 Co. xv. 1–9; ix. 1. Ga. i. 1, 2. Ep. iii. 5. 1 Co. iv. 9.

To conclude, here are yet two things worthy of noting — *The first* [*consideration*] *is*, that by the names of the twelve apostles being in the foundations of this wall, and the names of the twelve tribes being upon the gates of this city, it giveth us to consider, that at the time of the building of this city the Jews and Gentiles shall be united together, and become one body; which very consideration must needs be to the Jews a great encouragement to have in mind at their conversion. Ro. xi. 1 Pe. i. 1. For it plainly signifieth that our New Testament preachers shall carry in their mouths salvation to the Jews, by which means they shall be again reconciled and made one with the Lord Jesus. Ja. i. 1. Ac. xiii. 16, 26. Ro. i. 16; ii. 10.

The second consideration is, that at the day of New Jerusalem, there shall be no doctrine accepted, nor no preachers regarded, but the doctrine, and the preaching of the doctrine of the twelve; for in that he saith that in them are found the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, he doth implicitly exclude all other, of whatever tribe they pretend themselves. It shall not be then as now, a Popish doctrine, a Quaker's doctrine, a prelatical doctrine, and the Presbyter, Independent, and Anabaptist,[1] thus distinguished, and thus confounding and destroying. But the doctrine shall be one, and that one the doctrine where you find the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. 'If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, *even* the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the doctrine that is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing.' 1 Ti. vi. 3, 4.

No preacher now allowed but he that can preach the doctrine of the twelve.

Thus you see the doctrine of the twelve is that which letteth souls into this city; and that the same doctrine is the doctrine that keepeth up the wall of their salvation about them, when they are entered in within the gates.

[*The measuring line, or golden reed: what it is.*]

Ver. 15. 'And he that talked with me had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.'

Now, having passed the relation of the wall, gates, and foundations, he comes to the measuring line, to see how all things lie and agree with that. Under the law, I find that all things pertaining to the worship of God were to be by number, rule, and measure, even to the very tacks and loops of the curtains of the tabernacle. Now the rule or line by which all things were then squared, it was the laws, statutes, and ordinances which were given to Moses by the Lord in the Mount Sinai, for thither he went to receive his orders; and according to the pattern there showed him, so he committed all things by writing to them that were to be employed in the workmanship of the holy things pertaining to the rise and completing of the tabernacle, and all its instruments. Ex. xx. 21; xxiv. 1; xxv. 40. De. xxx. 10; xxxi. 20–26.

A golden reed.

Now, when this rule was thus received, then whosoever observed not to do it, he was to fall under the penalty that by the same law also was prescribed against the offenders and transgressors. Nu. xv. 30, 31. I find also, that when the temple was built in the days of Solomon, all things were then done according to the writing that David made, when the hand of God was upon him, when he made him understand all the work of this pattern. 2 Ch. iii., iv. 1 Ch. xxix. 3–7; xxviii. 19.

Thus again, when Josiah went about to bring to

[1] Anabaptist was the name given to those who submitted to be baptized upon a profession of faith, because, having been christened when infants, it was called re-baptizing.—(Ed.)

pass the reformation of the church of the Jews, and their instruments of worship, after their revolting, he goeth to the law of God, and by that understanding what was out of order, and how to put all things into order, he so did reduce them to their former manner. The same way also went Ezra and Nehemiah, at the rebuilding of the temple and city after the captivity. 2 Ki. xxii. 8–13. Ezr. vii. 14; viii. 34. From all which I conclude, that the reed, the golden reed, that here you read of, it is nothing else but the pure and unspotted Word of God; by which both the city, gates, and wall of this Jerusalem are regulated. Which word, by the holy prophet, is also compared to gold, and is said to be above 'much fine gold.' Ps. xii. 6; xix. 10.

This golden reed is the Word of God.

I find in the vision of the prophet Ezekiel, that the angel that there is said to measure the city, which was a type of our Jerusalem, he appeared with a line of flax in his hand, to measure the pattern withal, Eze. xl. 3; which very phrase doth show us that this was but the type, and an Old Testament business; but John hath his in a New Testament style, and that in the most excellent manner of language, to signify that his city, or the city that he hath the vision of, is to be the end of all types and shadows, and the very perfection of them all. Wherefore he tells us also, that the line or reed by which this city is builded and squared, it is not now a line of flax, but a reed of gold, a golden reed; to signify not a word of the law and letter that had to do with shadows, but the New Testament, and ministration of the Spirit, which hath to do with substance, and the heavenly things themselves. He. ix. 23.

Why the measuring line of New Jerusalem in special is called a golden reed.

[*The city measured.*]

'A golden reed to measure the city,' &c. I told you at the first that this city was the church of God that should be in the latter days; but yet not the church disorderly and confusedly scattered here and there, without all visible order and discipline, but the church brought into exact form and order, lying every way level and square with the rule and golden reed of the New Testament of Christ; wherefore he calleth it a city, a city under rule. Thus it was in the type; for when Solomon's temple was to be builded, and the city in after times, it was not enough that they had stones and timber, but every one of them must be such stones, and such timber, and must also come under the rule and square of the workman; and so being fitted by hewers, saws, axes, and squares, they were fitly put into the building. 1 Ki. v. 17, 18; vii. 9–12. 1 Ch. xxii. 2. By this, then, we may see with what a holy, exact line, rule, and order, this church and city, at this day, will be compact and built; the members must be all such as shall be made fit for the city of God by the hewing words of the prophets. Ho. vi. 5. They must join in Christian communion also according to the golden reed of the New Testament, and ministration of the Spirit. Indeed, all the time of the reign of Antichrist, the church, as she was a holy temple in the Lord, so she was measured with reference to the truth of her grace, and invisible condition, Re. xi. 1, 2; but as she is to be a city, so she then is to be trodden down, and to lie without all form and order; but when Antichrist is dead, she shall again come into mind, be considered, reared, built by measure, and inhabited. And observe it, as the rule of the carpenter is of use in building, from the first appearance of the laying of a stone in order, even till it be in every point and part complete, so the golden reed with which the angel is here said to measure the city, &c., is to be of use from the first foundation even to the laying of the last stone thereof; as was also fore-showed by the man that is said to measure the pattern of this, in Ezekiel. Eze. xxx.–xlviii.

'And he measured the city.' That is, he measured the church in her constitution and fellowship. Now when God is said to measure, he is said to measure sometimes in judgment, and sometimes in mercy; sometimes to throw down, and sometimes to build up and establish. Sometimes, I say, he is said to measure in judgment, with intention to throw down and destroy. Thus he measured the city before she went into captivity, and the ten tribes before they were carried away beyond Babylon, because they lay cross to his word, and had perverted that which was right, &c. Is. xxviii. 17, 18. Am. vii. 7–9. But when he is said to measure the city in this place, it is that she might be built and set up. Wherefore, as I said, the line or golden reed that is now stretched forth to measure this city, it is to the end that all things may be in right form and order, 'fitly joined' and knit 'together, - by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, making increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love.' Ep. iv. 16. Col. ii. 19.

Again, By measuring the city, he would have us to understand that all her limits and bounds were now apparent, that all things, even the church and all the world, were made to see their own compass. For as God in the days when temple-worship only was on foot, would not lose a form or ordinance of all the forms and ordinances of his temple; so when city-work comes up, he will not lose an inch of the limits, and bounds, and compass of his city, she shall be full as large, and of as great a compass every way, as is determined of her; as he saith by the prophet, 'All the land, saith he, shall be turned as a *plain;' that is, there shall be a smooth face upon the whole earth,

* This is that which a little before is called the new heaven and a new earth.

all snugs, and hubs,[1] and hills, and holes, shall now be taken away, even 'from Geba to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem: and it (the city) shall be lifted up and inhabited in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate, and *from* the tower of Hananiel, unto the king's wine presses.' Zec. xiv. 10. The four places here mentioned in this verse, they do seem to be the four corners of the city of old; at which places the city bounds were set; and in which very circle the prophet tells us, but with gospel language, she shall be settled again.

[*The gates measured.*]

The gates measured.

'And he measured the city,' and the gates thereof. This was figured forth by the vision in Ezekiel, for in it he saw the angel go from gate to gate, and saw him take the exact and distinct measure of every one thereof; nay, not only of them in a general way, but of the thresholds, the porch, the posts, and the faces of their entrances; he measured also every little chamber that was above upon the gates, with all the spaces that were between. Eze. xl.

Now by gates, I told you, we are to understand the Son of God, as he is the way to the Father, and to the privileges of this city. Wherefore when he saith he measured the gates, it is as if he had said, he measured the entrance, strength, and goodly countenance of him, with the mansions of glory that are to be enjoyed by every one that entereth in hereby; for the porch, posts, face, entrance, and chambers of the gate in Ezekiel, they signify the entrance, strength, shining countenance, and resting places that every one shall find in the Lord Jesus that entereth in by him; and to measure all these, it is in substance but this, to set them forth, and out, in their full force, glory, largeness, beauty, and profitableness, in the view of all; for I told you at the first, the golden reed is the Word of God. Now the city and the gates thereof, are said to be measured by this golden reed: which, I say, can be nothing else but an opening of all the excellencies of Christ, as he is the gate of the sheep, even by the full sway, power, majesty, and clearness of the Word. The Lord help us! Christ, as he is the door to God, and to all gospel-privileges, is now strangely handled, and so hath been of a long time among the sons of men; some of them making him the very in-let to all the vile and abominable crew in the world, counting all that are pliant to their ungodly humours, the saints of the Most High, and Christ the door and gate through whom they have right to enter; and to whom belong the delicates of the precious things of God, even those which he hath most choicely laid up and reserveth for none but those that unfeignedly turn from iniquity, and walk with him in the newness of the Spirit. Others again do shut up the gates against the godly, labouring with might and main to hinder those that labour to enter, that fain would do it unfeignedly.[2] Mat. xxiii. 14. 2 Ch. xxix. 7. Others again do labour all that in them lies to deface the gates, to take away their beauty: like him that took the gold from off the doors and gates of the temple. 2 Ki. xviii. 16. Rendering Christ a low and carnal business, &c. But at the measuring-day, at the day when the golden reed shall be the alone rule: then you shall see this city, and her gates discovered in their own glory, holiness, and beauty. For though in our affliction under antichrist, our temple and instruments of worship, with the city, wall, gates, and the like, have been much defaced, even our doctrine of faith and worship, and have been much trod and trampled under the foot of the uncircumcised, yet all shall be recovered and brought into order again by the golden reed of the word of God. Which thing was figured forth to us by the good man Ezra the scribe, who at the restoring of Jerusalem took review of all the things pertaining to the city, both touching its breaches and deformity, and also how to set all things in order, and that by the law of God which was in his hand, even according to the writing thereof. Ezr. vii. 14; viii. 34. Ne. viii. 9. And whosoever doth but read the history of Ezra and Nehemiah throughout, they shall find that by the Word of God they brought all things to pass; all the ordinances of the house and city of God into their right and holy order. And indeed the measuring of the city and of the gates thereof, which is Christ the way, it can be nothing else but a bringing of them by the right understanding and opening of the Word into their proper places and excellencies, both for comers in, and goers out, according to the commandment. Eze. xl. 4; xliii. 7–12. For, to speak properly, Christ in his love, grace, merits, and largeness of heart, to let souls into communion with God and all happiness, is in all these things unsearchable, and passing knowledge, being filled with these things beyond thought, and without measure. Ep. iii. 8, 18, 19. Col. i. 9. Jn. iii. 34.

[*The wall measured.*]

The wall measured.

And he measured the city, the gates thereof, and the wall thereof. In that he saith, he measured the wall also, it is to show us that all things now are according to the rule of the Word: the inhabitants are according to

[1] 'Hub;' an obstruction, a thick square sod, the mark or stop at the game of quoits.—(Ed.)

[2] These observations apply to such churches as admit to the Lord's table unconverted persons, because they have passed through certain outward ceremonies; and to those who refused to admit the most godly saints, because they had not submitted to an outward ceremony.—(Ed.)

the Word, the entrance is according to the Word, yea, and so is the safety of it also, even a fence to fence them from their enemies; even a fence on every side, that they may be at ease and rest, and be no more a tossing to and fro. 'O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest,' saith he, '*and* not comforted, (I will do many good things for thee) - In righteousness shalt thou be established: thou shalt be far from oppression; for thou shalt not fear; and from terror, for it shall not come near thee.' Is. liv. 11–14.

Touching the wall, what it is, I have spoken already; therefore here I speak only to the measure of it, which measure is only the fulfilling all those promises and engagements of God that are made to New Jerusalem, for her safety and continual defence; and that not only in her own eyes, but in the eyes of all her beholders. Then shall that saying be with gladness in the mouths of all the inhabitants of this Jerusalem, 'We *were* bondmen, yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving to set up the house of our God, and to repair the desolations thereof, and to give us a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem.' Ezr. ix. 9. Which wall, I say, shall be so conspicuous to all the adversaries of this holy and beloved city, that the greatest of them shall not once dare to peep or mutter[1] against her any more. 'God is known in her palaces for a refuge. For, lo, the kings were assembled, they passed by together, they saw it, *and* so they marvelled; they were troubled, *and* hasted away. Fear took hold upon them there, *and* pain, as of a woman in travail.' Ps. xlviii. 1–6. As it is said of the building of the wall after the captivity: when the enemies and all the heathen saw it was finished, 'they were much cast down in their own eyes.' Ne. vi. 15, 16.

The regulating of this city by this golden reed, and the measuring the gates and wall by this word, when finished, will then cause all that have skill in singing the Lord's songs, and of lifting up the praises of God in this city, to gather themselves together to sing, and to praise, and to say, Bless ye the name of the Lord, for his mercies endure for ever: for then will they purify the people, this city, with the gates and wall thereof. Ne. xii. 27–47.

Wherefore in the mean time, between this and the building of this city, let Jerusalem come into your mind, and walk about her, 'go round about her,' inquire by the Word what God hath said of her state, strength, safety, ease, peace, and blessed tranquillity in the latter days, 'tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell *it* to the generations following.' Ps. xlviii. 12, 13.

[*The form and measure of the city.*]

Ver. 16. 'And the city lieth four square, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs, the length, and the breadth, and height of it are equal.'

'And the city lieth four square.' These words do open unto you the matter yet more, to wit, that now both the city, gates, and wall were exactly in their visibility according to the Word, lying even every way with that golden reed: for by four square you are to understand perfection, or an answering the figures that of old did figure to us the completeness and perfection of the New Testament order.

For if you search the Scriptures, you will find that especially the great and principal instruments of God's worship in and under the law, their perfection was what here you read to be the perfection of this city, even a four square. As for instance, The breastplate of judgment, on which were engraved the names of the children of Israel, its exact point of perfection was to be a right four square. The ten bases also, that were to be for bearers to the lavers in the temple, they were to be four square: the altar of burnt-offerings likewise, with the altar of incense, their perfect pattern was that they should be four square. The inward court, and outward court, with the posts of the temple, and tables on which they were to slay the sacrifices, they were all four square. Yea, the city in the type, in the vision of Ezekiel, was seen to be of the same frame and fashion every way, having just twelve gates, and on each of the four sides three gates. Wherefore, when he saith the city lieth four square, it is as if he had said she lieth even with the pattern or golden reed of the Word; even, I say, both in her members, doctrine, worship, and manners: for the things afore hinted unto you do hold forth all these particulars. Ex. xxviii. 15, 16; xxxix. 8, 9; xxvii. 1; xxxviii. 1; xxxvii. 1. 1 Ki. vii. 27, 28. Eze. xliii. 13–18; xl.; xli. 21; xlviii. 30–34.

'And the length is as large as the breadth.' This explaineth the matter yet more fully and distinctly; for as to the things that I made mention of before, though they were to be made four square, and that their perfection lay exactly in that form, yet these squares did not lie in their height and depth, but in their length and breadth, just as you read here of the square of this city. As to instance: The altars, though they were five cubits long, and five cubits broad, yet but three high. Ex. xxvii. 1; xxxiii. 1. 1 Ki. vii. So the bases, they were a cubit and an half broad, and a cubit and an half long, yet but half a cubit high; the tables

[1] See Is. viii. 19. 'To peep and mutter,' as pretended sorcerers or magicians attempting their incantations against the truth.—(Ed.)

also on which they slew the sacrifices, they were a cubit and a half long, and a cubit and a half broad, yet but one cubit high. Ezc. xl. 42. Which things being thus, you see the reason of his saying 'the length is as large as the breadth.'

Now by length and breadth here, we may yet observe another mystery held forth unto us; for by the breadth is held forth the perfection of the rule, or law to which all Christians ought to yield their hearty obedience: his commandment is exceeding broad. Ps. cxix. 96. The breadth of which is signified, I say, by the breadth of those things that before you see to be the instruments of the worship of God. Now, as by breadth we are to understand the perfect latitude and compass of the commandment; so by length we are to understand the answerableness of the obedience of the inhabitants of this city; for indeed the perfection of Christian obedience lieth in an answerableness to the will of God; as it is said of the father and mother of John the Baptist, they walked in all the commandments of the Lord blameless. Lu. i. 6. And of Anna, that she continued without ceasing in the service of God in the temple day and night. Lu. ii. 37. This is to be as *long* in our obedience, as the law is *broad* in commanding. The law commands right obedience, and the Christian giveth it; the law commands continual obedience, and the Christian giveth it; the law commands universal obedience, and the Christian giveth it. He giveth it all these sorts of obedience, 1. By the person of Christ, for he is his righteousness. 1 Co. i. 30. He giveth it all these, 2. With the consent of the mind. Ro. vii. 16. And 3. He giveth it all these obediences in the love of the Spirit, which the apostle calleth the fulfilling of the law, that is, an answering the breadth of its command by the length of obedience. Ro. xiii. 10. Wherefore when he saith the length is as large as the breadth, he would have us understand how perfect in holiness these blessed souls will be at this day; and indeed, this is it that is by God expected to be in this city at this day. As the angel with his measuring-line said to Zechariah, I am going 'to measure Jerusalem, to see what *is* the breadth thereof, and what *is* the length thereof.' Zec. ii. 2. To see whether their doctrine be pure, and whether their obedience be answerable.

By breadth is to be understood the perfection of the Word, and by length the completeness of the saints' obedience.

'And he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs.' These latter words do refer us to a distinct measure from that which went before; the former measure pointing at the breadth of her commandment and the length of her obedience, but this at the glory and fulness of her mansions and portions; for after he had said the city lieth four-square, and that the length is as large as the breadth, which is the full and complete effect of that first measure, he comes over again with another measuring, saying, 'And he measured the city, - twelve thousand furlongs;' as who should say, he measured the city, gates and wall first, and found them all exact, and according to the golden reed; and after he had so done, he measured the city with the reed twelve thousand furlongs.

A second measure.

'He measured the city with the reed;' that is, he measured out to the city, he measured for the city, for its lot and portion, twelve thousand furlongs. Which very thing you find in the vision of the prophet Ezekiel; for after he had measured the city, the vessels, with the instruments of worship, I say, when he had done this, he comes again with an afterwards, to measure the city, her portions and mansions. Eze. xlvii. 1, &c. Wherefore I say, these words do refer to her portion that she is to enjoy of her God, as the former referreth to her duty and obedience.

A portion measured out for the city.

Now that which maketh me conclude that this latter measure is a measure distinct from the former, and that it relateth neither to the exactness of rule, nor the completeness of obedience, but only to the largeness of the portions that God will allot for thy sons and daughters, thou city of God; it is,

First, Because this is the biggest measure. For I find, by considering the Scripture, that as the persons and things pertaining to the worship of God were to go according to the rule of this golden reed, so also the portions that pertained to the persons worshipping were to go by rule and measure also, as here he saith he measured also the city, or to it, with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs. And hence it is that our grace is called the measure of grace, and that our glory is called a weight of glory. Ro. xii. 3. Ep. iv. 7. 2 Co. iv. 17.

Now I say, I find that our portions do go always under the biggest measure; the spoons, cups, flagons, snuffers, basons, candlesticks, and pans, which were the instruments of worship, were not so large as the chambers in the temple, and the compass of the holy land, which were the mansions and [the] portions of the church. See Jos. xv.—xvi. Jn. xiv. 1—3.

Secondly, I take the twelve thousand furlongs to signify portions, rather than worship or worshippers; because, as to the nature of it, it most exactly agrees with the portions that are measured out to this city by the angel before Ezekiel, which is a measuring forth so much land for the portion of the prince, so much for the portion of the priest, and so much for the portion of the twelve tribes. Yea, the very phrase, twelve thousand furlongs, also implieth such a compass of ground, by which we find the holy land hath been measured. Eze. xlv. xlvi. xlvii. Lu. xxiv. 13. Jn. xi. 18.

Lastly, I take it to be this also; because I find not in all this description of this holy city that any place doth give us that ground to speak to her measure of portion as this; and it would seem strange to me that the description of this city given by Ezekiel should be more complete than this that is given by our prophet John; for Ezekiel doth most amply set forth her portions, even distinctly, for prince, priest, and the tribes in particular. This therefore is to be understood of the portions of the city which John did see were measured out unto her immediately after he saw the breadth of her rule and the length of her obedience. Only consider that Ezekiel measureth by reeds, not counting by furlongs; but John, though he measureth by reeds, yet counteth by furlongs.

But now, though the Holy Ghost is thus pleased to speak of the portions of the saints in the New Jerusalem, as if he intended chiefly that their portion should consist in outward happiness, and in the enjoyment of such and such a portion or compass of ground: yet consider that these are but metaphorical and borrowed expressions, spoken to our capacities, under which is indeed included the nature of our blessed and spiritual food and nourishment. You know it is usual for the Holy Ghost in Scripture to call the saints sheep, lambs, heifers, cows, rams, doves, swallows, pelicans, and the like; and also to call their food, their spiritual and heavenly food, grass, provender, wheat, wine, oil, grapes, apples, figs, nuts, and the like also; all which are but shadowish and figurative expressions, even as this of the measure of the twelve thousand furlongs. Jn. x. 15, 16. Am. iv. 3. Je. xxvi. 18. Ca. ii. 5. Eze. xxxiv. 14. Zec. x. 1. Is. xxx. 24. Mi. iv. 4. And observe it, that which John saith here is twelve thousand furlongs, Ezekiel tells us it lieth on this side and on that side of the bank of the river of the water of life. Eze. xlvii. 8, 9. Now I think there is none so much void of understanding as to think this water of life is anything else but the precious grace of God, in and through the Lord Jesus. Wherefore the ground or measure for portions, it is nothing else but our spiritual and heavenly food, even spiritual grace, and gifts, and comforts, that the holy ones of this city shall most plentifully partake of and enjoy. And so indeed the prophet also saith, speaking of the portions of the holy land for this city. 'The increase thereof,' saith he, 'shall be for food unto them that serve the city, and they that serve the city shall serve it out of all the twelve tribes of Israel.' Eze. xlviii. 18, 19. Out of the twelve tribes, that is, out of the twelve thousand furlongs, which is the portion of the tribes. This is according to the saying of the prophet David, 'He maketh me to lie down in green pastures, he leadeth me beside the still waters.' Ps. xxiii. 2. And again, 'For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters.' Re. vii. 17. 'For your shame, *ye shall have* double; and *for* confusion, they shall rejoice in their portion: therefore in their land they shall possess the double; everlasting joy shall be unto them.' Is. lxi. 7.

Thus you see the measure of the city, gates, and wall, and the effect of that; and thus you see also the measure of the portion for the city, with what it is: wherefore it remaineth that we see what is to be the effect of that also.

'And he measured the city with a reed, twelve thousand furlongs, the length and the breadth and the height of it are equal.' Before he told us that the length was as large as the breadth, which I then told you did signify the nature of her rule and the measure of her obedience. But now he adds and saith, that both in length and breadth and in height she is equal. Wherefore in that he adds at last a squareness of height to her squareness of length and breadth; and also in that he adds it not before he had told us of the measure of her portions, he would have us to understand that as the rule in which this city shall walk shall be complete, and as her obedience to that rule shall be complete, so her enjoyment of God and his grace at that day shall be proportionable also. She is square in her rule, square in her obedience, and square in her enjoyment of God and his goodness: the length and the breadth and the height of it are equal. Indeed the Scripture saith, that in keeping his commandments there is great reward. Ps. xix. 11. And again, 'This man shall be blessed in his deed.' Ja. i. 25. This showeth unto us then what glorious days these will be to the house and city of God, even days in which saints shall see the mind of God clearly, have hearts to do it completely, and have continually the answerable enjoyment of God and spiritual happiness. Now will his paths drop fatness with a witness! Ps. lxv. 11. And now will he meet 'him that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness, *those that* remember thee in thy ways.' Is. lxiv. 5. And the length and the breadth and the height of it are equal. Wherefore the prophet in the vision of the measures of the portions doth observe that there was a squareness in them, as well as in their ordinances and obedience: and hence it is that he tells us that every little chamber was one reed broad and one reed long. Eze. xl. 7. And again, the oblation, that is, the portion for the tribes, shall be five and twenty thousand. Eze. xlviii. 20. By five and twenty thousand ye shall offer the holy oblation FOUR SQUARE, with the portion of the city.

Again, In that he saith the length and the breadth, and the height of it are equal, he showeth us how fit this city at this day will be even for the king-

dom of heaven and glory. For observe, that as the rule, obedience, and comforts of God, do make this city a square city, both in height, and length, and breadth; so the holiest of all, which was a type of heaven, He. ix. 24., was of the same fashion also. It was twenty cubits high, and twenty cubits long, and twenty cubits broad: the length, and the breadth, and the height of it were equal. 1 Ki. vi. 20; 2 Ch. iii. 8; Eze. xli. 4.

Wherefore, as now the will of God will be done, according to the petition, 'on earth as it is in heaven;' Mat. vi. 10; so will this city be at this day fit to enter into the holiest place; even as fit as one four square is to shut into another. Here is a four square city for a four square heaven; and the length and the breadth of it are equal. Wherefore it is upon this account that this city, at her appearing, is said to be adorned and prepared as a bride is for her husband, which we all know is the most perfect and completest attire that is possible to be got. And therefore it is, again, that at the coming of the Lord those that go in with him to the marriage are said to be ready beforehand. Re. xxi. 2; Mat. xxv. 10.

Verse 17. 'And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred *and* forty *and* four cubits.' This measure of the wall that here he maketh mention of is also distinct from the former measure, where he is said to measure the city, gates, and wall; and it refers to such a wall, or to such a part of the wall in such a place. For I find that though the wall of this city in general is that which shall encompass the New Jerusalem round, yet this wall is in some place, and for some reason, of another manner and measure than the wall is in general, as it compasseth round the city, which part of the wall is called the broad wall, the wall upon which even half of the people might walk complete at once. Ne. iii. 8; xii. 38.

A third measure.

But to trace out the business in the type, and so to come to its answer in the antitype; I find that a little distance from Jerusalem there was a place called Tophet, which place was counted profane, unholy, or defiled. 2 Ki. xxiii. 10. I find also that this unclean, unholy place, was a figure of hell itself. Is. xxx. 33. Now mark, I find by the Scripture that against this Tophet, this unholy and profane place, was the broad wall of the city for the defence of the sanctuary erected, and reared up. He measured, saith the prophet, by the four sides, and it had a wall round about, five hundred reeds long, and five hundred reeds broad, 'To MAKE A SEPARATION BETWEEN THE SANCTUARY AND THE PROFANE PLACE.' Eze. xlii. 20. Which wall could not be that wall which compasseth the city, because it was but five hundred reeds long: for take the measure of this wall in its largest measure, and it is, if you count a reed for that which we count a pole, but twelve furlongs, which compass will scarce go round many market towns; especially if, together with this, you consider the breadth of the wall, whose breadth is as large as its length; wherefore now there is not room enough for a city so big as a cottage to stand in the midst thereof. I speak this, to show you that the wall in this place is not the wall that goeth round about the city, but the wall that is placed just between the sanctuary and Tophet, or hell itself. Now though Ezekiel and John do differ touching their count about the thickness of this wall, it is not so much to signify the walls are not one and the same, as to show us that the one, to wit, Ezekiel's wall, was to encompass a worldly sanctuary, but John's to encompass a spiritual and heavenly; wherefore Ezekiel's must be of so many reeds long to go round about the material sanctuary, as a type; but John comes more to the spirit of the matter, and showeth us what the sanctuary, wall, and the like should mean; for by sanctuary we are to understand, even in the Old Testament, a place of safety and security, which was a type of Christ. Eze. xi. 16; He. vi. 18. Now in that Tophet did stand against the sanctuary in the letter, it signifies that hell itself is bent against all those that take shelter in Christ; but to no purpose, for in the very face of Tophet, even between it and our place of sanctuary, is fixed an invincible and impregnable mighty wall, to keep in safety those that have fled to Christ for shelter. Now I say, in that John tells us this wall is an hundred and forty-four cubits, and waives the manner of the measure of Ezekiel, it is to show us that this wall is for the safety of the hundred and forty-four thousand that have taken sanctuary in Christ, that is, all the holy and truly gracious souls that are with him on the Mount Zion, having his Father's name written in their foreheads, Re. vii; xiv. 1—3. Both numbers, I say, being twelve times twelve, implying a sufficient safety for all that are sincerely and truly gracious.

A broad wall against Tophet to keep the sanctuary.

Why this wall is said to be 144 cubits.

And now to bring down the matter to our New Jerusalem state: for though it be true in all ages, that there is between those that have taken sanctuary in Christ, and the bottomless pit, an invincible and mighty wall of grace and heavenly power, and of the merits of Christ, to save to the uttermost all and every one that are thus fled to him for safety, He. vii. 25, 26, yet there is something in it more than this, for those that come into the days and state of the New Jerusalem. For, I say, this wall being it that makes a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place in general, and yet being spoken of as a thing extraordinary, and accompanying the state

of this new city only, it implieth that at this day the saints shall have that shelter by this wall from all the force of hell, and the damned spirits that now from Tophet afflict them, that they never had before. And therefore you find at the beginning of the thousand years, which, as I conceive, is the time of the building of this city, a mighty angel is said to come down from heaven to lay hold of the dragon, that old serpent, called the devil and Satan, and to bind him a thousand years; which done, he casts him into the bottomless pit, and there shuts him up, to the end he should deceive the nations no more. Re. xx. 1—3. The effect of which will be not only a delivering of the saints from outward persecution, but also from being any more assailed with either wicked and erroneous doctrine, or fierce and fiery darts from the prince of darkness, which now many of them are so much annoyed and afflicted with; now the church will be free from those hellish suggestions to blaspheme, to despair, and the like, that her members do yet most dreadfully and sadly meet with. For observe, this old tempter is said to be tied up, or to be cast into the bottomless pit, first as he is a dragon, under which name he goeth in this book, in his persecuting the church. Rev. xii. Secondly, he is said to be shut up, as he goeth under the name of a serpent, under which name he went when he fomented his devilish and damning seducing doctrine to our first parents; the which the Spirit expressly seems to relate unto, and therefore calls him that old serpent; that old serpent that deceived us at the first. Ge. iii. 1—5. Thirdly, he is said to be shut up also, as he goeth under the name of the devil, and Satan, under which name he goeth commonly in the New Testament, when he provoketh and stirreth up our lusts, and when he labours to drive us into all manner of unbelief, distrust, despair, and so consequently into murmurings and blasphemy against God. Mat. iv. 1, 5, 8; Lu. iv. 2—6; Ac. v. 1—3; Ep. vi. 11; 2 Cor. ii. 7, 11. Wherefore, I say, that at the day that this wall is set up in all its glory, and when it performs every part and piece of its office to the full, then shall Satan be bruised under our feet indeed, and then shall Jerusalem be called the joyous city, and her people a joy; for her former sorrows shall be past and forgot. Ro. xvi. 20; Re. xxi. 4.

The profit of the broad wall.

Satan bound as deceiver, persecutor, and a tempter to blasphemy and unbelief.

If thou still objectest: But I have yet an evil heart, and therefore if I be not rid of that at that day, should I live till then, why though there should be no devil to afflict me, I shall feel and meet with sorrow and trouble enough. I answer thee: First, I dare not say that at this day thou shalt be in every sense without thy evil heart in the midst of all this glory, tempted soul. Yet I say thus much to thee—

Objection.

Answer.

First. Where there is no devil to tempt, though the saints will yet be imperfect, and come short of a glorified state, yet they, by his absence, will be delivered from many dreadful, vexing, and burning, and hellish darts, that will otherwise confound and afflict the soul like arrows whose heads are poisoned. Christians have a great deal of ease, when God doth, even at this day, withhold the devil for a season, though yet they have their own lusts, over they have when the devil and their own lusts are suffered to meet and work together. Yea, the Lord Jesus himself, who had no sin, yet in the temptation was fearfully handled and afflicted with the devil, though all the while, I say, he kept him at staves end,[1] and did not suffer him in the least to annoy his person; and therefore it is said that when he was in the wilderness, in the conflict, the angels came to minister to him. Mar. i. 12, 13. Col. ii. 14, 15. At the time of his agony also—in which agony, doubtless, Satan had a great hand to afflict him—you see his complaint, how that he was sore amazed, and exceeding sorrowful, even unto death, being so laden with heaviness and sorrow that he was scarce able to stand or wag under the burden of it. Lu. xxiii. 44. Mar. xiv. 33, 34. Satan, even from himself, besides the workings of our own lust, doth do us wonderful injury, and hits our souls with many a fiery dart that we think comes either from ourselves, or from heaven, and God himself; but now by this wall, this broad wall, this sorrow will be cut off.

The benefit of having Satan thus bound and tied up.

Secondly. Again, when Satan is thus tied up, we shall, together with this mercy, receive such a plentiful pouring forth of the Holy Ghost, that though there will remain in us still remainders of our corruptions, yet, by the plentiful indwelling of the Holy Ghost, and the joy and peace and heavenly sweetness thereof, these things shall lie like lean, withered, blasted things. The reason of that power and that strength, that our lusts have to this day in our hearts, it is because they are so lean, and thin, and weak in the things of God. Strong grace makes corruptions weak, and strikes them thorough, laying them at the point of death, always gasping for life. Thus it was with Moses, he had such grace in his soul, and such communion with God, that though he had yet a body of sin within him, it was a rare thing for him to see his wretchedness; Nu. xi. 14, 15; that is, to see it pert, lively, and powerful in him. Indeed God saith, that upon the land of his people shall come up briars and

Corruptions shall now also be greatly weakened.

[1] This is an allusion to the ancient English pastime of combat, called quarterstaff.—(Ed.)

thorns; 'yea, upon all the houses of joy *in* the joyous city; because the palaces shall be forsaken, the multitude of the city shall be left, the forts and towers shall be for dens for ever, a joy of wild asses, a pasture of flocks; until the Spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness be a fruitful field,' &c. Is. xxxii. 13–15. And then 'the Lord shall defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David, and the house of David *shall be* as God, as the angel of the Lord before them.' Zec. xii. 8. 'The inhabitant shall not say, I am sick; the people that dwell therein *shall be* forgiven *their* iniquity.' Is. xxxiii. 24.

'And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred *and* forty *and* four cubits, *according to* the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.' 'According to the measure of a man.' The man Christ Jesus. For the measure of this city, or the golden reed with which this city is thus measured, it is his, his word and law of the New Testament. All judgment is committed into the hand of the Son; and God 'hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of man.' Jn. v. 27; xii. 48.

'*According to* the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.' This angel is one of the seven that had the seven last plagues to execute upon the man of sin, Re. xxi. 9, and yet he saith the measure is according to the measure of a man; the meaning is that the city, the New Jerusalem, is to be built according to the word of Christ; but yet by his word as it is in the hand of his angels, that is, his messengers and servants; of which servants, the chief will be those that are his instruments to pour forth the seven vials full of the seven last plagues upon the Antichristian harlot. For they, with their plagues, will both destroy what standeth in implacable opposition, and will subject the rest, and bring them into a correspondency with the word and will of God, as I have showed. Whence note, that they of his servants that God shall use to pour forth his last and most dreadful plagues upon the whore, they are they that God will use to show us the pattern of this holy city. Or thus, they that can tell how to plague the whore, they can tell how to measure this city. 'The righteous men, they shall judge them,' that is, the Antichristian harlot, with her wicked and adulterous daughters, 'after the manner of adulteresses, and after the manner of women that shed blood; because they *are* adulteresses, and blood *is* in their hands.' Eze. xxiii. 45.

Thus much touching the frame of this city, its walls, gates, and foundations, with the measure of each. And now it remains that I speak of the glory of them.

[THIRD. A RELATION OF THE GLORY OF THE CITY, ITS WALLS, GATES, AND FOUNDATIONS.]

Ver. 18. 'And the building of the wall of it was *of* jasper; and the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glass.'

[*The glory of the walls.*]

In these words you have a discovery of the glory, both of the wall and city itself; and that, as you see, under the notion of two choice metaphors. The wall is jasper, the chief of stones; and the city is gold, the chief of metals. 'And the building of the wall *of* it was of jasper, and the city was pure gold.' The glory of the walls.

This jasper is that stone, in the light of which this city is said to descend, as in the light of a stone most precious. Now, as there he saith she descended in the light of this stone, so here he saith this stone is the wall thereof. 'And the building of the wall *of* it was of jasper.'

This therefore confirmeth unto you what I said of the wall before, to wit, that it was the salvation of God through Christ; wherefore, learn this by the way, that this city shall not be at this day in her own keeping, but in the keeping of Jesus Christ. He with his benefits doth compass her round, and by him alone she lieth down in safety. Wherefore it is from this consideration that God doth say by the mouth of the prophet, I will give them within my house, and within my walls, 'a place and a name better than that of sons and of daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off.' Is. lvi. 5.

'And the *building* of the wall,' &c. By this word building, we are to understand both the materials of the wall, the manner of their placing, and the instruments that God will use for the setting up thereof. Now, to speak properly, this wall being the Lord Jesus Christ himself in his precious merits, benefits, and offices, the builder hereof must needs be God himself, for he it is that hath made this Christ for us a safeguard and defence, by making of him our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, by which he doth encompass us round on every side, and that at every moment to deliver us from the power and destruction both of sin, death, the devil, and hell. 1 Cor. i. 30. He. xi. 10; iii. 4.

But again, the building here spoken of is a building of this wall after the destruction of Antichrist, and so long after Christ was sent, and made these things in his own person, to his beloved and blessed church. Wherefore the building of this wall that is here spoken of, it must be understood of the recovering again the purity of those doctrines, in which the Lord Jesus, with all his benefits, is found and made ours, for The building of the wall.

our everlasting defence and safety. For we find that the king of Babylon, who was a type of our Antichrist, when he came up against Jerusalem, the type of our primitive church, he brake down their city, destroyed their walls, rifled their houses, and killed their children; whose steps, I say, our Antichrist follows to a hair, in treading down the primitive church, corrupting her doctrines—which are her safeguard and wall—also robbing and spoiling the houses of God, and killing his children with a thousand calamities; turning all the heavenly frame and order of church government into a heap of rubbish, and a confused dunghill. Ps. lxxiv. 4—7.

Wherefore the building again of this wall is to be understood of the recovering, and settling, and fastening the doctrines of Christ, as afore, in which doctrines he in all his benefits is wrapped and held fast for ever. I say, a recovering of them, and setting him up again in his primitive and pure glory, of being our priest, prophet, and king in his church, and a giving unto these offices their own proper length, breadth, height, and depth, letting them rule in all their force, glory, and majesty, and authority, for then will be golden days, and not till then; then, I say, when the several offices of the Lord Jesus do rule in their own nature and largeness of authority, both in the church and in the world. Zec. ix. 7, 8; xiv. 9. Re. xi. 15.

Alas! this wall is yet unbuilt, the offices of the Lord Jesus do not yet shine in that purity, nor so stand in their proper places as they shall do at the coming in of New Jerusalem. The wall lies yet but as a heap of rubbish; the offices of the Lord Christ are to this day by many preachers confounded, and removed to and fro, even like loose and rolling stones. These offices, also, are by others attributed to Antichrist, and his children of iniquity; but at this day the nations shall know themselves to be but men, and the doctrines of Christ shall be set again in their own places. Eze. xxviii. 2, 3. 2 Th. ii. 4. Now shall every going into this city, and every going out thereof, stand where it ought; and now shall every tower and fortress on this wall be placed as in the days of old; which towers and fortresses are the glorious names and attributes of the Father and Christ; for the name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous flee into it, and are safe. And again, thou hast been a shelter to me, and a strong tower from the enemy. Wherefore now, I say, shall the name of God, as Lord of all, and Father of his church, with the names of the Son, as Head, Saviour, and King of kings, be as the bulwarks to this city, Ca. i. 10. to which shall be added all the promises, consolations, encouragements, &c., in the blessed book of God, out of which this city continually shall suck the milk and nourishment of the unsearchable grace of God to them. 1 Pe. ii. 1, 2. To all which shall be added many new pieces of timber in the wall, for so it was in the type at the rebuilding of the city. Ne. ii. 8. By which new pieces I gather, that the special providence of God, and his protection, shall be at this day so fastened in this wall for the complete delivering of this city, both from hell and earth, that she shall stand in full force, safety, and peace, even till the heavens and the earth shall be no more. Now, when this wall is thus set up, even every truth and office of Christ in its own true natural force, about this city, and when God, in his special and most endeared affections, shall engage himself, even everlastingly, to keep this city safe from all storms and tempests, and trouble, and sorrow, then shall these citizens, as a sign of their conquest both of hell and the world, even set up their banners on the several towers of this wall, and the standards that belong to the tribes thereof; then, I say, 'we will rejoice in thy salvation,' O Lord, 'and in the name of our God will we set up our banners.' Ps. xx. 5. And then shall the inhabitants of the world both wondering and tremblingly say, 'Who *is* she *that* looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, *and* terrible as *an army* with banners?' Ca. vi. 10. O the names of God, of Christ, of his offices, and the power of his grace and promises! How will they shine? In what glory will they appear? They will be even as a wall of fire round about Jerusalem; and will not be, as now, in the mind and thought of the people as the white of an egg in the mouth, without taste; but shall be, and appear in their own brightness, sweetness, and grace. 'For how great *is* his goodness, and how great *is* his beauty? corn shall make the young men cheerful, and new wine the maids.' Zec. ix. 10. 'In that day thou shalt say, O Lord, I will praise thee; though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me. Behold, God *is* my salvation; I will trust and not be afraid; for the Lord JEHOVAH *is* my strength, and *my* song, he also is become my salvation.' Is. xii. 1, 2.

The names and attributes of the Father and Son, the towers of this wall.

The saints shall set up their banners on these towers.

For the workman, I am sure, God is the principal, as I said before; but yet he will do it by instruments, through the guidance of his Spirit. The building of the wall of old was of God; but so as that he did it by the hand of Nehemiah and his companions. I do observe, in the completing of the city of Jerusalem of old, that there was first altar-work, then temple-work, and after that the building of the wall and completing the city. Altar-work, I say, was the first which was reared, and on which there were offered, according to the law and holy custom, the sacrifices and offerings both morning and

Altar-work, temple-work, and city-work.

evening, as every day required. 'But the foundation of the temple of the Lord was not *yet* laid.' Ezr. iii. 1–6. These altar-men were those also that afterward built the temple; but yet by them was first of all repaired the altar, to signify that the first work that will be on foot at the beginning of the return of the Christians from out of Antichristian Babylon, it will be to find out altar-work, that is, the priestly office of Christ, and to offer by him the prayers and supplications of the church continually. Ac. xix. 9. Wherefore these altar-men, or these men in their altar-work, did figure out for us our famous and holy worthies, that before us have risen up in their place, and shook off those relics of Antichrist that intrenched upon the priestly office of our Lord and Saviour, even worthy Wickliff, Huss, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and the blessed martyrs in Queen Mary's days, &c., with the rest of their companions. These, in their days, were stout and valiant champions for God according to their light, and did upon the altar of God, which is Christ our Lord, offer up many strong cries, with groans and tears, as every day required, for the complete recovering of the church of God; the benefit of whose offering we have felt and enjoyed to this day; but by this the foundation of the temple was not yet laid. Ezr. iii. 6.

What altar-work is.

Now after these arise another people, not another with respect to Christianity, but with respect to further light.[1] These men, though they keep the continual offerings upon the altar, as the other did, yet they are men also that are for temple-work; wherefore these begin to search out the foundations of the temple of God, that they may rear up the house, as well as build up the altar. These be they that are for having the church a select company of visible believers, walking in the faith and holiness of the gospel, which believers are for separating from the unconverted and open profane, and for building up one another an holy temple in the Lord, through the Spirit. 1 Co. xii. 13. I say, a temple, or house, or church, separate and distinct from that confused heap of rubbish and carnal gospellers that everywhere, like locusts and maggots, crawl up and down the nations. Ro. i. 7. 2 Co. vi. 14–16. Ac. ii. 40. Ep. ii. 21, 22. 1 Co. v. 11–13. These were figured forth by Zerubbabel, Joshua, and all the people of the land that are for working and labouring in this service of temple-work. Hag. i. 12; ii. 1–5.

Again, As there is thus altar-work and temple-work to be done by the saints when they are coming out of spiritual Sodom and Egypt; so, at the end of these, there will be city-work on foot also. Which city-work will chiefly consist in setting up the wall and gates for defence, and of building themselves houses or mansions of rest and refreshment after all their hard usage under the tyranny of the man of sin, that son of perdition. Is. lxv. 19–21. Which city work will be then completed, when the church of Christ hath obtained a complete conquest and victory over the world, and hath got her enemies and them that hate her, to lie at her feet, and to lick the dust of the soles thereof. Is. lx. 14. For, as I have told you already, temple-work, yea, when that is complete in the work, yet there may be great havoc made of the church of Christ. Re. xi. 1–3. At which time also, city-work may be trampled under the feet of the wicked and uncircumcised Gentiles; but when the city is built, then Zion is become a stronghold, and about all her glory shall be a defence. Is. iv. 5. Then she either draweth and allureth her adversaries to entreat her kindly, and to count it their honour to be under her protection, as did the Gibeonites; or else she breaks, and bruises, and subjects them to her by her power and authority. Jos. ix. 'The daughter of Tyre *shall be there* with a gift, even the rich among the people shall entreat thy favour.' Ps. xlv. 12. 'In the last days,' saith the prophet, 'it shall come to pass, *that* the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall flow unto it. And many nations shall come and say, - Let us go up unto the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks;' that force and power that they used formerly to destroy the church of God, now they shall use it to do her service, even to break up the clods of the hearts of sinners, and to prune and dress the house of God, and vineyard of Jesus Christ; 'nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more;' for the word of the kingdom of peace shall bear sway. 'And thou, O tower of the flock, the stronghold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem.' Mi. iv. 1–3, 8. This is city-work, and as to the glory, peace, and deliverance

[1] Bunyan most accurately traces the pedigree of God's fearers, who, at the expense of life, maintained the spirituality of Divine worship. He commences with our early Reformers, Wickliff and Huss, to the later ones who suffered under Mary; continues the line of descent through the Puritans to Bunyan's brethren, the Nonconformists. All these were bitterly persecuted by the two lions—Church and State. The carnal gospellers, that confused heap of rubbish that crawled up and down the nation like locusts and maggots, refers to the members of a hierarchy which were ready to go from Popery to Protestantism, and back again to Popery, or to any other system, at the bidding of an Act of Parliament.—(Ed.)

of the church, it is the chiefest of all other, because it is not only most excellent for concourse and multitude, but, I say, for preservation and safety; and that not only to keep the worshippers, if they keep their order, but to keep the order and worshippers both in order and continual safety, that they may be for ever in the purest order. But now, though at the completing of this wall, and the building its towers, when they are finished there will be great peace; yet all the time that these things are doing, before they be done, let the workmen look for opposition, taunts, underminers, and a thousand tricks for the hinderance of it. Ne. iv. 1–11; vi. 1–14. For the streets of the city shall be built, and the wall, 'even in troublous times.' Da. ix. 25.

'And the building of the wall of it was *of* jasper.' Of jasper only; for as by building is showed unto us the manner of the work, so by jasper is showed unto us the matter itself; the matter therefore must be, JASPER, Christ only, his Word, offices, and glorious brightness only; for indeed, whatever the special grace, protection, and providence of God will at this day be over this city, yet it shall be every whit of it according to Christ; that is, both of him, for him, and by him, as the fruits and effects of his suffering, bloodshed, and merits. 'Therefore,' saith God, 'will I divide him *a portion* with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and was numbered with the transgressors.' Is. liii. 12. O holiness, how will it shine both in kings and nations, when God doth this!

[*The glory of the city.*]

'And the city *was* pure gold.' Having thus given us a discovery of the glory of the wall, he now comes to show us the glory of the city that is within the wall. The city, saith he, is gold, it is pure gold. This was figured out by the golden candlesticks belonging to the tabernacle and temple among the Jews, which candlesticks did then present unto us the worth and use of the church of Christ. Ex. xxv. 31–36. 'The seven candlesticks are the seven churches,' saith the Lord Christ himself. Re. i. 20. Now the city here spoken of is the church in her highest and greatest glory. Its state was also figured out by the temple itself, whose beams, posts, walls, doors, and the like, were most famously covered over with gold. 2 Ch. iii. 5–7. It was also, though but leanly, represented to us by the golden state of old Jerusalem in the days of Solomon the king, in which state gold was so plentiful in the midst thereof, that silver was nothing counted of among the citizens there in those days, but was as common as the stones in the street of the city. 2 Ch. ix. 13–22, 27.

The glory of the city.

'And the city *was* pure gold.' I find by the search of the Scriptures, that there are divers sorts of gold in the world; there is the gold of the land of Havilah, Ge. ii. 11; the gold of Parvaim, 2 Ch. iii. 6; the gold of Ophir, Job xxii. 24; the gold of Sheba, Ps. lxxii. 15; and the gold of Uphaz. Je. x. 9. Now seeing he saith the city is gold, yet not distinguishing what gold, or which, we may suppose in this place he means gold of all these sorts; and indeed it is most agreeable to this text thus to judges. For the church at this day shall be made up of the twelve tribes that are scattered abroad, and of the Gentile nations both far and near; who, as they now lie, are, for ought I can learn, at as great a distance, and as remote from one another, not only in knowledge and affections, but touching the places of their abode, as are the golden mines out of which the gold that I spake of before is digged and fetched. Thus shall gold, the golden saints of God, at this day be gathered out of the several golden mines of the world, and be brought to King Solomon, the Son of David, our Lord Jesus, to Jerusalem, with which he will build him a golden shining city, the joy of all the world.

'And the city *was* pure gold.' Gold is the choice and chief of all metals, both for worth, colour, and virtue; wherefore, when he saith, 'The city is gold,' you may conceive how rich and shining, and virtuous[1] this city will be; the riches of the whole world will be here, the beauty of the whole world will be here, and the virtue[1] of the whole world will be here; I mean spiritual riches, beauty, and health. Wherefore the rest of the world at this day will be but as a crushed bunch of herbs in which is no virtue;[1] or like a furnace full of dross, out of which the gold is taken; or like an old, crazy, and ruinous house, from which is departed all health and happiness; and indeed much like to this is that saying of the prophet, to wit, that at this day the whole circumference of the world that is without the walls and privileges of this city, it shall be but like an old ruinous house, in which dwells nothing but cormorants, bitterns, owls, ravens, dragons, satyrs, the screech-owl, the great owl, the vulture, and the like most doleful birds. All their princes shall be nothing, saith the prophet, and when they call their nobles to the kingdom, none shall be there. In their very palaces shall be thorns, and nettles, and brambles; for all among them that are princes and nobles indeed, will have packed up, and be gone for Jerusalem. Is. xxxiv. 10–17. So that the world, I say, will be left empty, void, and stripped both of treasure, beauty, and health, at the day of Jerusalem's building again. But O how melancholy a forlorn, beautiless world will this be at this day! It will

1 'Virtue;' strength, efficacy, power.—(ED.)

be only the place of 'dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.' Re. xxii. 15. It will now be the very emblem of hell, as the church at this day will be the emblem of heaven. Wherefore, as the church, as I showed you before, will be most fit for her putting on of immortality and incorruption, so the world will at this day be most fit to be swallowed up of the lake and bottomless gulf. All things that are good and worth anything shall at this day be found only in the city of God. The gold will be in Jerusalem. Zec. xiv. 14. Re. xviii.

Again, In that this city is here called by the name of gold it is to show us how great pains, and travel, and charge the Lord Christ hath been at to get so great a treasure together. Gold is fetched from a far country, and that with great pains, charge, and difficulty. 2 Ch. ix. 10. The gold wherewith King Solomon made his drinking vessels, it cost a three years' journey to obtain it. So the saints also, those golden vessels wherewith is made this golden city, they cost Christ a three days' travel in the heart of the earth, even sweatingly under the wrath of God, to obtain them, and thus to build this city with them. Lu. xxii. 44. Mar. xii. 40.

Further, In that he saith this city is gold, he would have us to consider what the state of the church was before she came into this happy condition, to wit, an afflicted, tempted, and tried condition. Gold, as it comes from the mine, it cometh commixed with its dust and ore; wherefore the goldsmith hath a burning furnace wherein he having put it, doth with the fire purge and take away the dross and dust from among the metal itself; into which furnace he puts it once, twice, thrice, and again to the end it may at length be thoroughly cleansed and purified from its dross. Now all this befalleth the people of God; they are thrown into the burning fiery furnace of affliction and temptation, and there they are tried, purged, and purified. Is. xxxi. 9. As the Lord also saith by the prophet, 'I will try them as gold is tried, and will refine them as silver is refined.' Zec. xiii. 9. Yea, 'I will melt them and try them, for how shall I do for the daughter of my people.' Je. ix. 7.

Lastly, When he saith this city is gold, he also thereby insinuates how invincible and unconquerable a spirit the people of God are possessed with. Gold is a metal so invincible and unconquerable, that no fire can consume it; it may burn it indeed, and melt it; the dross indeed doth consume and give way to the power of the fire, but the gold remains, and holds its ground; yea, it gets ground even of the furnace and fire itself; for the more it is burned and melted, the more it recovers its colour, and the more it shakes off its dross and dishonour. Just thus it is with the people of God, and hath been so even from the beginning: the more they oppressed them, the more they grew. Ex. i. 12. The truth of which will be proved with a witness, when God comes to set up this city Jerusalem: his church hath been now for many hundred years in the king of Babylon's furnace; all which time she hath most gloriously endured and withstood the heat; and at last when the fire hath done its worst against her, behold there comes out a city of gold. A type of which was the state of the three children, who though they were cast into the fire bound and in disgrace; yet came out in the liberty and grace of the Son of God. Da. iii. 23—26. Wherefore let her be bold to say, even before she comes out of the fire, When I am tried, 'I shall come forth as gold.' Job xxiii. 10.

'And the city was PURE gold.' These words, PURE GOLD, clear up what I said already. Pure gold, or gold upon which the fire hath done its work. The church in the fire of persecution is like Esther in the perfuming chamber, but making fit for the presence of the king; which fire, when it hath done its work, then she comes into his presence in clothing all of gold. Es. ii. 10. 'The king's daughter *is* all glorious within, her clothing *is* of wrought gold.' And again, 'At thy right hand did stand the queen in gold of Ophir.' Ps. xlv. 9, 13. Wherefore he means by pure gold, gold out of the fire, gold on which the fire of persecution and temptation hath done its full and complete work.

'And the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glass.' By glass, in this place, we are to understand the Word of God, as both James and Paul do testify. Ja. i. 22—25. 2 Co. iii. 18. 1 Co. xiii. 12. By clear glass then, we are to understand the Word in its own nature and purity, without the corruptions and traditions of men. Wherefore, when he saith this golden city was like unto clear glass, it is as if he had said she is even with the Word and law of her goldsmith, in all her matters. The Word is a golden reed, this city a golden city; and that, a golden city, taken out of the furnace of affliction, and therefore like to the golden reed. 'And the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glass.'

[*The glory of the foundations.*]

Ver. 19, 20. 'And the foundations of the wall *were* garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation *was* jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; the fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst.'

Thus having showed us the glory of the wall, and of the city, he now comes to show us the glory of the foundations. The foundations you know, I told you before, they are

The glory of the foundations.

the twelve apostles in their doctrine, or the primitive doctrine of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

Now the great business in this place will be to show you the garnishing of these foundations, and also the mystery and order of the lying of the foundations, for their glory lieth in both.

As for the garnishing of these foundations, it is, and will be at the day of New Jerusalem, two-fold, and the first is with beautiful gifts and grace. Thus were the apostles of old adorned, and thus shall their doctrine again be garnished. I know that the doctrine of the twelve hath been always accompanied with goodly gifts and grace, from the first churches quite down, that is, according to the measure of light they appeared in, and according to the dispensations of God in the times of antichrist. But yet the glory that this doctrine had in these latter days, I mean since the apostacy, it was nothing in comparison of the glory and splendour that will be in them in the day when this city is built and complete. Wherefore you find, that though all along in antichrist's reign, the gospel of grace hath shone, and given light to the saints and people of God in all their travels and afflictions; yet the shining of it at that day was much opposed and eclipsed by the smoke of the bottomless pit: as he saith, 'There arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace, and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit.' Re. ix. 2. In which days, I say, abundance of the light, heat, and operation of the gospel was diminished and taken off, so that but little of the power or glory of it hath been either felt or seen from that time to this very day. This is that God spake of by the prophet Amos, saying, 'I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day; and I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning of an only *son*, and the end thereof as a bitter day.' All which he explaineth in the next words, for 'Behold the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord; and they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east; they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find *it*.' Am. viii. 9—12. In those days Eli's sons were become varlets. 1 Sa. ii. 12—15. Indeed there was here and there a little child, like Samuel in his minority, that now and then would speak most goodly things. But 'the word of the Lord was precious in those days, *there was* no open vision.' 1 Sa. iii. 1. This is that which David in the Spirit of prophecy complaineth of, saying, 'They know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course.' Ps. lxxxii. 5. Thus in the days of the eclipsing of the glory of these foundations. But now, behold, they recover their light, and put on, as of old, their former glory, and are again garnished as in the former days. Now will all the doctrines of the gospel spangle and sparkle; out of every text will the ministers of God make to issue exceedingly most precious and heavenly fire; for these stones are indeed the stones of fire. Eze. xxviii. 16. And in them is contained that which would set the whole world on a flame with love and delight in the things of God and another world, had but men the spirit of wisdom, and the authority of God in their ministry, as the apostles and the primitive Christians had. Well this doctrine of the twelve shall be again adorned with gifts and grace as in the days of old: by which it shall also be made to shine, and to cast forth its golden rays before the nations to their salvation. Behold, saith God, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, that is, thy apostolical doctrines shall again be garnished as at the first. Is. liv. 11. Truth shall appear in its old and mature colours, and as such shall be embraced, and lived and delighted in, both by Jews and Gentiles, as I have showed.

The glory of the foundations twofold.

The gospel darkened by the smoke of antichrist.

But secondly, The twelve foundations that here you read of, they are the same with those twelve stones that long before were set in the breastplate of judgment, in which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel, the names of which tribes did comprehend the whole body of the house of their fathers. Ex. xxviii. 16—21, 29; xxxix. 14. Now then, seeing these twelve are the same with those on the breastplate of judgment; and seeing also, that those on the breastplate did comprehend the whole of the twelve tribes, I conclude that for these foundations to be garnished with all manner of precious stones, it is as much as to say, they shall be garnished with abundance of converts; multitudes, and that of all sorts, both of Jews and Gentiles, Moors, Tartars, Turks, and those in the utmost parts of the world, shall now be entangled with the light and truth, with the glory and goodness of the doctrine of the twelve. And I the rather take it thus, 1. Because, as the foundations themselves are said to be precious stones; so also the saints in general, they go under the same names too. As Jeremiah saith, the precious stones of the sanctuary are the precious sons of Zion. La. iv. 1—3. As Peter also saith, in alluding to the precious stones of the temple; the saints are lively, or living

If you compare the stones you will find them, some of them, to differ in name, but know it is usual for one stone to go under two names; and, besides, the Greek doth give many things other names than doth the Hebrew text.

Converts the garnishing of the foundations.

precious stones, built up a spiritual house, &c. 1 Pe. ii. 5. And the foundations of the wall were garnished with all manner of precious stones. 1 Ch. xxix. 2. That is, the doctrine of the twelve was garnished with all manner of precious souls; that is, converted by it, by which they become a glory and a garnishing to it. 2. I take it to be the conversion of the precious ones of God; because that thus to understand it, is most like the phrase of the apostle Paul himself, saying, 'What is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? *Are* not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy.' 1 Th. ii. 19, 20. Mark, in the text he saith, The foundations were garnished with all manner of precious stones, and here those precious stones, Paul accounts to be those that are converted by the Word: for what is our hope, or joy, or crown? are not even ye that have been converted by us? Ye are our joy, ye are our crown, ye are our glory; it is with you that we shall be crowned, adorned, and garnished in the presence of our Lord Jesus. Mark, John saith, They are garnished, Paul saith, they are crowned; John saith, they are garnished with precious stones, and Paul saith, they are crowned with the conversion of sinners. Thus therefore as God will lay these stones with fair colours, so also he will lay these foundations with sapphires. Is. liv. 11. That is, as he will beautify the doctrine of the twelve with its former glory, sweetness, and authority; so he will crown and garnish it with the conversion of many sinners. The elect are the jewels of God, and this is the day of his binding them up, even then when the antichrist falls, and the gospel breaks out in its primitive glory. Mal. iii. 16—18.

And the foundations of the wall *were* garnished with all manner of precious stones.' In these words, there are yet *two things considerable.*

First Consideration. That all who go to the adorning of these foundations, they must be *precious stones*, not a common stone shall here be owned. And indeed what should pebbles do among the pearls and the diamonds of New Jerusalem; or the stones of blackness and emptiness, among the saints of light. Job xxviii. 3. I tell you, that those which God doth reckon the adorning-stones, they are all and every one, precious stones; they must be all lively, glistering, and curious stones, though stones of divers colours. 1 Pe. ii. 5. 1 Ch. xxix. 2. Antichrist counts anything sufficient enough to garnish his apostles with, even the empty stones of confusion, the sinners that have no more grace in their souls then there is sap in a post that hath been this twenty years without either sap or water. Is. xxxiv. 11. But God will not count such for the beauty of his word, nor for the garnishing and beautifying of the doctrine of the twelve, they are garnished with PRECIOUS STONES.

Second Consideration. As he saith the foundations are garnished with precious stones only, so he saith it is with ALL MANNER of precious stones: by which he would have us understand that all saints have not the same degree either of precious grace or gifts and virtue in them. There are some that excel and differ from the rest, even as one star differeth from another in glory. 1 Co. xiv. 12. Some saints, as they have both more grace and also gifts than others; so too they are more laborious and painful in the work of God than their fellows, and therefore he saith, ALL MANNER of precious stones. Pr. xxxi. 29. 1 Co. xv. 10, 41.

[*The Foundations, what they are, with their order of placing.*]

Verse 20. 'The first foundation *was* jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; the fifth, sardonyx: the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite;' &c. Thus having showed you the garnishing and beautifying of the twelve foundations, he now comes to discover the foundations themselves, with reference to their order of placing and lying.

[*The First Foundation.*] Touching which order, he saith the first and bottom foundation is a jasper.

I have hitherto said that this jasper in both the two afore-mentioned places, both as to the light of this city, and also of the wall, it was Jesus Christ: Christ illuminating, and Christ defending. But here the jasper is said to be one of the twelve foundations, even one of those foundations in which are writ the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, which one would think did put this jasper now into another state, even to be a representation of one of the twelve apostles, and not of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself. To which I shall yet say, that the jasper here in the order of the foundations, is to be understood of Christ, as well as in the other two places in this discourse; I say it is yet to be understood of representing the Lord Jesus, though it also doth bear the name of one of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. And in this very thing there is an infolding mystery wrapped up and inclosed. For,

The jasper does represent the Lord Christ upon several accounts.

First. In that the name of an apostle is writ in this stone, and yet that this jasper should represent Christ, it showeth unto us the agreement that is between the doctrine of the apostles and Christ himself, to wit, that they are one and the very same; and hence it is that the apostle saith, 'We preach Christ crucified.' 1 Co. i. 23, 24. Christ in all his benefits is the very marrow, life, and sum of all their teaching. 'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' 1 Co. iii. 11. Wherefore the doctrine of the apostles being Christ itself, no marvel though

The first account.

the name of an apostle be writ upon this jasper; and again, no marvel though this jasper go yet under that name that represents him.

Second. In that it is said the names of the twelve are in these twelve foundations, and yet that the first of them should be the jasper, Christ; it argueth also, that whosoever receiveth the doctrine of the twelve, they must needs with that receive the Lord Christ himself. Receive the doctrine of the gospel, as it is held forth by the twelve in the word, and thou canst not miss of the Lord Jesus Christ himself; he will be found in the bottom of their doctrine. Ye 'are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner *stone.*' Ep. i. 19, 20. The second account.

Third. In that he saith in these twelve stones are the names of the twelve apostles, and yet that the first should be the jasper, Christ; it argueth also that wherever the doctrine of the twelve is preached, there is therewith the presence of Christ: the presence of his Spirit to teach and enlighten the ignorant and blind hearts of the unconverted; the presence also of his power to overcome them, and to make them fall under the glory and truth of his heavenly word. 'Lo,' saith he, 'I am with you alway, *even* unto the end of the world.' 'And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with *them*, and confirming the word with signs following.' Mat. xxviii. 20. Mar. xvi. 20. The third account.

Fourth. In that he saith the names of the twelve are in the foundations, and yet that Christ should be one of the twelve himself; it showeth to us the union that is between Christ and his holy people. Mark in the twelve foundations are placed all, even all manner of precious stones. Again, in the twelve is placed the jasper, Christ; by which we may see the nearness that is between Christ and his whole body. 'I in them, and thou in me,' saith Christ, 'that they may be made perfect in one.' Jn. xvii. 23. Christ and his saints make but one temple, one man; being but one flesh, one nature, &c. 1 Co. xii. 12. The fourth account.

Fifth. In that this jasper is said to be one of the foundations, and that too the first and undermost; he showeth farther, that Christ is the foundation of them before God, that are the foundation of him before men. The twelve do bear up Christ before the world, as the twelve brazen oxen did hold up the molten sea in the temple. 1 Ki. vii. 25. And Christ doth bear up the twelve before his Father, as the high priests did carry the twelve stones on their breast-plate of judgment, when they went to make an atonement for the sins of the people, into the holiest. Ex. xxviii. 29. The fifth account.

Sixth. It showeth us further, that though the apostles shall be adorned with the conversion of those that they shall win to the Lord Christ; yet they will never be able to stand under that glory and honour unless they are supported and upheld by Christ, as their foundation. Sirs, as Christ is the strength of his people in their work for him in this world, so he must be their strength by which they must stand under the reward they shall have for their labour when this world is ended. And hence it is, that the prophet saith, 'They shall hang upon him all the glory of his Father's house, the off-spring and the issue; all vessels of small quantity, from the vessels of cups, even to all the vessels of flagons,' Is. xxii. 24. and again, 'He shall build the temple of the Lord, and he shall bear the glory.' Zec. vi. 13. He shall bear the glory of our salvation from sin, preservation in the midst of all temptations, and of our going to glory; also he shall bear the glory of our labour in the gospel, of our gifts and abilities, of making our labour and work effectual to the saving of sinners, 'that in all *things* he might have the pre-eminence.' Col. i. 18. The sixth account.

Seventh. In that the foundations are twelve, and Christ the undermost of them; it signifieth, that all that are converted by the twelve, as they shall be for the garnishing of the twelve, so also both the twelve, with all that they are garnished with, shall be for garnishing of Christ. We shall stick like pearls in the crowns of the twelve apostles, and they again with all their glory shall stick in the crown of Christ. And hence it is that you find the four and twenty elders, which four and twenty do, as I conceive, hold forth the twelve, both in the first and second Jerusalem. I say, hence it is that you find them take their crowns from off their heads, and cast them down before the throne of God and of the Lamb, crying, 'Blessing, and honour, and glory and power *be* unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.' Re. iv. 9—11; v. 11—14. The seventh account.

Eighth. One thing more of this goodly jasper, and then to the rest; which thing is this, that jasper that here you find to be the first in the twelve foundations, even that jasper you find to be the last of all among the stones in the breast-plate of judgment. Ex. xxviii. 20. From whence you may note, 1. That Christ, as he is to be the author, or first of our faith, so also he is to be the finisher, or last of our faith. He. xii. 2. 2. That as he is to be the captain and leader of his people, so he is to be the rereward and bringer up of his people. He. ii. 10. Is. lii. 12. He is to go before them to lead them the way; and to come behind them to bring them all up. Is. lviii. 8. Ex. xiv. 19. 3. Again, forasmuch as he is said to be last before he is first; that is, last in Exodus, and after that, The eighth account.

first in the Revelations, it may be to show us, that Christ was first to be least, lowest, and last, and then to be greatest, highest, and first. He first humbled himself to the death, even to the shameful death of the cross; and then was by God his Father exalted and placed above every name; as he also himself doth witness, saying, 'Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?' Lu. xxiv. 26. Phi. ii. 6—11.

[*The other foundations.*] 'The first foundation *was* jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; the fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz,' &c. Touching the jasper you see what I have said. Now all I have to say to the rest of them, it is in general these three things.

First, In that the foundations are all and every one of them *precious* stones, it signifieth that all the doctrines of the New Jerusalem will be only the precious doctrine of the twelve apostles, not common stuff, not raked out of the dunghills and muck-heaps of this world, and from among the toys of antichrist, but spiritual, heavenly, and glorious. He that hath his word shall then speak it faithfully, for 'what *is* the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord.' Je. xxiii. 28, 32.

Touching the rest of the foundations.

Second, In that they are called after the names of precious stones, it signifieth also that at that day none shall be used or put into the ministry but those that have received spiritual and heavenly gifts from above. It is not every babbling fellow, not those that look for their abilities from the rudiments of the world, that then shall be of any value or account. He must be a costly stone, a stone about which the Lord Jesus hath bestowed the cost of his heavenly abilities, even he whom the Lord Jesus shall appear unto for that very purpose, to make him a minister. HE shall be a minister, and none else at that day. The other shall be ashamed every one of his vision; yea, and shall in those days be so contemptible, that their father and their mother shall reprove them, and count them liars; yea, and shall be ready to run them through while they are prophesying in their rough garments to deceive. Zec. xiii. 3—5.

Third, In that these precious stones are not all of one and the same nature, but every one of them several, and diverse one from another; it argueth that the gifts of the apostles, and so of the ministers of the New Jerusalem, shall be differing one from another in glory and operation; yet mark, as in these stones, so in every one of them shall be perfect glory, according to the nature of God's working by his Spirit; as the nature of the jasper is perfect in his kind, and the nature of the sapphire is perfect in his. These stones, some of them are of greater light and clearness than others; and so some of the apostles are chiefest. 2 Co. xi. 5. Some of these stones, again, they are of a more fiery and burning colour than others, they being bright also, but of a more mild brightness. Therefore some of the ministry are called the sons of thunder, when others are styled by the name of the sons of consolation. Mar. iii. 17. Ac. iv. 36. The gifts are differing, being diverse, their administrations are differing, and the operations of them also are differing, though all those things are from that one and the self-same Spirit, working in every one severally as he pleases. Ro. xii. 6. 1 Co. xii. 4–6. All these things will spangle in the New Jerusalem, and carry their full breadth and sway as in the days of old.

The differing nature and operations of these stones, do hold forth the differences of administrations and operations that was and will ever be among the true and holy ministers of the Lord Jesus.

To conclude this, in that he here saith, that the foundations of the wall are these twelve stones, he doth it to show that now also the former ministration that was in the apostles' days will be the same and in full force again. For their gifts of knowledge, judgment, and authority, they are such as have to this day lain buried, as it were with the apostles themselves. But now they shall show themselves again, even these foundation-stones, stones that are great stones, stones of ten cubits, and stones of eight cubits. 1 Ki. vii. 10. Thus much of the glory of the foundations.

[*The glory of the gates.*]

Ver. 21, 'And the twelve gates were twelve pearls, every several gate was of one pearl; and the street of the city *was* pure gold, as it were transparent glass.' Having thus showed us the glory of this city, wall, and foundations, he now comes to show us the glory of the gates and of the street of the city.

'And the twelve gates are twelve pearls.' The gates, I told you before, they signify Christ, both as he is the way to communion with the God of this city, and with the inhabitants thereof, that so they may have a share in the privileges of the same. I told you also then, that though he tells us exactly of the measure both of city and wall, yet he tells us nothing of the measure of these twelve gates and goings in thereat, and the reason is, because Christ, as he is the way to grace, he is beyond all measure both as to fulness and freeness. Ep. iii. 8. And now again he puts us to the same plunge with the unsearchable riches of the Lord Christ; for who can count the worth of pearl as big as the gates of a city? As, indeed, when Christ himself doth speak of the parable of the pearl in the field, he only telleth us that there is such a one, but never valueth the worth thereof, only he saith, a pearl

The glory of the gates.

of great price, and so leaveth it. Mat. xiii 35, 36. Now, when he saith that the gates are pearls, he thereby insinuates several things. As,

First. To show us how rich a treasure Christ Jesus our Lord is, and will be to all those that by him shall enter in through the gates into this city, 'riches and honour *are* with me,' saith he, even 'durable riches and righteousness. My fruit (or the fruit of entering in by me) *is* better than gold, and my revenue than choice silver. I lead in the way of righteousness, in the midst of the paths of judgment; that I may cause those that love me to inherit substance, and I will fill their treasures.' Pr. viii. 18–21. Ep. iii. 8.

Christ a rich Christ to all that enter here.

Christ is rich indeed, both in his blood, resurrection, intercession, and all his offices, together with his relations and all his benefits; all which he bestoweth upon every one that receiveth him, and maketh them unspeakably wealthy.

Second. The pearl, as it is rich, and so worth much, so again it is beautiful and amiable, even to take the eyes of all beholders. It hath, I say, a very sweet and sparkling light and glory in it, enough to take the eye and affect the heart of all those that look upon it. And thus is Christ to all that come to him, and by him to the Father, &c. 'My beloved,' saith she, '*is* white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand.' 'His mouth *is* most sweet, yea, he *is* altogether lovely.' Ca. v. 10, 16.

Christ is beautiful to all that here do enter.

The mother of harlots had some knowledge of the beauty and glory of this stone, and knew that it had a very taking and drawing glory in it, and therefore she gets it for some time to adorn herself withal; she was decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, Ez. xvi. 17, and was therefore called 'the well-favoured harlot.' Na. iii. 4. Re. xviii. 4. By which means she hath drawn into her lewdness the kings and kingdoms of the world; who have in such sort been entangled with her beauty, and with her fornication, that they have been adulterated from God and their own salvation. For indeed she used this pearl but for to get them to drink of her fornication, that they might drink and spew, and fall and never rise more. But now when he saith, the gates are pearl, it is as if he had said, this woman is stript of her beauty and delicate ornaments; the pearl is taken from her, and is set in its right place, even to be for the gates of Jerusalem. Re. xviii. 12, 22, 23. Wherefore it is to be expected, that many should be taken with the way of entrance into this beloved city in the day that she shall be set up and appear in her heavenly beauty. Pr. viii. 35; iii. 35. The glory of that city must needs be great whose wall is jasper and gates are pearl. 1 Co. ii. 9. Jn. xvii. 24.

'And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls.' Not pearls and other precious stones commixed, but pearl only. To signify that Christ only can let in souls into this city, that they may partake of the goodness and privileges thereof. It is not he and saints together, neither is it all the saints and angels in heaven without him, he alone 'hath the key of David, and that openeth, and no man shutteth; and that shutteth, and no man openeth.' Re. iii. 7; xxii. 12.

Christ only can let in souls to the privileges of his church.

Secondly, As he saith, the several gates are each of them pearls, so he saith that every several gate was of one pearl, of one entire pearl. By which he would have us to understand also, that as none can enter in but by Christ, so none can enter in but by whole Christ. Christ must be helpful to thee every way, or he will be helpful to thee no way; thou must enter in by every whit of Christ, or thou shalt enter in by never a whit of him. Wherefore look not to have him thy Saviour, if thou take him not for king and prophet; nay, thou shalt not have him in *any* one, if thou dost not take him in *every* one of these. Wherefore the prophet saith, 'He shall build the temple of the Lord (that is, by his prophetical office) - and shall sit and rule upon his throne, and he shall be a priest upon his throne, and the counsel of peace shall be between them both.' Zec. vi. 13.

As none can enter in but by Christ, so none can enter in but by WHOLE CHRIST.

[*The glory of the street.*]

'And the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.' In these words there are four things to be enquired into. *First.* What this street is? *Second.* Why he saith not streets, but street, as of one? *Third.* Why this street is called by the term of pure gold? *Fourth.* And why it should look like transparent glass. For the

Of the glory of the street.

First, A street ordinarily is the place of common concourse, and the place of continual open salutation, and taking acquaintance one of another; and as touching this street, we are also to understand it of the open and common place or way of God's worship, in which saints salute each other and acquaint themselves together; also here the world are converted, saints built up and edified, &c. 'Wisdom crieth without; she uttereth her voice in the streets,' saith Solomon; 'she crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of the gates; in the city she uttereth her words.' Pr. i. 20, 21. That is, in the public and righteous ordinances of the Lord Jesus, which he hath ordained in his church, for men to travel and trade in,[1] for the good and wholesome merchandize of

What is meant by street.

[1] 'To travel and trade,' means to pursue or labour in an

heaven, as the men of this world do for the things thereof in the streets and open places of their cities and places of privilege. Pr. viii. 1–3; ix. 1–3.

Thus it was in the figure when the city Jerusalem was built after the captivity, as ours shall be at and after the overthrow and downfall of antichrist, for then it is said that the people, to hear the law, were gathered together in the street, even in the water street; there they heard the sense given, and there they were convinced of their wickedness; also there they received the knowledge of God's goodness to them, and there they received power to eat the fat and drink the sweet, to eat and drink and be merry, and to cast away sadness and fear. Ne. viii. This, by way of allegory, is called the way for the wayfaring men, even the way of holiness, over which the unclean shall not in anywise pass. The way in which they learn to know God and themselves, and the way of newness of life, in which every one walks that entereth in by the gates of New Jerusalem. And it is most suitable to the matter that went before to understand the street to be the way of God, the way of holiness and newness of life; because as it is natural for the stranger, so soon as ever he is entered the gates of a city, to have his feet in the streets of the city, so it is natural for the sinner, so soon as ever he is entered into the church by Christ, to have his feet treading in the way and paths of holiness. Wherefore it is usual in the Holy Scripture to call the transformation of the sinner from Satan to God a holy way, and also to admonish him that is so transformed to walk in that way, saying, Walk in the faith, love, spirit, and newness of life, and walk in the truth, ways, statutes, and judgments of God. Ps. lxxxvi. 11; cxliii. 8. Eze. xi. 20; xxxvii. 24. Ga. v. 25. Ro. iv. 12.

The gate.

He that entereth not by these gates into the city, he cannot walk in newness of life; but he that entered in by them, he cannot but walk in newness of life. The next thing then that a man passeth into when he is entered into the New Jerusalem, is to walk in the STREET thereof, the way of holiness, even the way in which men learn to fear God, and to believe in and love the Lord Jesus, &c. Ep. v. 1, 2. 2 Jn. 4. Ro. vi. 4

Second. Now this street or way of holiness, it is on purpose called not many, but one, to show us the perfection of light, grace, faith, and spiritual comfort, that the inhabitants of this city shall then enjoy. Daniel also calleth it one street, to signify the same thing. Da. ix. 25. Wherefore from hence I gather, that then all saints shall walk—as before I have made appear—even in one street, in one way, and in one light. It is Antichrist that hath brought in all those crossings, bye-lanes, and odd nooks, that to this day many an honest heart doth greatly lose itself in; but at this day they shall be otherwise minded, that is, made all to savour one thing, and to walk one way, not biting and devouring each other as now. And indeed there is all reason it should be thus, for the street itself is but one. There is but ONE God, ONE Lord Jesus, ONE Spirit, ONE faith, ONE baptism, even as we are also called in ONE hope of our calling. Ep. iv. 5, 6. Ac. ii. 27, 32, 33. Ph. i. 27. Ro. xv. 6. Now, therefore, when saints have the rubbish of antichristian darkness and trumpery removed, then they shall have, as they also had of old, but *one* heart, *one* soul, *one* judgment, *one* mind, and shall with *one* heart and mouth glorify God. The which also shall be prayed for of all the saints, even of all that have received the pure language before these things come to pass. They shall 'call upon the name of the Lord' with One lip, 'to serve him with One consent.' Zep. iii. 9. O! the heavenly spiritual harmony that will be in the city of God in those days, when the trumpeters and singers shall be as one, to make one sound, then the house shall be filled with a cloud.'[2] 2 Ch. v. 13.

Why this street is called not many, but one.

Third. When he saith that the street of the city was pure gold, he alludes to the floor in Solomon's temple, which was overlaid with gold. 1 Ki. vi. 30. He alludes to Solomon's chariot also, whose bottom was paved with love, and overlaid with gold. Ca. iii. 10. By the floor of the temple, we are to understand the way of holiness; and by the chariot of Solomon, the triumphant glory of that way. Again, in that he saith this street is gold, he would have us to understand the worth and treasure that is laid up in the ways of God, and of a truly gracious heart. First for the worth and treasure that is laid up in the ways of God. They beget light, Ps. cxix. 130, they change the heart, they lead from death, the devil, and hell, to life, God, and the kingdom of heaven. Ps. cxix. 9. Pr. ii. In them God walks, and those that walk there also are sure to meet with him. Is. lxiv. 5. O this way, it is the way which 'no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen;' 'It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed *for* the price thereof. - The gold

Why the street is called gold.

habitual course, exercise, or custom, as, 'Thy sin's not accidental but a trade.'—*Shakspeare.* Or, trade wind.—(ED.)

[1] The perfect unity of the Christian world is not likely to take place before the glorious meeting in the holy city, under the personal reign of Christ. The divisions among Christians arise, as Bunyan justly says, from antichristian rubbish, darkness, and trumpery; the great evil arising from difference of opinion, is that lust of domination over the faith of others which naturally leads to bitterness and persecution. In the earliest days one was of Paul, another of Apollos, and another of Cephas. The exercise of Christian forbearance was not an act of uniformity, but a declaration of the Holy Ghost. 'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?' 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.' Ro. xiv. 4, 5.—(ED.)

and the crystal cannot equal it; and the exchange of it *shall not be for* jewels of fine gold. No mention shall be made of coral or of pearls; for the price of wisdom *is* above rubies.' Job xxviii. 7, 15—18, 28. All the ways of God they are pleasantness, and all his paths are peace, and ought to be preferred before our necessary food. Pr. iii. 17.

Again, as the ways of God are thus rich, and so far above the gold and rubies of the world, so also is that sanctified and gracious heart, without which no man can walk in this golden street. It is not every clown with his clumping dirty shoes that is admitted into kings' privy-chambers and private palaces; neither doth, or will God, at the day of New Jerusalem, suffer any to trace about this golden street, but such as have golden feet, and that beautified with goodly shoes. For as for this street, all that walk in it, they must be *golden men*, with *golden hearts*, and with graces that are 'much more precious than of gold that perisheth.' Ca. vii. 1. 1 Pe. i. 7. Re. iii. 18.

Further, in that he saith this street is gold, 'pure gold,' he giveth us to understand also what great delight and pleasure the Lord's people will take in his ways and ordinances in that day. There will not then be that backwardness to do good, and to receive God, as there is in these more dry and empty days of the gospel. As gold is pleasing to the covetous man and worldling, so shall the ways of God be to the saints and godly at that day. Now we have strong corruptions and weak grace, but then we shall have strong grace and weak withered corruptions. You that are spiritual, you know what an high and goodly lifting up of heart one small gale of the good Spirit of God will make in your souls, how it will make your lusts to languish, and your souls to love, and take pleasure in the Lord that saves you. You know, I say, what a flame of love, and bowels, and compassion, and self-denial, and endeared affection to God and all saints, it will beget in the soul. O! it is good to be here, saith the gracious heart. Well, and so thou shalt be always, if thou live to see New Jerusalem settled in her own place. Is. lxv. 17—25.

[*Fourth.*] 'And the street of the city *was* pure gold, as it were transparent glass.' Mark, a street of gold like glass, a street of gold, as it were transparent glass. By glass here, as also in ver. 18, we are to understand the Word. Ja. i. 23—25. Wherefore, when he saith the street, the golden street, was like unto glass, he means, that the walking and carriage of the saints at this day shall be like unto, or according to, the Word, the life of the saints answering the life of the Word and rule of the Lord Christ.

What is meant by glass

Again, in that he doth add to glass the word transparent, he would have us to understand thereby these two things.

1. That the walking and ways of holiness of the saints shall be more in the power and spirit of the Word, than all along in the reign of Antichrist they have been. For transparent glass, it is the most clear and excellent glass, and goeth as far beyond other sorts of glass, as he that walks in the spirit and power of the commandment goes beyond him that only walks in the letter and outward word thereof. Alas, the churches of Christ, at their first assembling, will be like the coming together of Ezekiel's bones, clothed much with flesh and sinews, but greatly void of spirit and life. Ez. xxxvii. 7, 8. Wherefore the spirit, power, holiness, and majesty that now will appear in the church, it will greatly transcend and go beyond the spirit, power, and holiness that hath accompanied her in former days. Then shall the sun be ashamed, and the moon confounded, when the Lord shall reign in Mount Zion, &c. Is. xxiv. 23. Then shall the sun be ashamed, that is, then shall that little light and understanding of the Word, that hath been in the church in the days when a third part of the glory of the gospel was hid by the smoke of the pit, be, as it were, laid aside and be useless. Re. viii. 12; ix. 2. Every saint shall be under the light of a sun that shines seven-fold brighter, even as the light of seven days. We see it is so in some measure at this day; what light, and with what clearness do the saints in this day see the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, beyond what the holy and goodly martyrs and saints did in the days that were before us; Huss, Bilney, Ridley, Hooper, Cranmer, with their brethren, if they were now in the world, would cry out and say, Our light and knowledge of the word of the Testament of Christ was much inferior to the light that at this day is broken forth, and that will yet daily, in despite of men and devils, display its rays and beams amongst the sons of men![1] When the children of Israel were to depart the land of Egypt, the Lord made known himself to them otherwise than ever he made known himself either to Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob, their fathers. Ex. vi. 3. The book also, at the recovering the church from under Antichrist, is to be unlocked and unsealed gradually, first one seal and afterwards another, and last of all the seventh, before which time the book will never quite be opened. Re. v. and vi. According to that of the angel, 'Go thy way, Daniel; for the words *are* closed up, and sealed till the time of the end. Da xii. 9. In which time (which is the time of New Jerusalem) they shall be opened, and men shall

The first reason why transparent glass.

[1] As the leaven goes on *imperceptibly* until the whole is leavened, so the kingdom of our Lord must increase. How extraordinary has been the progress of Divine truth since Bunyan's days! and who can predict what it will be in another century?—(Ed.)

consider it perfectly.' Je. xxx. 24; xxiii. 20. Wherefore,

2. It must needs be that the church return to her old and primitive love. For what is the cause of the want of love to Christ and one another now, but our want of light in the things, mysteries, and privileges of the glorious gospel of the Son of God? Wherefore this being come, then love will reign, and have her perfect work among the godly. Love is the very quintessence of all the graces of the gospel, and is as transparent to them; 'the greatest of these *is* charity.' 1 Co. xiii. 13. It is the 'fulfilling of the law,' 'the bond of perfectness,' and the most 'excellent way.' 1 Co. xii. 31. Ro. xiii. 10. 1 Co. xvi. 14. Col. iii. 14. Wherefore the Holy Ghost doth mean, by this word *transparent glass*, that the height of light, and the height of love, will be found in this city; all their things shall be done without confused smoke and darkness, and also without spiritual pride and desire of vain-glory: then shall they indeed do all their things in charity, and in the feeling bowels and fellowship of the gospel. 'Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in former years.' Mal. iii. 4.

The second reason why transparent glass.

Alas! though now through grace the saints of God have attained to more light and knowledge in the mysteries of the kingdom of God than heretofore they had, yet their light is far inferior to that which will be when this city is built. Our spiritual union and fellowship in the very bowels of the grace and gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ also is yet greatly defective. It is said that 'no man was able to enter into the temple' of God, 'till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.' Re. xv. 8. But when the seven last plagues are spent, and when all the adversaries of the church, which caused terror in the land of the living, shall be laid with the uncircumcised in the pit, then look for golden days, and not till then. Eze. xxxii. 18. Then shall this golden street be finished; that is, then shall the light, faith, love, and holiness of the gospel be walked in and embraced in a transparent and transcending way. 'He shall cause them that come of Jacob to take root; Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit.' Is. xxvii. 6.

[*The city has no temple.*]

Ver. 22. 'And I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it.' These words do, in my present light, point at the end of the days of this Jerusalem here in this world: and in so doing they signify to us, that when she is built, she shall stand and continue in this her glorious state afore-mentioned, even until that glory be swallowed up of that which doth excel. That they do point at the end of her day in this world, I do gather from these particulars:—

The time when this city shall have no temple.

First, Because they are the last words of the description of her glory,—that is, these and the words ensuing, which is but one and the same continued speech; and it is easy to conclude that John, in this description of this city, doth, from first to last, even from the first appearing of her as she cometh out of Babylon till she be perfect in glory, give us the relation of it. First, I say, showing us her descending, then her building, and afterward the glory of that building; at the end of which also he showeth to us with what glory he will crown this glory, even by swallowing of her up with a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

Second, Because in these words he doth absolutely cut off all and every whit of her outward and external glory; that is, as to outward ordinances and temple-worship, which yet was to be most famous for a long time in this new and goodly city; which he verifies in the eleventh chapter of this prophecy, which chapter is a summary collecting of the church in her fall and rise under Antichrist, which church there in her rise is this city here in her glory in this world. He tells us there, I say, that when the kingdoms of this world were become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, that 'then the temple of God was opened in heaven;' that is, temple-worship under the gospel recovered into its former and primitive state and purity, in which it was before the coming in of the man of sin. Re. xi. 15–19, compared with xv. 8. Which temple he here utterly shutteth out, saying, 'I saw no temple therein;' in the room of which he setteth the presence of the Lord Jesus, and God his Father, making them to stand and be in the room of temple and gospel-worship, in that manner as it is used while we here live in the flesh. 'For the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it.' It is true, the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of this church in her lowest condition, therefore much more when she is brought into the condition that she is in at her rebuilding; but yet, neither in her low estate, nor yet in her highest, is it proper to say, that so long as she is in this world, God will be a temple to her, in opposition to her temple and gospel-worship, in outward and New Testament administrations. Wherefore when he saith He 'saw no temple therein,' and that from this reason, because 'the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it;' he must needs aim at a state to which the church cannot attain until her Lord comes. For then will that which is perfect be come, and that which is in part be done away. 1 Cor. xiii. 10.

Now that the temple in this place excluded, can signify nothing else but the outward orderly way of God's worship, which the saints ought with conscience, in faith, to be found in till their Lord comes, consider that our New Testament doth use the word 'temple' three several ways: 1. For the outward order and worship or discipline of the Gospel. Re. xi. 1—3. 2. For the body of Christ, which is his church, &c. 3. And lastly, For the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb, which here are said to be the temple of this city.

What this excluded temple signifies.

Now then, when he saith he saw 'No temple therein,' he cannot exclude the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb, for they are here said to be 'the temple of it.' Neither can he shut out the church, which is the body of Christ, for that is the city itself; yea, and the church shall be God's temple, and God and Christ the temple of the church for ever and ever. He must therefore by this word 'no temple,' exclude only the outward way of gospel-worship, in which the saints in the times of the New Testament both meet and edify each other, and also meet their God, and are blessed and refreshed by him. Again, that this outward gospel-worship should be laid aside while the church is in this world, before her Lord doth come to be enjoyed by her, as touching his personal presence; it looks too like *ranting* opinions, and contradiction to Scripture, for me to believe. 1 Cor. xi. 26. For when he comes, but not till then, shall these things be laid aside.

Besides, that which yet confirms me more fully in this opinion, is because herein this New Jerusalem doth most exactly answer the city and temple, which was built after the captivity; which city and temple being once built, it stood till Christ our Lord did visit them in his own personal coming the first time; as the prophets also said it should. 'The Lord, whom ye seek,' saith one, 'shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in; behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of Hosts.' Mal. iii. 1. And again, 'I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come; and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts.' Wherefore 'the glory of this latter house shall be greater than [that] of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts.' Hag. ii. 7, 9.

Now observe, that from the time of the building of the second temple to the coming of Christ, the worship of the temple order was to be by all most devoutly and continually observed. But when the Lord Jesus was come, and had established his own more honourable and New Testament dispensation, then all the former temple-worship fell to the ground, and became, with all the instruments of worship that thereunto belonged, null and void. Yea, and it was a derogation to his gospel to offer to uphold that former way of worship, after he had by his own personal presence and Spirit brought in that other dispensation. All which, I say, will be answered by our second and New Testament New Jerusalem. For as the Old Jerusalem was built after the Jews were come out of literal Babylon, so is our New Jerusalem built after our coming out of the anti-christian oppression of spiritual Babylon. Again, as that city did after she was built continue and retain her temple-worship, until the personal appearing of Christ the first time, so New Jerusalem shall retain and hold her outward New Testament worship till He comes in person the second time. After all which, as the second temple was swallowed up of a more heavenly and spiritual dispensation by the personal presence of Christ, so shall also the New Jerusalem temple-worship be swallowed up by the glory of the appearing of the person of Christ the second time; as Paul saith, for he speaks in the person of Christ, 'Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine,' &c. 1 Tim. iv. 13.

Thus then, when this holy city doth once again appear upon the stage, and in her own situation, and when she hath been showed in the attire of a queen before the face of all nations, and their kings; and when she hath by the glory of the light of her New Testament temple, gathered, as with a net, the number of God's elect; then she is taken into her husband's privy chamber, where she and he alone shall be in that blessed fellowship and communion that shall not again be once eclipsed, or in the least interrupted to eternity.

Thus have I showed you my present light into this portion of the Holy Scripture. If any can give me further, I hope I shall not refuse it. But as yet, methinks this should be the genuine sense of this place, and is the very track of John himself. For after he had seen the wall for present safety, the foundations for continuation, the gates for entrance, and the like, then he comes to tell us of the glory of all, and of the street itself at last; which indeed is the last and end of all the order of God, and to continue till an end be put to it by mortality's being swallowed up of life. As is yet more fully showed you in the next verse of this description.

[*The city needs not the light of sun or moon.*]

Verse 23. 'And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof.'

'And the city had no need of the sun.' That is, after temple-worship is over: this verse is added

therefore for further clearing up and illustrating of that which he said before. There he tells us this city had 'no temple,' and here he tells us she needed neither the light of the sun or moon. There he said, 'The Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it;' and here he saith, they are the light thereof. The substance of which, in the language of the Holy Ghost, is this: the reason why temple-worship is now gone and over, it is because there is now no need in this city of the light of the sun and the moon; and the reason why she hath now no need of them, is because the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are to it instead of both temple and light. 'For the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it.' 'For the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof.' Whereby we may note, that though the light in which she descended, being the purity of temple-worship, was glorious, yet this city shall, when she is once built, so advance from glory to glory, that at the last she shall be more happy without the help of that light, without which she had been for ever unbuilt, than she was by it in the midst of the fulness of it.

'And the city had no need of the sun,' &c. The word *sun* is in Scripture taken divers ways; sometimes for the true and natural sun in the firmament; sometimes again for persecution, and the rage of the enemy, &c. Jos. x. 12. Mat. xiii. 6. But I take 'sun' here not to be any of these, but for the good and pure word of the gospel of Christ, unfolded, opened, and explained by the servants of Christ; which sun is the same that before you find to be darkened by the Antichristian fog and mist, which was darkened, I say, even to a third part of it. Re. viii. 12; ix. 2. This sun, or word of the gospel, Paul saith it is shadowed forth even by that which shineth in the firmament of heaven, because as that by its light and shining, giveth to those that have eyes, to see the glory and excellency of this world; so by the shining and light of the gospel is given 'the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ,' and a view of the excellency of the things of the world to come. 2 Cor. iv. 3—6. Now, I say, though while the church is in this world, and on this side the state of glory, she cannot live and flourish without the shining of this sun, but would be lifeless and lightless, and without all heat and comfort—for it is the entrance of the law that giveth light here, and that lighteneth the eyes, 'making wise the simple.' Ps. xix. 7, 8; cxix. 130—yet at the day of the coming of her Lord in person she shall see far more clearly without the thus shining of the sun than ever she did or could see with and by it. 'And the city had no need of the sun.' For when by the light of it the whole body of the elect have found out the way to this city, and when they have also by this light accomplished and fulfilled all their work; yea, when the Lord himself is come, and doth immediately communicate far more glorious light to this city without it than ever he did by it; what need is there then of the light of this sun? for that is to be of use but for the time present, even until the whole of the body of the Lord Jesus is come to the perfect measure, even 'to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.' Ep. iv. 10—12. So then, when the body of Christ is in every sense completed in this life by the light of the sunshine of his holy gospel, what need of this sun? And hence it is that the word of the gospel is called 'the word of reconciliation,' 'the word of faith,' and 'the words of this life.' 2 Cor. v. 19. Ro. x. 8. Ac. v. 20. Wherefore, I say, it ceaseth when there is no more to be reconciled, and when faith in all is perfected, and when this life is put an end unto by the coming in of another. For 'when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.' 1 Co. xiii. 8—10.

The ministers of the gospel are of use so long as there is either elect to be converted, or any converted soul to be perfected by that measure of perfection that God hath appointed on this side glory; but when this work is done, their ministry ceaseth. Wherefore, though like the widow's sons, they are busy to borrow vessels for the oil so long as it is running, and emptying itself out of the great and principal barrel; yet when it ceaseth, as it will do, when there are no more vessels to be found, then let them sit down as they, and receive of the fruits of their labour, for the reward of their work is then only to be enjoyed by them. 2 Ki. iv. 1—6.

'And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it.' This word *moon* also, as well as that of the sun, is to be taken divers ways in the Scriptures of truth; sometimes for the natural one, sometimes for the world and persecutors, &c. Jos. x. 13. Re. xii. 1. Ps. cxxi. 6. But moon here is to be taken for the church of God, with reference to her life, conversation, duties, and exemplary behaviour, in which she is conversant on this side glory; according to that of the Song, 'Who *is* she *that* looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, *and* terrible as *an army* with banners?' Ca. vi. 10. When he saith, then, that at this day there shall be here no need of the shining light of the moon, he means that this city at this day, in the state she is in when she hath the person of the Lamb in her, then she shall have no need of the growth of Christianity, for they shall be all perfect; nor no need of mortification, for there shall be no sin. They shall not need now, as in time past, to exhort and encourage one another to stick fast to the promise, for they shall be swallowed up of life and open vision. 2 Co. v. 4.

Here shall be no need either of prayer, of repentance, of faith, or of good works, as afore. 'And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it.'

Now, I say, the Holy Ghost is pleased to bring in here the shining virtues of the church under the notion of a shining moon, because, as the church herself is compared to the moon, so her virtues are as naturally compared to a shining light; as Christ saith, 'Let your light so shine,' Mat. v. 16; and again, 'Let your loins be girded about, and *your* lights burning.' Lu. xii. 35. Phi. ii. 15. For, indeed, while we are here, that church and congregation of the Lord doth most shine, and most send forth the golden rays and pleasant beams of Christianity, that is most in the exercise of the afore-mentioned virtues. Take away the moon, and the night is doubtful; or though the moon be in the firmament, if she hath lost her light, the night is not thereby made more comfortable. And thus, I say, it is first with the world, where here there is no church to shine, or where there is a church that doth not *so shine* that others may see and be lighted. For while the day of time doth last, even the world itself hath need of the shining of the church; but at this day this time will be no longer, because the day of eternity will break, and by that means cause the world that now is, even the world of the ungodly, to cease to have a being here any longer. Therefore now no need of the moon, or of the light thereof, to shine before that which is not.[1]

The light of the church compared to the light of the moon, upon a double account.

Second. Again, as the church is in her light before men as the moon is in her light in the night to the world, so, as I said before, this city which is called also heaven, she, even she, shall have no need of these things, for she shall be taken up in open vision, and shall be completely delivered from all imperfection; she shall not need now the light of her children to provoke her and to stir her up to this or the other act of holiness; all shall be done, all shall be complete, the Lord himself is come. Indeed, while Christ is absent as touching his person, and while the work of God is not yet completely done in the church, there will be need both of the light of sun and moon, but when the work is done, and he come, then these things will be out of use. Thus 'the path of the just *is* as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.' Pr. iv. 18.

'For the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof.' This is rendered as the reason why at this day both the light of the sun and moon are needless; it is because 'the glory of God did lighten it,' and because 'the Lamb is the light thereof.' Now the glory of God must be understood in this place, not of that glory that doth attend the church in this world, for that glory doth attend the church upon the account of her purity of worship, of temple-worship, and doth either abide on her, or withdraw itself, according to her exact observing the rule, or declining from it, as I have showed you in the beginning of this discourse.* But the glory that here you read of, it is a glory that supplieth this city without those ordinances; yea, therefore, those ordinances, as the temple and the light of the sun and moon, do cease because of the glory of this glory that now is come into this city. 'The city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it,' mark, 'for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.'

* See the exposition of the 11th verse.

Wherefore, I say, this glory that now he speaks of, it is the glory that shall possess this city at the end of her glory in this world; wherefore, as saith the Holy Ghost by Isaiah the prophet, from this day forward, 'The sun shall be no more thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory.' Is. lx. 19.

'For the glory of God did lighten it,' &c. Thus it was at the finishing of the tabernacle in the wilderness, and of the temple at Jerusalem; both which were figures, in their finishing, of the finishing of the state of the church in this world; and it is said of them, that in the day when they in all things were accomplished, according to the fashion that was revealed before concerning their order and accomplishment, that then the glory of God so appeared upon them, that neither Moses nor Aaron was able to enter in, or to stand therein, because of the cloud, and of the glory of the Lord that at that time filled the house. Ex. xl. 33, 34. 1 Ki. viii. 10, 11. Thus you see this city descends in one measure of glory, and is consummate in another measure of glory. The glory of the Lord was upon the mount Sinai while the pattern of the tabernacle was giving, but it rested on the tabernacle when the work thereof was finished; to signify, I say, that the glory of God will rest in his ordinances, and in his church by them, so long as ordinances are in use; but when they are needless, then it will rest in the church without them, and that more gloriously than ever it therein did rest by them.

'For the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof.' Mark, though now there shall be no need of temple, sun, or moon, yet Christ the Lamb, or the Man who was offered in sacrifice for our redemption, shall be of use and benefit; 'for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof.' Wherefore, all that we who are the saved shall enjoy of glory and sweetness in another world, though we shall not

[1] There being no night there but perpetual day.—(Ed.)

enjoy it from God through Christ, by and in the ordinances, yet we shall enjoy it through Christ the Lamb without them; 'for the Lamb *is* the light of it.' By this word Lamb, he would have us understand that when we are in glory, the blood, death, and bloody conquest that the man Christ did get over our infernal enemies, will be of eternal use to us; because that benefit of Christ shall not only for ever be the foundation of our eternal felicity, but the burden of our song of glory in all our raptures among the angels. Re. v. 9. It will be the blood, the blood, the redeeming blood of the Lamb. 'Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power *be* unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the LAMB for ever and ever.' Re. v. 13. It is he in whom will be found the seven eyes, the seven spirits of God, in whose light we shall see the heights and depths of those springs and everlasting fountains and depths of glory for ever; and, indeed, the conceit of the contrary is foolish. Zec. iii. 9. Re. v. 6. Is not Christ the head, and we the members? and do not the members receive their whole light, guidance, and wisdom from it? Is not he also the price, the ground, and bottom of our happiness, both in this world and that which is to come? And is it possible it should be forgotten, or that, by it, our joy, light, and heaven should not be made the sweeter to all eternity? Our soul is now bound up in him, as in a bundle of life. 1 Sa. xxv. 29. And when we come thither, he is still the Christ, our life; and it is by our being where he is that we shall behold his glory and our glory, because he is glorified. Col. iii. 3, 4. Jn. xvii. 24. 'For the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof.' As he said, 'Ye now therefore have sorrow; but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you.' Jn. xvi. 22.

Thus much of this city, her descending, her fashion, her glory, and of her wading through glory, from glory to glory.

[FOURTH. THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY, THEIR QUALITY, AND NUMEROUSNESS.]

Ver. 24. 'And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.' After this long and pleasant description of this holy and new Jerusalem, the Holy Ghost now falleth upon a relation of the people that shall be the inhabitants of this city, and of their numerousness and quality.

'And the nations,' &c. The nations of the world, both of the Jews and Gentiles.

Every one knoweth what the nations are, wherefore I need not stay upon the explication of that, for it doth in general include the multitude of the sinners of the world. Ep. ii. 1–3. 1 Co. vi. 9–11. Tit. iii. 3. Therefore, when he saith, the nations shall walk in the light of this city, it is as if he had said, that at this day, when she is here in her tranquillity, the sinners and disobedient among the sons of men shall by multitudes and whole kingdoms come in and close with the church and house of God. These spiders shall take hold with their hands, and be in kings' palaces. Pr. xxx. 28.

How the nations shall flock to New Jerusalem.

'And the nations,' &c. For this word, 'the nations,' is a great word, and it comprehendeth much; mark, it doth not say a nation, or some nations, neither doth it say few or small nations, but indefinitely, the nations, many nations, strong nations, all nations, the nations in general; only he ties them up with this limit, the nations of them that are saved. Is. liii. 15; lx. 22; ii. 2. Which yet is not so much spoken to clip off the multitude that we suppose may then be converted, as to show us their qualifications and happiness; as he saith by the prophet in another place, Thy children shall be all holy, or righteous, 'and great *shall be* the peace of thy children.' Is. liv. 13; lx. 21. 'And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it.' Surely the Holy Ghost would never have spoken at such a rate as this, if he had not intended to show us that at the day of the setting up of this Jerusalem, a great harvest of sinners shall be gathered by the grace of the gospel. But the truth is, the Scriptures go with open arms towards the latter end of the world, even as if they would grasp and compass about almost all people then upon the face of the whole earth with the grace and mercy of God. 'The earth,' saith God, 'shall be full of the knowledge' of the glory 'of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.' Is. xi. 9. Hab. ii. 14. As he saith, also, for the comfort of the church in another place, 'Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of *my* hands, thy walls *are* continually before me. Thy children shall make haste; thy destroyers and they that made thee waste shall go forth of thee. Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold: all these gather themselves together, and come to thee. *As* I live, saith the Lord, thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all, as with an ornament, and bind them *on thee*, as a bride *doeth*. For thy waste and thy desolate places, and the land of thy destruction, shall even now be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants, and they that swallowed thee up shall be far away. The children which thou shalt have, after thou hast lost the other, shall say again in thine ears, The place *is* to strait for me; give place to me, that I may dwell. Then shalt thou say in thine heart, Who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, a captive and removing to and fro? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left

alone, these, where *had* they *been?*' Is. xlix. 16—21. Thus the multitudes of the nations shall at this day be converted to the Lord, and be made the inhabitants of this Jerusalem; as he saith again, 'The kingdoms of this world are become *the kingdoms* of our Lord and of his Christ.' Re. xi. 15. And again, 'The kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom *is* an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.' Da vii. 27.

And observe it, these promises are to be fulfilled in the last days, at the time of the pouring forth of the last vial, which is the time of the sounding of the last of the seven trumpets; for then this city shall be built, and Lucifer fallen from heaven; then the prisoners shall be set at liberty, and the people be gathered together, 'and the kingdoms to serve the Lord.' Is. ii. 1, 2; xiv. 4—6. Ps. cii. 20—22. Re. xi. 15—17. 'Rejoice, O ye nations, *with* his people, for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, *and* to his people.' De. xxxii. 43. Alas! it is now towards the end of the world, and therefore now all is going, if the Lord steps not in with the riches of his grace. Wherefore now at last, before all be turned into fire and ashes, behold the Lord casts the net among the multitude of fish, and the abundance of the sea shall, without fail, be converted to Jerusalem. Is. lx. 5. Though Satan and Antichrist have had their day in the world, and by their outrage have made fearful havoc of the souls of sinners from time to time, yet now at length God will strike in for a share with them, and his Son 'shall divide the spoil with the strong.' Is. liii. 12. Wherefore he now sets up this city, puts the glory of heaven upon her, provides a new heaven and a new earth for her situation, Is. lxvi. 22; drives profaneness into the holes and dens of the earth; giveth righteousness authority to reign in the world, 2 Pe. iii. 13; and takes off the veil from all faces, that none may hereafter be for ever beguiled by blindness and ignorance. Is. xxv. 7. Now shall they make merry with the things of God; now shall all eat the fat and drink the sweet. 1 Ki. iv. 20. Ne. viii. 10, 12. For 'in this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.' Is. xxv. 6.

'And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it.' They 'shall walk in the light of it.' That is, in the light that is in it while it is in its purity in this world, and in the glory of it when it is in its perfection and immortality in another. Whence note by the way, that in the midst of all this glory, or while the glorious light of the gospel shall thus shine in the world, yet even then there will be some also that will not see and rejoice in the glory hereof. But as for those, whoever they are, they are excluded from a share in the blessed and goodly privileges of this city. 'The nations of them which are SAVED shall walk in the light of it.'

'And the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.' By these words are great things held forth. He told us before that the nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it; and here he tells us that even their kings also, the kings of the earth, do bring their honour and glory to it. The people of the nations they are but like to single pence and halfpence, but their kings like gold angels and twenty-shilling pieces.[1] Wherefore, when he saith that the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour unto it, it argueth that the gospel and the grace of God, when it is displayed in its own nature, and seen in its own complexion, even then they that have most of the honour and glory of the world will yet stoop their top-gallant[2] unto it. 'Because of thy temple which is at Jerusalem, shall kings bring presents unto thee.' Ps. lxviii. 29. Is. xlix. 22, 23. 'The kings of Tarshish, and of the isles, shall bring presents' to thee: 'the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him.' Ps. lxxii. 10, 11. The kings shall see and arise, and 'princes also shall worship because of the Lord,' &c. Is. xlix. 7. The kings shall come to thy light, and princes to the brightness of thy rising. Is. lx. 1—5. 'The Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory.' Is. lxii. 2. Yea, '*that* which had not been told them shall they see, and *that* which they have not heard shall they consider.' Is. lii. 15. 'All the kings of the earth shall praise thee, O Lord, when they hear the words of thy mouth. Yea, they shall sing in the ways of the Lord: for great *is* the glory of the Lord.' Ps. cxxxviii. 4, 5. Thus, we see, that though in the first day of the gospel, the poor, the halt, the lame, and the blind are chief in the embracing of the tenders of grace, yet in the latter day thereof God will take hold of kings.

How the kings of the earth shall flock into New Jerusalem.

'And the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.' INTO IT; that is, to Jerusalem. Wherefore this city must be built before they all of them will fall in love with her. Indeed, I do conceive that some of them will lay their hand to help forward the work of this city, as did Hiram

[1] A 'gold angel' was an early English coin, valued at one-third of a pound, afterwards increased to ten shillings. The 'twenty-shilling piece' was the old sovereign. The comparison between them and the silver pence and halfpennies was made by Bunyan in respect to their rarity and not their purity. —(ED.)

[2] 'To stoop or lower the top gallant' is a mode of salutation and respect shown by ships at sea to each other.—(ED.)

with Solomon, and Darius, Cyrus, and Artaxerxes, with Ezra and Nehemiah, at the building and repairing the city, in the letter, in the days of old. 2 Ch. ii. 11—15. Ezr. i. 1—4; vi. 1—3; vii. 21. But yet, I say, the great conquest of the kings will be by the beauty and glory of this city, when she is built. 'Thou shalt arise,' O Lord, '*and* have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof. So the heathen shall fear the name of the Lord, and all kings thy glory.' Ps. cii. 13—15. And, indeed, before this city is set up, and established in her own place, most of the kings and great ones of the earth will be found employed and taken up in another work, than to fall in love with Mount Zion, and with the hill thereof. They will be found in love with mistress Babylon, the mother of harlots, the mistress of witchcrafts, and abominations of the earth. Re. xvii. 2, 12—14; xviii. 3, 9. They will, I say, be committing fornication with her, and will be as the horns upon the heads of the beast, to defend the riding lady from the gunshot that the saints continually will be making at her by the force of the Word and Spirit of God. They will be shaking the sharp end of their weapons against the Son of God, continually labouring to keep him out of his throne, and from having that rule in the church, and in the world, as becomes him who is the head of the body, and over all principality and power. 'These shall make war with the Lamb.' Re. xvii. 14. But, I say, it shall so come about at the last, by the illuminating grace of God, and by the faithful and patient enduring of the saints, together with the glory that everywhere shall now be abiding on the church and congregation of Jesus, that they shall begin to receive a man's heart, and shall consider things that have not been told them; wherefore at last they shall withdraw themselves from the love of this mistress, and shall leave her to scrape for herself in the world, and shall come with repentance and rejoicing to Zion; nay, not only so, but to avenge the quarrel of God, and the vengeance of his temple; and to recompense her also for the delusions and enchantments wherewith she hath entangled them. 'These shall hate her, and they shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.' Re. xvii. 16.

Now, madam, what sayest thou? The kings must come to Jerusalem, Jezebel. Thy chamber companions will shortly, notwithstanding thy painted face, cast thee down headlong out at the windows. Yea, they shall tread thee in pieces by the feet of their prancing horses, and with the wheels of their jumping chariots. 2 Ki. ix. 30—33. They shall shut up all bowels of compassion towards thee, and shall roar upon thee like the sea, and upon thy fat ones like the waves thereof. Je. l. 41, 42. Yea, when they begin, they will also make an end, and will leave thee so harbourless and comfortless, that now there will be found for thee no gladness at all, no, not so much as one piper to play thee one jig. The delicates that thy soul lusted after, thou shalt find them no more at all. Re. xviii. 12—22. 'Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures. And owls shall dwell there, and satyrs* shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in *their* pleasant palaces; and her time *is* near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.' Is. xiii. 19—23. Thus wilt thou come down wonderfully. For 'in thee have they set light by father and mother; in the midst of thee have they dealt by oppression with the stranger: in thee have they vexed the fatherless and the widow. In thee are men that carry tales to shed blood: and in thee they eat upon the mountains, in the midst of thee they commit lewdness.' Eze. xxii. 6—10. God hath smitten his hands at thy dishonest gain, and all the blood which hath been in the midst of thee; God will be avenged of thee, but will not meet thee as a man. Is. xlvii. 1—3. You 'have cast lots for my people,' saith God: you 'have given a boy for a harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink.' You have made havoc of my young converts to satisfy your lusts; therefore, 'What have ye to do with me, O Tyre and Sidon, and all the coast of Palestine? Will ye render me a recompence? And if ye recompence me swiftly *and* speedily, will I return your recompence upon your own head.' Joel iii. 1—4. I will throw it as dirt in your face again. And never talk of what thou wast once, for though thou wast full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty, though thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God, yea, though every precious stone for some time was thy covering, and thou the very anointed cherub that covereth, walking upon the mountain of God, and in the midst of the stones of fire, yet because—by reason of the multitude of thy merchandise—thou hast sinned, and art filled with violence. 'Therefore God will cast thee, as profane, out of the mountain of God, and will destroy thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire;' yea, he will cast thee to the ground, and lay thee before kings, that they may behold thee. And 'all they that know thee among the people shall be astonished at thee: thou shalt be a terror, and never *shalt* thou *be* any more.' Eze. xxviii. 12—19. 'And *when*

* That is, the hobgoblins, or devils.

thou *art* spoiled, what wilt thou do? Though thou clothest thyself with crimson, though thou deckest thee with ornaments of gold; though thou rentest thy face with painting, in vain shalt thou make thyself fair, *thy* lovers will despise thee, they will seek thy life.' Je. iv. 30.

'And the kings of the earth do bring their glory and their honour into it.' Mark, they do not only forsake the crimson harlot, neither do they content themselves with eating her flesh and burning her with fire, but they come over, they come over to Jerusalem; they are conquered by the grace of Christ and wisdom of the Son of God. They shall make war with the Lamb, but the Lamb shall overcome them, for he is King of kings and Lord of lords, and those that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful. Now they shall all give way to the government of the King of kings, the governor of the Jews, Ezr. vi. 7. and shall with gladness delight to see him rule his spouse with his own law, rules, and testament; they shall play the pranks of Jeroboam no longer, in making calves to keep the people from going up to Jerusalem to worship. Now they shall count him also king of nations, as well as king of saints; and he shall wear the crowns, and they shall seek to him. Re. xix. 12, 15. Je. x. 7. Is. lii. 15. 2 Ch. ix. 23.

[*The city secure, the gates always open.*]

Ver. 25. 'And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day for there shall be no night there.'

This is the effect of what you read before, namely, of the coming in of the kings and great ones of the earth to this Jerusalem. For when the whore is made desolate and naked, and burned with fire, and when the kings also that loved her, and that maintained her, are come in, and have closed with the glory and beauty of this city, then what need is there to shut the gates? Alas, all the injuries that the kings and great ones of the earth have done to the church and spouse of Christ in these days of the New Testament, it hath been through the instigation and witchcraft of this mistress of iniquity. 'The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear.' Na. iii. 3, 4, against the saints of God, by reason of the multitudes of the whoredoms of the well-favoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, who selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts. Wherefore I say, this gentlewoman being laid in her grave, and all her fat ones gone down to the sides of the pit, these kings will change their mind, and fall in love with the true and chaste matron, and with Christ her Lord. Now when this is thus, this city must needs be safely inhabited as towns without walls, and as a place near to which there is neither thief nor ravenous beast. Is. ii. 4. Je. xxxiii. 16. Zec. ii. 4; xiv. 11.

Persecutors, while they remain in their spirit of outrage against the church and people of God, they are frequently in the Scripture compared to the venomous dragons, fierce lions, and ravenous wolves. Je. li. 34, 37. All which at this day shall be driven out of the world, that is, so out, as never to molest the church again, or to cause a gate of this city to be shut, through fear, against them; as he saith by the prophet, 'In the habitation of dragons where each lay, *shall be* grass, with reeds and rushes.' Is. xxxv. 7. In the habitation of dragons, that is, even in the places of persecutors, where each lay, shall be food for the flock of Christ. The dragon is a venomous beast, and poisoneth all where he lieth! He beats the earth bare, and venoms it, that it will bear no grass, as do the persecutors where they inhabit and lie. But behold, the days do come in which these dragons shall be removed, and the ground where they lay be made fruitful and flourish, so that even there shall be places for the flocks to lie down in. 'In the habitation of dragons, where each lay, *shall be* grass, with reeds and rushes. No lion shall be there, nor *any* ravenous beast shall go up thereon; but the redeemed of the Lord shall walk *there*, and the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.' Is. xxxv. 7—10. According to that of Moses, the Lord 'will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid.' For 'he will rid evil beasts out of the land,' and the sword shall not go through it more. Le. xxvi. 6. 'And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings and in quiet resting-places.' Is. xxxii. 18.

'And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day, for there shall be no night there.' This word DAY we may understand two ways; either for the day of bringing in to fill this city, or for the day of her perfection and fulness. Now if you take it with reference to the day in which her converts are coming in, as indeed it ought, why then, the gates shall not be shut at all. 'Thy gates shall be open continually, they shall not be shut day nor night, that *men* may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, and *that* their kings *may be* brought.' Is. lx. 11.

But again, this day of grace, and of conversion of sinners, it must be looked upon either as the church is in captivity and persecution, or as she is out. Now, as she is in captivity, so her longest day is usually accompanied with a black and doubtful night of temptation and affliction. Wherefore this day here being spoken of, it is the day of grace that she shall have even when she is absolutely delivered from the rage of the beast, false prophet, and whore. Wherefore he is not content

to say, the gates shall not be shut at all by day, but adds withal, 'for there shall be no night there;' as who should say, I know that commonly in the day of the church's affliction she is accompanied with nights as well as days, but it shall not be so here; 'Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.' Is. lx. 20.

Wherefore John, considering this, doth quite exclude the night, saying, 'There shall be no night there.' Indeed after this New Jerusalem hath had her golden day in this world, I say, just towards the ending thereof, she will yet once again be beset with raging Gog and Magog, which enemies will, after the long safety and tranquillity of this city, through the instigation of the devil come upon the breadth of the earth, and encamp about this holy city. Eze. xxviii., xxix. But behold in the midst of this intention to swallow her up, the Lord rains fire and brimstone from heaven and destroys them all; so that Gog, I say, though he may bring one only evening upon this holy city after her long peace and rest among the sons of men, yet he shall not bring one night upon her, nor cause a gate thereof to be shut for ever. The sun shall now stand still in the midst of heaven, and this night shall be thus prevented by this marvellous judgment of God. Jos. x. As another prophet saith, 'At evening time it shall be light.' Zec. xiv. 7. That is, though her enemies will at last still make, through their enmity, one only attempt to swallow up all in everlasting oblivion, yet they themselves shall fall down dead upon the mountains of Israel, and be a prey to this Jerusalem. Thus there will be only day accompanying the inhabitants of this city, 'For there shall be no night there.'

[*The glory and honour of the nations brought into it.*]

Ver. 26. 'And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.' This, as I said before, is to show us how heartily, and how unfeignedly, both the nations and their kings shall now come over to New Jerusalem. They come hand in hand, not the people without their prince, nor the prince without his people, though it will, and must be so, in the times of persecution; but now, together 'they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations to it.'

Again, I told you before that the Jews shall at this day be converted to the Christian faith, and shall have a great name and much of heaven upon them in this city. For, indeed, they are the first-born, the natural branches, and the like. Now when he saith, they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations to it, I cannot think that by this should we understand only, or yet principally, the outward pomp and treasure of the world, but that rather by honour and glory we are here to understand the heavenly treasure and glory that the saints shall continually pour forth into one another's bosoms in this city. In this city, I say, for at this day, as I have formerly showed you, there will be found no treasure any where but at Jerusalem; every saint shall be here, every grace shall be here, the precious stones of the sanctuary, the precious sons of Zion shall not then, as now, lie scattered, some in the world, and some in mistress Babylon's lap; neither shall any thing pertaining to the church's privileges be found in her at all for ever. There shall be heard no more at all in her any harpers, trumpeters, pipers, or any other heavenly music in her; neither shall there be any more the sound of a millstone to grind us bread, nor the light of a candle to guide us in the house, nor yet the voice of the bridegroom, Christ, nor of the bride his wife, to tempt or allure any that are seeking the way of life, to stay with her. Re. xviii. 22, 23. All these things shall be brought to Jerusalem. 2 Ch. xxxvi. 7. Christians, you must understand that there is a time when all the treasures of the church are to be found in Babylon, as in the days of old; but at this day, when this city is built, not any of them shall be found there, but all shall be brought and delivered up to Jerusalem again, as was also foreshown in the type; and all places shall be void of the treasure of heaven, but Jerusalem. Ezr. vi. 1–6; vii. 13–16.

Wherefore by the glory and honour of the nations in this place, I understand that all the treasures of the church, and all the graces that at this day lie scattered here and there, some in one place and some in another, they shall be found no where at that day but in this city, in the church that walks according to rule. Now the reasons why I take this honour and glory to be meant of these things are—

First. Because thus it was in the time of the building of Jerusalem after the captivity, the treasure of the Jews, which was become the treasures of the provinces of Babylon, was again restored and brought to Jerusalem, as you may see by the scriptures now cited.

Second. Because I find indeed, that the milk and honey of the land of Canaan—which are, in our gospel language, the gifts, graces, and treasures of the church—it is called, 'The glory of all lands.' Eze. xx. 6. Now, I say, seeing the milk and honey, which are the comforts of the church and her treasure, is called 'The glory of all lands,' I take glory and honour in this place to signify the same thing also. Ca. iv. 11.

Third. Because also I find, by comparing the prophets, that the Christian's glory and honour lieth mostly, even principally, in heavenly and

spiritual things; as in faith, love, experience of God, of grace, of Christ, and spiritual life. I read that, at the building of this city, the Jews and Gentiles shall meet together, and that at that day they shall mutually be partakers of each other's glory. The Gentiles 'shall milk out, and be delighted in the abundance of the glory' of the Jews: and the glory of the Gentiles shall be again extended unto the Jews like a mighty flowing stream. Is. lxvi. 10–13. But I say that this glory and honour should consist in outward things, or that the glory that is merely carnal should be principally here intended, I confess it grates too near the ground for me to believe or rejoice in it. Alas, I find that those souls that have not now the tenth part of the spirit and life of heavenly things that shall then be poured forth; I say, I find that these are trampling on the world, and disdain the thoughts of being taken with its glory. Wherefore much less will it be esteemed in that day, when the glory and goodness of God shall in that manner break forth. Again, can it be imagined that the chief of the glory that the Gentiles should bring to the Jews after a sixteen hundred years warming in the bosom of Christ; I say, is it imaginable that the great crop of all they have reaped should consist in a little outward trumpery? Or if it should, would it be a suitable medicine in the least to present to the eyes of a broken and wounded people, as the Jews will be at that day? Or if the glory that the Gentiles at that day shall suck from the Jews were such as this, would it at all be as life from the dead to them in a gospel sense. The church of the Gentiles shall be a wall to the Jews at their return; but such a wall as will chiefly consist in spiritual and heavenly safeguard, and in outward, because of that. Ro. xi. 13–15. I am a wall, saith she, and my breasts are towers, on which the Jews will build upon her a palace of silver. Ca. viii. 8–10. But must this wall, I say, consist chiefly in outward glory, in the glory of earthly things? or must this silver palace be of that nature either? No verily, but when God hath built the city Jerusalem, and put his church into such a state, that upon all her glory shall be a defence of heaven, then shall the Jews, by their coming into this city, build, by their experience, a palace for spiritual and heavenly pleasure, to solace and comfort their brethren withal. In a word, then, by glory and honour in this place, we are chiefly to understand the spiritual and heavenly things of this city, which, in the times of the reign of Antichrist, have lain, some among the potsherds of the earth, some again under the stairs, some under this abuse, and some under that. Ps. lxi. 3. Ca. ii. 14. All which shall be brought by the souls that shall be converted, forthwith to this city, the church, where will be the treasury of God, into which every one at that day shall throw in of their abundance; but as for the glory of the world, the saints shall be above it, it shall be with them as silver and wood was in the days of Solomon, even as little worth as the stones in the street in their account. Is. xxvii. 13. 1 Ki. x. 21.

[*None but visible saints shall enter.*]

Ver. 27. 'And there shall in nowise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatsoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.'

I am not yet convinced that the highest church-state that ever was, or ever will be in this world, could possibly be so, all of them, the elect of God, but that there would get in among them some that had not saving grace; the same also I believe touching the state of this Jerusalem. But yet this I do believe again, that the right and gospel-pattern is, that none be admitted into church communion but such who are visible saints by calling. 1 Co. i. 1. 2 Co. i. 1. Ep. i. 12. Ph. i. 1. The substance of which these words import, 'There shall not enter into it any thing that DEFILETH, or that *worketh abomination*, or that *maketh a lie*.' Which words do principally strike at a people that appear to be loose, wicked, or ungodly; of which sort indeed, not one shall here at any time, no, not in any wise, be admitted entrance. For now shall all the forms, and all the ordinances, and all the forms of the goings out of the church of God, and the comings into it, be so exactly opened to these people, and they so punctual and distinct in the observation of them, that it will not be possible that a Canaanite should be here for ever again found any more. Eze. xliii. 10, 11; xliv. 6, 8. 'This *is* the law of the house upon the top of the mountain —the whole limit thereof *shall be* most holy. Behold, this *is* the law of the house.' Eze. xliii. 12. Joel iii. 17. Zec. xiv. 21.

And as there shall at this day be none admitted here, but such as are in truth visible saints, so none must here continue, but they that continue such. If any of those stones that are put in for building into the house of God, shall afterwards have the plague found on them, then the priest shall command that such stones be taken away and cast into the unclean place that is without the city. Le. xiv. 40. And observe it, that congregation on earth that admits only of such persons as are visible saints by calling and profession—though possibly some of them, as in the case of Judas and Demas, may be known to God to be non-elect—yet that church is holy round about the limits thereof. Nu. xix. 22. Ep. v. 11. He. xii. 15. 2 Th. iii. 6, 14. 1 Co. v. 6, 11–13. Provided, also, that if at any time after that the plague appears, they ordinarily proceed to deal with them, as here things will be done to a tittle and a hair's breadth. Now the reason why the church

may be said to have some within her that are non-elect, and yet be counted holy still, it is because the church is to judge of persons by their words and lives; they know not the heart absolutely, and therefore if in word and life a man be as he ought, he is to be accounted a visible saint, and orderly ought to be received of the church as such. So that I say, as I said before, these words of barring out sinners out of the church, they are not to be understood as if they intended that those should be debarred visible communion that in word and life appeared visible saints, that are so judged by the rules of Christ's testament; but that such should be from it shut out that appeared visible sinners. Those that are defilers, workers of abomination, and makers of lies, none of these shall enter.

But 'they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.' These words explain the matter: those, and those only, shall enter here, that are found written in the Lamb's book of life. Now, by book of life we are to understand two things in the scriptures of truth. First, either the book of God's eternal grace and mercy through Christ, in which all the elect are recorded for ever. Or, Secondly, that book of life in which the Lord Jesus hath all recorded that are visible saints by calling; for, for both these there is a book of life. For the first of these, I judge these scriptures do suit. Lu. x. 20. 2 Ti. ii. 19. Phil. iv. 3. And for the second, these with that in the text. Ex. xxxii. 32, 33. Re. xxii. 19.

Now the book of life in this place must not be so strictly taken as if it included those only that were elect of God to eternal life, but must be understood of that book wherein are recorded the rules and bounds of visible church-communion; and so all those that, through the gifts and operations of special or common grace, do fall within the compass of those rules and bounds. Thus it was in the type at the return out of captivity, none were to be admitted entrance into the church but those that could show their privileges by genealogy and the records of the church; and to others it was said that they had neither portion, nor lot, nor memorial, in Jerusalem. Ezr. ii. 62, 63. Ne. vii. 64, 65; ii. 20.

Now that by book of life in this place we are to understand that book that hath in it the bounds and liberties of this city, and so every one that falleth within the compass of these bounds and privileges visibly; consider,

First. They that are visible matter for visible church-communion, they shall be found within this city, and yet there shall not enter any, but those that are written in the Lamb's book of life.

Second. Now visible church-communion doth not absolutely call for only invisible saints, neither can it; for if the church were to join with none but those whom they knew to be the very elect of God —as all invisible saints are—then she must join with none at all; for it is not possible that any church should be so infallible to judge in that manner of the elect, as to discern them always, and altogether, from the non-elect, which cannot be an invisible saint.

Third. By book of life therefore, in this place, we are to understand, I say, that book that hath written in it every visible saint, whether they be elect or not; and so such a book that is capable of receiving in a man at one time, and of blotting of him out again, as occasion doth require, at another. Which thing is only applicable to that book which binds and looses on the account of a man's being a visible saint or a visible apostate. Which thing is only applicable to the visible rules of receiving or shutting out of visible church-communion; which rules being the rules of Christ's New Testament, it is proper to call it the book of life; and is about the matter of going in or going out of this very city so called. 'If any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and *from* the things which are written in this book.' Re. xxii. 18, 19. O how happy is he who is not only a visible, but also an invisible saint! Re. iii. 5. He, he shall not be blotted out the book of God's eternal grace and mercy, when others are liable to loose a share, not only in heaven, but to be for ever blotted out of the book that approveth of visible believers also.

Fourth. But again, to explain the matter yet more: in the visible church there are not only sons, but servants—that is, not only those that are truly elect, but such as have received a gift for the perfecting of the church under Christ, in his service here in this world. Eze. xlvi. 16, 17. Now, I say, the servant for the time present hath his place in the church as well as the son, though not the place of a son, but of a servant, even a place of service, as of preaching, prophesying, administering the ordinances that are given to the church, and the like. 1 Co. xii. 7. Ep. iv. 11, 12. All which a man that hath not grace may do, and that by the appointment of Christ; thus was Judas, Demas, Hymeneus, Phyletus, and others, who sometimes were the servants of Christ in the church, and did minister for him to them; yet themselves, notwithstanding, such as were all that time strangers and aliens to the life and power and saving operations of the justifying and preserving grace of the gospel. 1 Co. xiii. 1—4. Mat. xxv. 14—18. As he saith also by the prophet Isaiah, 'strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of aliens *shall* be your ploughmen, and your vine-dressers.' Is. lxi. 5. For verily Christ will give to those that have not his

saving grace, yet great knowledge and understanding in the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and will also make them for profit and advantage in his church, to feed their flocks, to plough up the fallow ground of their hearts, and to dress their tender vines. Yet, I say, they themselves shall not be everlastingly saved, for they want his saving grace. As Christ saith, 'The servant abideth not in the house for ever, *but* the son abideth for ever.' Jn. viii. 35. As he saith again in another prophet, 'If the prince give a gift unto any of his sons, the inheritance thereof shall be his sons, it *shall be* their possession by inheritance; but if he give a gift of inheritance to one of his servants, then it shall be his to the year of liberty, after it shall return to the prince; but his inheritance shall be his sons for them.' Eze. xlvi. 16 17. Some indeed have grace as well as gifts; now they that are such the profit of their gifts shall be rewarded by virtue of their grace; but as for them that have only a gift, when the work of a gift is done, then they cease to be any longer of use in the church, and therefore are forthwith shut out of the same, but the son abideth for ever. Thus you see that as visible church-communion doth not absolutely call for the elect only, but admits, and that by the book of rules, all that are visible and open saints by calling, so also the Lord Jesus himself doth, and will use some in his church as his officers and servants, that yet in a strict sense are neither his sons nor members, who yet are within the bounds of that book of life that here he speaks of, as is evident, because with Christ's allowance they are admitted into communion with his church, and by him also furnished with gifts and abilities to profit and edify withal. Now observe, such a one is admitted, though but a servant, yet not by the church, because but such a one. The church receiveth no man upon the account of gifts alone, but upon the account of the appearance of grace, as of gospel-repentance, of the confession of faith, and of a conversation suitable to the same; all which a man that is not elect may have the notion of, yea, the power, though not the saving power. He. vi. 4, 5.

Fifth. Further, this which I have said about the visible church-communion, and so consequently about the book of life, it must needs be a gospel-truth: yea, a thing for truth in this New Jerusalem: because, besides what hath been said, there will be found in this city, even at the coming of the Lord Jesus, which coming of his will not be for some time after the building and setting of it up, I say, there will be then found among them foolish virgins, and such who have not the saving grace of God in their souls. But yet, 1. These very souls shall be counted by the church, yea, by Christ himself, for virgins; that is, such as had not defiled their profession. 2. And will be such virgins as have, and hold every one her lamp, even as the wise themselves. 3. Such virgins as were, every one of them gone forth from the pollutions of this evil world. 4. And so such as continued visible saints, even till the bridegroom came. Mat. xxv. 1–10. For then, it is said in the margin, they cried, Our lamps are going out. These, I say, be those gifted people that will have place in the church, and so place in the book of life here mentioned, which yet will, though they continue hid from the church, be discovered in the day of the Lord to be such as had only a gift, but not grace, and shall for their secret sins be cut off and cast away, notwithstanding they were visible saints all their days.

To conclude then: If the Scripture saith, that none that defileth, or that worketh abomination, or maketh a lie, shall enter into this holy city which yet is but the church on earth, with what face can defilers think and say they shall possess a part among the church which is in heaven? Again, If many that have received gifts from God, and that may be serviceable in his house, shall yet be put out of doors at the coming of the Lord, what will they do that have been and yet continue both giftless and graceless, as visibly as the light that shineth? And that instead of being the ploughmen and vine-dressers of the church, prove thieves, robbers, persecutors, and the like! Yea, if many that are within the bounds of that book of life that hath the records and rules of a rightly constituted visible church may yet perish, what will become of them that never were so much as written therein? Must they not perish rather? 'And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.' Rev. xx. 15.

Rev. xxii. 1.—'And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.'

[FIFTH. THE PROVISION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE CITY, BY WHICH IT CONTINUETH IN LIFE, EASE, PEACE, TRANQUILLITY, AND SWEETNESS FOR EVER.]

Having thus showed us this city, her fashion, glory, inhabitants, and the like, he now comes to show us her provision and maintenance, wherewith she is kept in safety, life, peace, and comfort, &c.

[*Its drink the river of life.*]

'And he showed me a pure river of water of life.' This water of life is nothing else but the manifold grace of God in Christ let forth to the inhabitants of this Jerusalem, wherewith she is watered and replenished, as the earth with rain

from heaven, for the good of those that drink thereof. For both the word water and that of life, they are but metaphorical sayings, under which is held forth some better and more excellent thing. And indeed it is frequent with God in Scripture to speak of his grace and mercy under the notion of waters, of a fountain, a sea, and the like. Zec. xiii. 1; Mic. vii. 18, 19.

[*It is called water.*] Now it is called water, *First*, Because no soul can be cleansed, or effectually washed from its guilt and filth, but by the grace of God. Ep. i. 7. 'I washed thee with water, yea, I thoroughly washed away thy blood from thee,' 'and thou becamest mine.' Eze. xvi. 8, 9. *Second*, It is called water, because it also quencheth the spiritual thirst of them that by faith do drink thereof. Is. xli. 18. I will give, saith Christ, to him that is a-thirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely. Re. xxii. 17. And again, 'He that drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst.' Jn. iv. 14.

[*Water of* LIFE.] Further, As it is called water, so it is called 'the water OF LIFE,' and that upon a diverse account. *First*, Because it is that which recovereth the soul that drinketh thereof from the death of sin and the curse of God, to a principle of life and heavenly blessing. 'And it shall come to pass *that* every thing that liveth, which moveth whithersoever the rivers shall come, shall live.' Eze. xlvii. 9. *Second*, It is called 'the water of life,' because that from it comes all those heavenly and spiritual quickenings and revivings, that (like *aqua vitæ*)* do fetch again, and cheer up the soul that was sinking and giving up the ghost in this world. '*There is* a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God.' Ps. xlvi. 4. *Third*, It is called 'the water of life,' because it healeth the soul of all its spiritual infirmities and diseases, wherewith by reason of the remainders of sin, the creature is most sadly annoyed and infected. 'And there shall be a very great multitude of fish,' of men he means, Mat. iv. 19, 'because the waters shall come thither; for they,' these fish, 'shall be healed, and every thing shall live whither the river cometh.' Eze. xlvii. 9. *Fourth*, and lastly, It is called 'the water of life,' because that whosoever doth effectually drink thereof, shall die no more, but the water that Christ shall give him shall be in him a well of water, springing up in him to eternal life; wherefore he calleth it in another place, 'the living water,' because the quality and nature of it is to beget, to increase, to maintain, and preserve life. Jn. iv. 10–14.

* Water of life.

[*Water of life clear and* PURE AS CRYSTAL.] 'And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal,' &c. Mark, it is water, water of life, pure water of life, and clear as crystal. These words, 'pure' and 'clear,' and that as 'crystal,' they are added upon a double account. *First*, To show you that it is grace alone that saveth the sinner; and, *Second*, To show you that at this day the doctrine of this grace will be by itself alone without the commixture of that dirt and trash that for a long time, even to this day, hath been thrown into it.

First, It showeth us that it is grace alone that saveth the sinner, pure grace, grace that admits of nothing of ours to be in the least a helper in the matter of our happiness; we are 'justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.' As he saith by the prophet, 'I will pour CLEAN water upon you, and ye shall be clean, and from all your idols will I cleanse you.'[1] Eze. xxxvi. 25. 'Not for your sakes do I this, saith the Lord. Be ye ashamed and confounded for all your own evil ways, O house of Israel,' ver. 32, 33. It is clean water, indeed—it is clear in the nature of it, clear in the gift of it, and clear in the working of it. It washeth freely, thoroughly, and perfectly. 'From all your idols will I cleanse you,' ver. 25; xvi. 9. Re. xxi. 8.

Second, This word pure, and clear as crystal, it also showeth us that at the day of New Jerusalem, the doctrine of grace shall be cleansed from all those dirty and muddy inventions that sin, Satan, and the wisdom of this world hath thrown into this river, and into its goodly crystal streams; I say at this day they shall not come near it, neither shall the rubbish they have already cast into it any more be there for ever. 'I will destroy all the beasts thereof (the beastly men he means) from beside the great waters, neither shall the foot of man trouble them any more, nor the hoofs of beasts trouble them. Then will I make their waters deep, and cause the rivers to run like oil, saith the Lord God.' Eze. xxxii. 13, 14.

'And he SHEWED me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal,' &c. In that he saith he saw this river, he giveth us in a mystery also to understand how openly and plainly this river shall in all its crystal streams and currents be apprehended and seen by the children of this city; for in this vision he doth as it were represent in his person the children of New Jerusalem; as God said to Ezekiel in another case, 'Thou shalt be a sign,' 'and they shall do as thou hast done,' xxiv. 22, 27. So here, I saw, saith John, a pure river of water of life. I am in this a sign to the house of the Israel of God, and to the inhabitants of this city; they shall do as I have done, and shall also see as I have seen. As saith the church and people of this city, 'As we have heard, so have we

[1] This quotation is taken from that excellent translation of the Bible made by the reformers at Geneva, and which was much used in Bunyan's time. He preferred the word *pour* to that of *sprinkle*, used in the present version.—(ED.)

seen, in the city of the Lord of hosts. Ps. xlviii. 8. And hence it is called an open fountain, because it shall be no more shut up or kept close for ever. Zec. xiii. 1, 2.

[*Whither this water goes and its extension.*]

'And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, PROCEEDING out of the throne of God.' This word, proceeding, hath also in it two things: *First*, An implicit declaration whither it goes; and, *Second*, A discovery of its gradual extension to those to whom it goes.

First. Touching to whom, or *whither it goes*, it is let out both to the Jews and Gentiles indifferently; and so it never yet was since the foundations of the Jewish church; for in the time of the Old Testament it did run to the Jews in special, and in the times of the New Testament, hitherto, unto us the Gentiles in special. O! but now it shall in this manner be extended to sinners no longer; not now to the Jews without the Gentiles, nor again to them without the Jews, but equally and alike to both, and on them both it shall work alike effectually. 'It shall be in that day,' saith the prophet, '*that* living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the former sea, and half of them toward the hinder sea.' Zec. xiv. 8. By 'living waters' here, you are to understand the same with this in the text; by 'the former sea,' the people of the Jews, for they were God's former people; and by 'hinder sea,' the people of the Gentiles, for they are the younger son. And because the whole world consisteth of these two people, therefore Ezekiel in his vision puts them both together, calling them the fish of one great sea, to which this water of life shall run, and upon whose fish it shall have a like operation, even to heal them, and make them live, without respect either to this or that party. 'It shall come to pass *that* the fishers,' that is, the gospel ministers, 'shall stand upon it,' the rivers, 'from En-gedi even to En-eglaim; they shall be a *place* to spread forth nets; their fish shall be according to their kinds, as the fish of the great sea, exceeding many.' Eze. xlvii. 10. As another prophet saith, 'The abundance of the sea shall be converted to thee.' Is. lx. 5. Thus much touching whither this water goes.

[*Second.*] And now to come to the *manner of the extension of it*, in the way of its proceeding. A thing that proceeds, it doth what it doth gradually, that is, by degrees. First, it comes or goes so far, and then further, and afterwards further than that, till at last it ascends to the height and uppermost degree that is allotted for its perfection. All which the Holy Ghost would have us gather out of this word, 'it proceedeth,' or that John saw this holy water 'proceeding.' The which the prophet Ezekiel in a mystery unfoldeth to us, saying, the first time he passed over this water it was up but to his ankles; the second time he passed through, it proceeded to his knees; the third time, to his loins; and last of all, became a river to swim in. Eze. xlvii. 1–3.

1. It is but up to the ankles, that is, but shallow; and signifies that, first, the soul is but a little child in God's things, such as the apostle calls babes, children, 'little children,' 1 Jn. ii. 12.

2. Then from the ankles it proceeds to the knees, that is, somewhat higher than the ankles; and signifieth that the Christian groweth from a child to a young and strong man, one that is now gotten deeper into the things of God, and that is able to tug with and overcome the wicked ones. 1 Jn. ii. 13.

3. After this it proceeds higher, even up to the loins; this signifies that as grace makes men children of God, and his young men, so also it maketh them fathers and ancients in his church; it makes them grave, knowing, solid guides, and unfolders of the mysteries of the kingdom; these are such as are instructed into the kingdom of God, and that can bring out of their treasury things new and old.

4. It yet proceeds higher, even to be above the head, a river to swim in, and that such a river as can by no means be passed over. This signifieth our launching into eternity; our being beyond all heights, depths, lengths, and breadths in the open vision and enjoyments of grace. 'For there the glorious Lord *shall be* unto us a place of broad rivers *and* streams, wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ships pass thereby.' Is. xxxiii. 21. Thus we begin children, and wade up to the ankles in the things of God; and being once in, it riseth and proceeds to come up to our knees, then to our loins, and last of all to be a river to swim in; a river so wide, so deep, and every way so large, that it can in no wise be passed over.[1]

[*Whence and from whom this water comes.*] 'And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb.' Having thus spoken to the water what it is, as also to whom it extends itself, and how it proceeds, he now comes to show us from whence and from whom it doth come. It proceeds, saith he, 'from the throne of God and of the Lamb.' Out of the throne of God; this throne of God, it is, in another place, called the mercy-seat, and throne of grace, from which, as always, so now in a special manner he will issue

[1] How beautifully is the Christian's growth in grace here pictured by Bunyan from Eze. xlvii. 3–12. So imperceptibly by Divine power, without the aid of man, that the partaker often doubts his own growth. The water rises higher and higher, until at length there is no standing for his feet—the earth and time recedes, and he is plunged into the ocean of eternal grace and glory.—(Ed.)

forth of himself in the glory of the gospel of the grace of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to the inhabitants of this city. Ex. xxv. 22. He. iv. 16. When he saith, therefore, that it doth proceed out of the throne of God, it is as if he had said, I saw that from the yearning bowels of the great God did flow continually the living streams of the everlasting fountains of grace, and that not only to, but in the midst of this city, wherewith her inhabitants are continually watered, and their pastures kept always green and flourishing. 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.' Is. lv. 1.

'Proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.' In that this water of life is said to proceed not only out of the throne of God, but also of the Lamb, it signifieth and holdeth forth unto us two special things:

First. That the throne of God is also made the throne of the Lord Jesus Christ, upon which he, as a reward of his sufferings and victory over sin, Satan, and all evils, is set down, and upon which he sits and rules as Lord and Chief of all worlds. He is set down on the right hand of power, on the right hand of the Majesty on high; as he saith, 'To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.' Re. iii. 21. This being thus, it signifieth that this city shall have her enjoyments of life, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, by virtue of the kingship of the Lord Jesus Christ, as well as by the virtue of his priestly and prophetical office. The church doth in our days know a little what joy, peace, and life is to be enjoyed from Christ, even through that dark and glimmering sight that she hath of the offices of Christ in a mist; but she feels not yet what joy she shall have, and what peace she shall enjoy when her Lord, in all his offices, is manifest before her, and when he in the glory of them doth reign in the midst of this Jerusalem. There are none of the offices of the Lord Jesus yet upon the throne in his church on earth, though they be all upon the throne in heaven. O! but the day is coming that they shall be all upon the throne in the church on earth; when they shall, each of them in its full length, breadth, height, and depth, bear sway among his people, and before all men. 'Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord of hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously.' Is. xxiv. 23.

'O that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down, that the mountains might flow down at thy presence!' Is. lxiv. 1. O that the day were come that the smoke should go forth of the temple of God, that men might enter into it, and there meet with God upon the throne, and with Jesus in him upon the throne in all his offices! It will be thus, thou Zion, shortly, 'and great *shall be* the peace of thy children.' Is. liv. 13.

[*Second.*] The second thing observable is, that as all grace comes from out of the throne of God, so it also proceeds or comes out of the throne of the Lamb; that is, no grace comes to any but through the victory and conquest of the Lord Christ. We are 'justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.' Ro. iii. 24. And again, 'We have redemption through his blood,' even 'the forgiveness of' our 'sins, according to the riches of his grace.' Ep. i. 7. By which we may gather that when these things come to be in their own purity among us—that is, when grace runs clear without the dirt and mud of the traditions of men commixed therewith—then will all that hold up false and erroneous opinions be washed away. For this river will not only wash away the sins and filthiness of those that are truly gracious; but it will also destroy the heretic and erroneous person;[1] it will be to them at that day as the Red Sea was to the Egyptians of old; which sea, though it was a wall on this hand and on that to the children of Israel, yet it destroyed the Egyptians that assayed to go through it as Israel did. He. xi. 29. The reason also why we are at this day in such confusion in matters of religion, it is for want of the clear and pure streams of this river of water of life; all which will be mended when there is but one river to water this city, and that too the pure river of the water of life, in all its streams as clear as crystal; then shall all drink in all things into one Spirit, and be watered with the same dews of heaven.

Thus much of the water of life that belongeth to this Jerusalem.

[*Its food the tree of life.*]

Verse 2. And 'in the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bear twelve *manner of* fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree *were* for the healing of the nations.' This tree of life is the Lord Jesus Christ; and that he is here called a tree, rather than by other of his names, it is to show us how fruitful and exceeding advantageous he in all his benefits will be to the inhabitants of this city. This is that tree under whose branches the fowls of heaven shall now most safely lodge, and find relief from the hot and fainting beams of the persecuting sun of this world, as the Word doth there inform us. Mat. xiii. 31, 32.

[*The situation of this tree in the midst of the city.*] Now before I come to speak to this tree, touching the manner of its fruit, and its often bearing, with

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1 'To the one, the savour of death unto death; and to the other, the savour of life unto life.' 2 Cor. ii. 16.—(Ed.)

the efficaciousness of its leaves, which here he saith doth heal the nations; I will take notice of one or two general things that lie before me, from the standing of the tree in the midst of the street of this city.

First then, In that he saith this city hath a tree of life in it, he alludes to the garden of Eden, the pleasant paradise that God began the world withal; whereby he signifieth that as the world began with a paradise, so also it shall end with a paradise, when sin and Satan have done their worst. This New Jerusalem shall be the wind up of the world, and in it shall stand the tree of life, as well as there stood one in the goodly garden, which was the beginning thereof. In which paradise there shall be no tree of knowledge, or the law of works, to bear sway, and to cause that the sons of God shall be thrust out thence for their eating of its forbidden fruits; no, the tree of life alone shall here bear sway and rule, whose fruit is only healthful, and the leaves thereof for medicine.

[1.] Now this tree of life being in the midst of this city, it signifieth that the inhabitants of it shall be sweetly shadowed, refreshed, and defended with its coolness, and also sweetly nourished and comforted with its dainties. And hence it is that the Scriptures do hold him forth in his benefits to his church under these very notions. 'As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so *is* my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit *was* sweet to my taste.' Ca. ii. 3. Indeed the shadow of this tree of life, as always it is refreshing to the tempted and weary, so now it will be far more. 'They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive *as* the corn, and grow as the vine; the scent thereof *shall be* as the wine of Lebanon.' Hab. xiv. 7. Mark, (1.) His shadow will make us return, that is, to our first love; to the days of our youth, to our young, fresh, tender, and flourishing faith, love, and self-denial, that we received in the days of our espousals. (2.) As it will make us return to these, so it will make us revive in these; they shall return and revive, they shall revive as the corn; as the corn doth when, in the heat of summer, after long scorching, it is covered with cool clouds, and watered with the bottles of heaven. (3.) As it shall make them return and revive, so it shall make them grow; they shall grow as the vine, that is, speedily, fruitfully, and spreadingly. (4.) This is not all, but the smell of saints in those days shall be excellent: 'They shall revive *as* the corn,' they shall 'grow as the vine,' and shall send forth their scent 'as the wine of Lebanon.' This tree is a perfuming tree, and makes them also that abide under the shadow thereof to smell as sweet-smelling myrrh; it makes them smell as the wine of thy grace, O Lord, and as the fragrant ointments of heaven. When the spouse did but touch where her Lord had touched afore her, it made her 'hands drop *with* myrrh, and her fingers *with* sweet-smelling myrrh.' Ca. v. 5. O they will be green, savoury, reviving, flourishing, growing Christians, that shall walk the street of New Jerusalem! 'I *am*,' saith he, 'like a green fir tree. From me is thy fruit found.' Ho. xiv. 8.

[2.] But again, As he shall be thus profitable to his people for shadow and reviving, so he will be in the midst of the street of it for food, for refreshing and replenishing that way. 'I sat down under his shadow with great delight,' said she, 'and his fruit *was* sweet to my taste.' Ezekiel tells us that this tree is all trees; and on the bank of the river, on this side, and on that, were all trees for meat. Eze. xlvii. 12. Indeed Christ is all trees; yea, there is more to be found in him for the food of the soul, than there can be on all trees for the food of the body. He is a fir-tree for tallness, greenness and strength; he is an olive for fatness, a vine for sweetness and goodness, for therewith is refreshed the heart both of God and man. Ho. xiv. 8. Ro. xi. 17. Jn. xv. 1, 2. What shall I say, He is the almond-tree, the fig-tree, the apple-tree, all trees; The tree of life also in the midst of the paradise of God. Ca. ii. 13.

To conclude.—Seeing Christ is said to be in the midst of the street of this city, it showeth unto us with what, at all occasions, the actions of the saints of this city shall be seasoned. The street, you know I told you, is the way of holiness in this city, the place of spiritual recreation and solace. Now in the very midst of this street there stands this tree, which being thus, it showeth us how wonderfully Christ, as a tree of life, will be in all the words and deeds of the inhabitants of this Jerusalem; they will walk in Christ, they will talk in Christ, they will do all they do in Christ, or rather Christ will be found in all their ways; even as the tree of life is found in the midst of the street of this city: 'they shall walk up and down in his name, saith the Lord.' Zec. x. 12.

Again, In that this tree is said to stand in the midst of the street, it showeth unto us how common and free his benefits will now be also. The plumbs, and figs, and grapes, and apples of this tree, will be open to every passenger: not a boy nor a girl, that now shall play in thy street, O Jerusalem, but shall eat of the fruits of the tree that stands in the midst of thee, as of common things. Je. xxxi. 4, 5.

[*Second.*] 'And in the midst of the street of it, and ON EITHER SIDE of the river was there the tree of life.' As this tree doth stand in the midst of the street of this city, so it also standeth on each side of the river of the water of life, of which you have heard before. Now when he saith, the tree

is on either side of the river; whence by the way note yet again, that both the water of life, and also the tree of life, they are both to be enjoyed by the inhabitants of this city in the way of holiness; the tree is in the midst of the street, and the river runs through or between the very tables of the heart of this tree of life; on either side of the river was there the tree of life.

Again, In that it is said that this tree of life is on either side of the river; it argueth that they who come at any time at this river for water to quench their thirst, and to make them live, they must come to it by the tree of life, which is Christ. In more easy terms, read it thus: There is none can partake of the grace of God but by the man Christ Jesus, which is this tree of life. Col. ii. 3, 9. For this tree, this Christ, doth stand on either side of the river, to signify that all grace to us comes through his bloody wounds, death and victory. Jn. i. 16. 'I am the way,' saith Christ, 'and the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father but by me.' Jn. xiv. 6.

'And on either side of the river *was there* the tree of life.' Mark, but one tree, and yet such a tree whose body reached as far as the river reached: indeed Ezekiel saith this tree is all trees for meat, yet not to show that there are more trees of life than one, but to show that all that can be thought of that is good for soul-nourishment, is to be found in this one, that is, in Christ Jesus. And it is further evident that though he saith all trees, as if he meant many, yet he spake but metaphorically, to show thereby the fulness of Christ; because John doth understand him so, calling it one tree, to wit, 'the tree of life.' But mark again, so far as the river goes, so far the tree goes, so that where you cannot find the tree of life, be sure there is none of the water of life. No Christ, no grace. 'He that hath the Son hath life, *but* he that hath not the Son of God, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.' Jn. iii. 36. 1 Jn. v. 12. For 'on either side of the river *was there* the tree of life.

[*The fruits of this tree.*] 'Which bare twelve manner of FRUITS.' This word fruits, it may be taken two ways—either as it relates to God, or as it relates to man, for, as I said before, the fruit of this tree refreshes the heart both of God and man. Ju. ix. 9, 14.

[1.] Now if it be taken with reference to God, then it signifieth the complete satisfaction that by the worthiness of the fruits of the passion of Christ is given to God for the salvation of the church; this city of God. Da. ix. 24, 26. He suffered to finish transgression, to make an end of sin, and to bring in everlasting righteousness; by this, I say, is the heart of God refreshed, and in this doth it rest. Mat iii. 17.

[2.] If fruit here be taken with reference to men, then it signifieth the happiness and glory that those for whom he died and rose again should receive by this means. His fruit, I have showed you, is sweet to the taste of his church, which fruit is the effect of his undertaking for sinners and the comfortable savour of it in the soul.

[*The variety of the fruits.*] 'Which bare twelve *manner of* fruits.' In that he saith the fruits are twelve, he herein alludeth,

1. To the twelve tribes of the Israel of God; for which twelve tribes here will be found a suitable measure of food, healing food: 'I will multiply the fruit of the tree,' saith God, and also 'the increase of the field, that ye shall receive no more reproach of famine among the heathen.' Eze. xxxvi. 30.

Again, These that John calleth 'twelve *manner of* fruits,' the prophet Ezekiel calleth 'all manner of fruit for meat.' For indeed, as I showed before, there is that to be found in Christ, both for fulness and variety, that is not to be found in heaven and earth beside. Here is fruit for body, fruit for soul, fruit for babes, fruit for strong men, fruit for fathers, yea, for glorified saints and angels. Fruits, variety of fruits, even twelve manner of fruits.

2. By twelve manner of fruits, he doth also allude to the apostles, who are called twelve, and are those who have made provision for the house of God, according to the twelve-fold manner of the dispensation of God unto them, and of the twelve-fold manner of operation of that holy Spirit which wrought in every one of them severally as he pleased. Which twelve were before figured unto us by the twelve officers of king Solomon, the type of Christ, which twelve were to make provision for the house of the king, according to the season of the year, and each man his month in the year. 1 Ki. iv. 7. Which very thing the Holy Ghost also doth here cast his eye upon, and that makes him bring in the words of 'every month,' saying, it yields its fruit 'every month.' For indeed, whatever you read of concerning this city, in this description of John, you find something or other in the writings of the prophets that giveth ground for such expressions. Wherefore seeing the officers of Solomon were twelve, and the apostles of Christ twelve also; and seeing the officers of Solomon made provision for his house, each man his month in a year, and the fruits of this tree of life are called twelve manner of fruits, I do take the twelve manner of fruits here to be signified by the provision of Solomon's officers, according to the twelve seasons of the year, and they a type of the twelve-fold doctrine of the twelve apostles of the Lord Christ, for it is their doctrine that is the bread of the church, yea, the milk for the babe, and the strong meat for men. 1 Th. ii. 7. 1 Co. iii. 2. He. v. 11–14.

[*The abundance of the fruits.*] '*And* yielded her

fruit every month.' As this confirmeth what I have said before, so it further showeth us these three things. *First*, That the effectual fruits of Christ for the saving of the world, they are to be had especially at certain seasons. It 'yielded her fruit every month.' *Second*, It showeth also that at the building of this Jerusalem, these seasons will be very thick and quick; she yielded her fruit 'every month.' *Third*, It showeth us also the abundance of provision that this holy city shall then enjoy from the tree of life, even all manner of fruit every month.

First, For the first, that the gospel hath and will be especially effectual at certain seasons for the saving of the sons of men; it is showed us by the descending of the angels into the pool of Bethesda to trouble the water, which as it was at certain seasons, so he that in those seasons first stepped in, he only was made whole of whatsoever disease he had. Jn. v. 4. It is showed us also in that parable of the Lord's hiring men to work in his vineyard; which time of hiring, though it lasteth in general from the first hour to the eleventh, yet so as that there were vacant seasons between hiring-times and hiring-times, quite through the whole day; he went out at the first, third, sixth, ninth and eleventh hour, and not at every hour, to hire labourers. Mat. xx. 1–6. For as God hath appointed out beforehand the number of his elect, so also he hath determined in his good pleasure the day of their bringing in, and will then have them as certainly as the wild ass is found in her month. Ga. i. 15, 16. Ho. vi. 11. Je. ii. 24. Of which times and seasons, because men are ignorant, therefore they should with all faithfulness wait upon God in all the seasons of his grace for their souls, even as he did for his body; who because he would be there at all seasons, brought thither his bed and couch to rest there. Jn. v. 8.

Second, As by the fruit of this tree being yielded at certain seasons, we may gather that there are certain seasons in which the word in an especial manner shall be blessed and made successful to the salvation of many souls. So again, in that he saith this fruit is yielded every month, it signifieth that in the days of the building of the city, the New Jerusalem, these seasons will be very thick and quick. 'Lift up thine eyes,' saith God to this city, 'all they gather themselves together, they come to thee; thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters' from the ends of the earth. 'All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee' so that thou wonderingly shalt say, 'Who *are* these *that* fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows!' Is. lx. 4, 7, 8. For 'I will make all my mountains a way, and my highways shall be exalted. Behold these shall come from far; and lo these from the north, and from the west, and those from the land of Sinim.' Is. xlix. 11, 12

Third, In that she is said to yield not only fruit, but all manner of fruit; and that not only one manner of fruit now, and another then, but all manner of fruit, and that every month; it argueth also that at this day Jerusalem shall have abundance of heavenly and spiritual provision, and of variety of dainties for her solace and refreshment; always new, I say, and immediately from the tree. The fruits of the vine shall at that day be upon the mountains of Samaria, and shall be eaten 'as common things,' saith the prophet. Je. xxxi. 5. 'Fear not, O land, be glad and rejoice; for the Lord will do great things. Be not afraid, ye beasts of the field, for the pastures of the wilderness do spring: for the tree beareth her fruit; the fig-tree and the vine do yield their strength. Be glad, then, ye children of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord your God; for he hath given you the former' and the latter 'rain moderately, and he will cause to come down for you the rain, the former rain and the latter rain in the first *month*; and the floors shall be full of wheat, and the fats shall overflow with wine and oil. And I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten, the canker-worm and the caterpillar, and the palmer-worm' hath eaten. 'And ye shall eat in plenty, and be satisfied, and praise the name of the Lord.' Joel ii. 21–25. And then shall every one not only sit under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, but from thence they shall call each to other, to give to each other their dainties, and none shall make them afraid. Zec. iii. 10.

[*The virtue of the leaves.*] 'And the leaves of the tree *were* for the healing of the nations.' By leaves here, we may understand the blessed and precious promises, consolations, and encouragements, that by virtue of Christ's undertaking for us, we have everywhere growing upon the new covenant; which promises and encouragements they are and will be most freely handed to the wounded conscience that will be tossed upon the restless waves of doubt and unbelief, as was the olive leaf by the dove brought home to Noah, when he was tossed upon the waves of that outrageous flood that then did drown the world. Ge. viii.

But again, by this word, the leaves, you may conceive that still he hath his eye to the paradise in which at first God placed Adam and his companion, for it was to leaves they fled for covering after they had transgressed against their Maker. Ge. iii. 7. Now then, in his saying the leaves are for healing; it is as if he had said, the paradise that will be towards the latter end of the world will far outstrip the paradise that first was planted in the beginning thereof; for as the tree of life, which is the Christ and Saviour, shall stand where did the

tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which is the old covenant and law of works: so the leaves of this tree shall be for healing, and for covering the nakedness of poor transgressors, though the leaves that Adam found in the first paradise, do what he could, did leave him naked.

Christ's leaves are better than Adam's aprons. Ezekiel saith that these leaves are for medicine, xlvii. 12. that is, they are for healing, saith John; the which may most fitly be applied to the blessed promise of grace. For as a leaf for medicine, when applied to a sore in the body, doth supple, mollify, and heal the wound; so the word of promise, when rightly applied to the soul, it doth supple, mollify, and heal the wounded conscience. 'He sent his word and healed them, and delivered *them* from their destructions. O that *men* would praise the Lord *for* his goodness, and *for* his wonderful works to the children of men!' Ps. cvii. 20, 21.

'And the leaves,' &c. There is yet another mystery lieth in these words.

He doth not say, and the fruits thereof are for the healing of the nations, but the leaves, by which he would have us to understand that all the benefits and privileges that we do receive from Christ, they are as inferior to the glory we shall have from him when we come to heaven, as inferior, I say, as the leaves are to the fruit. Again, the comfort and sweetness that at any time we receive from the Lord, it is not before but after a promise is suitably applied, even as the fruit of the tree with which the body is comforted is not before but after the leaves have put forth themselves. Wherefore Christ might well say to Nathaniel, and that after he had received some refreshments from a leaf, 'Thou shalt see greater things than these,' Jn. i. 50; and Paul, that yet 'a far more exceeding *and* eternal weight of glory' is laid up for all believers. 2 Cor. iv. 17. For indeed, indeed, the glory that God hath prepared for us against the day of God, it doth and will more outstrip the most high enjoyment of the highest saint in New Jerusalem, notwithstanding their enjoyment will be so eminent, than doth the sweetest fruit outstrip the leaf that hangeth on that tree. 'And the leaves of the tree *were* for the healing of the nations.' If the leaves be so good, O Lord, let us enjoy the fruit; and not a little, or earnest, but the whole harvest thereof in thy kingdom. Thus much touching this water and tree of life.

[*The ease, peace, and tranquility of the city.*]

Ver. 3. 'And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him.' This is the conclusion of the whole discourse, and it showeth unto us the blessed effect of the blessed recovering of this city to her first and primitive state. These words, therefore, they are only applicable to this state of the church. For there hath no state of the church been yet in the world but that state hath been liable to a curse; but this state, to wit, the state she will be in at her building again, will be a state without parallel, a state properly her own.

'*And there shall be no more curse.*' By curse in this place we are chiefly to understand, not the taking away of the curse, the eternal curse which separates between God and the soul for ever—for so the curse in this sense hath always been taken away by virtue of the terms, the general terms of the new covenant, and that in common for every saint in all ages. Ga. iii. 13.—but by curse here we are to understand that, or those curses that do, and have frequently befallen the church for her sin and apostasy; as namely, the giving up his people to their own darkness and ignorance; his suffering them to swerve from his true worship and ordinances: his giving them up into the hand of those that hate them, to become among them a hissing, a taunt, a reproach, and a by-word, as it is at this day. Zep. i. 12—17. Ps. xliii. 28. Je. xxix. 18; xliv. 8, 12. His taking away from them the means, to wit, the outward word of the gospel, and suffering them to be even at the point to famish for the want thereof. Amos viii. 9-13. These and other things are the curses that he here saith shall be no more among his people; for indeed they shall not, because the gospel-pattern shall never be removed more, nor their light to see, nor their love to practise, never be diminished more. Their defence, also, '*shall be* the munition of rocks; bread shall be given them, and their waters *shall be* sure.' Is. xxxiii. 16. As here, you find the tree and river of the water of life are fixed now in the midst of this city. Wherefore now the church, as I have all along showed you, shall have her sun at the height, her light as the light of seven days, and shall go no more down for ever. Also she shall never be pulled down. She shall be a tabernacle that shall never be pulled down, neither shall one of the cords thereof be loosed, or one of her stakes again removed. Is. xxxiii. 20.

'There shall be no more curse: but the throne of God shall be in it.' Indeed, here lieth the reason of all blessedness to any people, even the presence of God. Now the presence of God is with his people, either at times or seasons, or all together. He will not be to this city a God of times and seasons, even like a way-faring man that tarries but for a night, as he used to be to his people of old, but here he will abide, rest, and dwell. Zep. iii. 17. Je. xiv. 8, 9. Zec. ii. 10, 11. I will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem, and my house shall be built in it, saith the Lord. And, again, 'I will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem for ever.' Eze. xliii. 9. Wherefore John considering this, he saith, there shall be here no more any curse, but the throne of

God. God will now, when he returneth to Jerusalem, bring his seat with him to signify his sitting down in the midst of his people, to be their company-keeper for ever.

[*Import of the word* THRONE.] 'But the throne of God - shall be in it.' By this word 'throne,' we are to understand yet further these particular things—

First. How blessed a state this city will be in at all times for the answer of prayer! The throne of God will be in the midst of them; the throne of grace, the mercy-seat, they will be open now to all the inhabitants of this city; yea, the fame thereof shall so spread that it shall be rumoured among all the nations that in Jerusalem God will be found speedily; that in Jerusalem the God of heaven and eternal mercy is found at all times by them that seek his face. 'Mine house,' said he, 'shall be called a house of prayer for all people.' Is. lvi. 7. Yea, many people, and strong nations, shall at that day come to seek the Lord at Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. And at that day the very fasts of the house of God 'shall be to the house of Judah joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts; therefore, love the truth and peace.' Zec. viii. 19–22.

Second. The throne of God being now established in this city, what a government, what rule, what a life of holiness and godliness, what dread and majesty will now be in the hearts of all the sons of this city! How to a hair's-breadth will he command and guide them with his eye at all times, when they should either turn to the right hand or to the left. What wisdom, I say, what holiness, what grace and life will be found in all their words and actions? Is. xlviii. 17. The throne of God is among them, from which there will come continual influence, light, and splendour, into all their hearts. 'Hear ye the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare *it* in the isles afar off, and say, He that scattereth Israel will gather him and keep him, as a shepherd *doth* his sheep. For the Lord hath redeemed Jacob, and ransomed him from the hand of *him that was* stronger than he. Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of the Lord, for wheat, and for wine, and for oil, and for the young of the flock, and of the herd, and their soul shall be as a watered garden, and they shall not sorrow any more at all.' Je. xxxi. 10–12.

Third. The throne of God being in this city, there is also thereby discovered what sway and commanding an authority this city will have at this day, as I have already showed you, over all the earth. Is. ii. 2, 10. 'The Lord also shall roar out of Zion and utter his voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shall shake, but the Lord *will be* the hope of his people, and the strength of the children of Israel.' Joel iii. 16. This was figured forth by the throne of Solomon, in the days when that city was in its prosperity; which throne, to show the majesty and commanding awe that then that city had over all, both far and near, it had, for the bearers of the steps, twelve lions, six on this side, and six on that side of the throne. 1 Ki. 10. 18–20. This city shall then be the head and chief, but the tail and reproach no more. 'Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.' Ps. lxxxvii. 3.

'*And his servants shall serve him.*' That is, HIM ONLY. Indeed his servants serve him always, but yet withal they do too too often serve with the wills and lusts of men, even in their service and worshipping God; that is, they serve him in much affliction, temptation, fear, and persecution; but then they shall serve him without any of these. Yea, 'they shall take them captives, whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors. And it shall come to pass in the day (O city) that the Lord shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, - and from the hard bondage wherein thou wast made to serve,' Is. xiv. 2, 3, and thou shalt serve the Lord thy God 'without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of thy life.' Lu. i. 74, 75.

'*And they shall see his face.*' This also argueth a very great dispensation of grace and mercy to this Jerusalem. When God did deliver up his people into the hand of the king of Babylon, he said it should be done in fury and in anger, and that for their wickedness he would hide his face from his city. De. xxxi. 17. Je. xxxiii. 5. Wherefore, by the sight of his face here, we are to understand that glorious visible appearance of God that then will be for this city and people in the face of all the world. 1 Pe. iii. 12. For by the face of God we are to understand the discovery of his severity, providences, and wonderful outgoings among the sons of men. Job vi. 8–13. As also the glorious breaking forth of grace, mercy, and forgiveness through Christ Jesus, all which the people of God shall then most marvellously see and behold. He. i. 1–3. 2 Co. iv. 6.

First. They shall see his severity and judgments upon the whore.

Second. They shall see how God, by his strange judgments and works of wonder, hath brought this about. 'Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for *thou* only *art* holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee, for thy judgments are made manifest.' Re. xv. 4. '*They that are delivered* from the noise of archers in the places of drawing water, there shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the Lord, *even* the righteous acts *towards the inhabitants* of his villages in Israel.' Ju. v. 11.

Third. And as for his mercy, they shall see that

their horn is exalted, and that they are near to him. 'Praise ye the Lord.' Ps. cxlviii. 14.

'And *his* name *shall be* in their foreheads.' And 'his name.' That is, his fear and image, it shall appear in all their doings. Sometimes he saith he will write his fear and law in their hearts and minds. Which fear and law is all one with that which in this place he calleth his name in their foreheads. The forehead of a man is the place above all parts of the body that is most naked and plain to be beheld of all that pass by; wherefore, when he saith their Father's name shall be in their foreheads, it is as if he had said, the profession of my people shall now be open, and the beauty of it apparent to all beholders; 'I will make' them, saith God, 'a name and a praise among all people of the earth, when I turn back your captivity before your eyes.' Zep. iii. 20. Every face shall then shine with oil, as well as every heart be replenished with milk and wine. This was held forth by the memorial that the Israelites were to wear, at God's command, between their eyes; which memorial was the doctrine of unleavened bread and of the paschal lamb, the doctrine of faith and holiness. Ex. xiii. 6–9. 1 Co. v. 8. Wherefore, by name here, he means the faith and holiness of the gospel, which in those days shall walk openly with honour, with reverence, and esteem before all men. At this day the world will, as I have said, be so far off from opposing and persecuting, that they shall wonder, and tremble, and fear before this people; yea, be taken, affected, and pleased with the welfare of this beloved. 'The mountains and the hills shall break forth before her into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap *their* hands.' Is. lv. 12. 'All nations shall call them blessed, for they shall be a delightsome land, saith the Lord of hosts.' Mal. iii. 12. The waters of Noah shall now be no more, the tumultuous multitudes shall now be gone, and there will be no more sea. Is. liv. 9. Ps. lxv. 7; lxxxix. 9. Re. xxi. 1, 2. Now therefore the doves may be gathering their olive-branches, and also find rest for the soles of their feet, while the ark shall rest upon the mountains of Ararat. Ge. viii. 4, 5.

'The wolf also shall (now) dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. - The lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the suckling shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord.' Is. xi. 6–9; lvi. 2–5.

Blessed is he whose lot it will be to see this holy city descending and lighting upon the place that shall be prepared for her situation and rest! Then will be a golden world; wickedness shall then be ashamed, especially that which persecutes the church. Holiness, goodness, and truth, shall then, with great boldness, countenance, and reverence, walk upon the face of all the earth. 'From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name *shall be* great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense *shall be* offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name *shall be* great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts.' Mal. i. 11. It will be then always summer, always sunshine, always pleasant, green, fruitful, and beautiful to the sons of God. 'And it shall come to pass in that day *that* the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the rivers of Judah shall flow with waters, and a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim. - And Judah shall dwell for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation.' Joel iii. 18, 20. 'And the name of the city from *that* day *shall be*, The Lord *is* there.' Eze. xlviii. 35. O blessedness! 'And he said unto me, These sayings *are* faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things that must shortly be done.' Re. xxii. 6.

I conclude therefore with that earnest groan of Moses, the man of God, 'O satisfy us early with thy mercy, that we may rejoice and be glad all our days. - Make us glad according to the days *wherein* thou hast afflicted us, *and* the years *wherein* we have seen evil. Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us; and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it.' Ps. xc. 14–17. Amen.

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE SPIRITUALIZED;

OR,

GOSPEL LIGHT FETCHED OUT OF THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM,

TO LET US MORE EASILY INTO THE GLORY OF NEW TESTAMENT TRUTHS.

'*Thou son of man, shew the house to the house of Israel; - shew them the form of the house, and the fashion thereof, and the goings out thereof, and the comings in thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the laws thereof.*'—Ezek. xliii. 10, 11.

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Of all the wonders of the world, the temple of Solomon was beyond comparison the greatest and the most magnificent. It was a type of that temple not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, of that city whose builder and maker is God, and which, at the consummation of all things, shall descend from heaven with gates of pearl and street of pure gold as shining glass, and into which none but the ransomed of the Lord shall enter. Jesus, the Lamb of God, shall be its light and glory and temple; within its walls the Israel of God, with the honour of the Gentiles, shall be brought in a state of infinite purity. No unclean thing will be able to exist in that dazzling and refulgent brightness which will arise from the perfection of holiness in the immediate presence of Jehovah; and of this, as well as of the whole Christian dispensation, the temple of Solomon was a type or figure. It would have been impossible for the united ingenuity of all mankind, or the utmost stretch of human pride, to have devised such a building, or to have conceived the possibility of its erection. The plan, the elevation, the whole arrangement of this gorgeous temple, proceeded from the Divine Architect. He who created the wondrous universe of nature condescended to furnish the plan, the detail, the ornaments, and even the fashion of the utensils of this stately building. 'David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch, and of the houses thereof, and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the inner parlours thereof, and of the place of the mercy seat, and the pattern of all that he had BY THE SPIRIT, of the courts of the house of the LORD, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the dedicated things.' 1 Ch. xxviii. 11, 12. 'Now, behold I have prepared for the house of the Lord an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver; brass and iron without weight, timber and stone also, and all manner of cunning workmen.' 1 Ch. xxii. And lest his heart should fail before a work so vast, 'David said to Solomon, Be strong and of good courage, and do it; fear not, nor be dismayed: for the Lord God, *even* my God, *will be* with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee, until thou hast finished all the work for the service of the house of the Lord.' xxviii. 20. Thus furnished with wisdom from above, with materials and with cunning workmen, and, above all, with the approbation and protection of his God, Solomon commenced, and eventually finished, this amazing structure, and fitted it to receive the sacred implements, all of which, to the minutest particular, had been made by Moses, 'after their pattern, which was shewed him in the mount.' Ex. xxv. 40.

Every part of the building, including the foundation, its altar, its courts, the holy of holies, all the utensils, and the ark, were types of that more glorious system which, in the fulness of time, appeared as the antitype, and perfected the Divine revelation. The temple becomes therefore an object of our special attention as a light to guide us while searching into gospel truths.

Under the peculiar aid of Divine guidance and protection, this sumptuous structure was finished, and most deeply impressive were the ceremonies on the day of its consecration. Solomon had made to himself an everlasting name, and it would be natural to expect that in such a scene of splendid triumph he would have felt exalted to the proudest height that human nature was capable of attaining. But Solomon had not only heard of God by the hearing of the ear, but by internal communion had seen and conversed with him. He could say with Job, when he had been restored from the deepest abasement to an elevated posi-

tion, 'Mine eye seeth thee, wherefore I abhor *myself*, and repent in dust and ashes.' Thus, in Solomon's beautiful prayer on the dedication of this gorgeous temple, he humbly inquires, 'Will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have built?' 2 Ch. vi. 18. Thus was completed the most perfect, splendid, and magnificent building that was ever erected by human hands. Still it was only a type of that infinitely more glorious antitype, the Christian dispensation. 'Most stately and magnificent is the fabric of God's house, yielding admirable delight to such whom free grace has vouchsafed to give spiritual eyes to discern it; far surpassing the splendour of its ancient type, the temple of Solomon, which was once the wonder of the world.'[1] 'A greater than Solomon *is* here.' 'The BRANCH he shall build the temple of the Lord'—the more glorious, spiritual, eternal temple. Zec. vi. 12.

In a few hundred years after the temple of Solomon was finished, this sumptuous structure was doomed to destruction, like all the fading handiwork of man. Sin enervated the nation which should have protected it; while the immensity of its riches excited the cupidity of a neighbouring royal robber. It was plundered, and then set on fire; the truth of the declaration made by Job upon the perishable works of man was eminently displayed—'For man to labour he is born, and the sons of the burning coal they mount up fluttering.'[2] In a few days the labour of years, aided by unbounded wealth and resources, was reduced to a heap of ashes. And now, after a lapse of about twenty-five centuries, accompanied by John Bunyan, 'a cunning workman,' as our guide, we are enabled to contemplate the account given us of this amazing edifice recorded in the volume of truth, and to compare that utmost perfection of human art, aided from heaven, with the infinitely superior temple in which every Christian is called to worship—to enter by the blood of the everlasting covenant into the holiest of all, the way consecrated by the cross and sufferings of Christ—without the intervention of priest or lordly prelate—without expensive victims to offer as a type of expiation—without limit of time, or space, or place, the poorest and most abject, with the wealthiest—the humbled beggar and the humbled monarch have equal access to the mercy seat, sacrificing those sinful propensities which are the cause of misery, and pleading the Saviour's merits before the eternal Jehovah. Christ has consecrated the way, and we enter into the holiest of all not only without fear, but with solemn joy. The cost of Solomon's temple has been estimated at eight hundred thousand millions of money: if this is true, still how infinitely inferior is that vast sum to the inconceivable cost of the eternal temple, with its myriads of worshippers, for which the Son of God paid the ransom, when he made the atonement for transgression, and built that imperishable temple which neither human nor satanic malevolence can ever destroy, and in which every spiritual worshipper will be crowned with an everlasting weight of glory.

While we cannot doubt but that the temple and its services contained many types highly illustrative of the Christian dispensation, incautious attempts to find them may lead to fanciful interpretations which tend to cloud, rather than to elucidate gospel truths. Bunyan very properly warns his readers against giving the reins to their imaginations and indulging in speculations like those fathers, who in every nail, pin, stone, stair, knife, pot, and in almost every feather of a sacrificed bird could discern strange, distinct, and peculiar mysteries.[3] The same remark applies to the Jewish rabbies, who in their Talmud are full of mysterious shadows. From these rabbinical flints some have thought to extract choice mystical oil to supple the wheels of their fancy—to use a homely expression. Such Jewish rabbies and Christian fathers limped and danced upon one learned leg, to the amazement of all beholders, but not to their edification; their lucubrations may amuse those who have patience to read them, but they afford no instruction. Even the learned Samuel Lee, whose work on the temple abounds with valuable information, has strongly tinctured it with pedantry. It is seldom that a more curious jumble is found than in the following paragraph:—'The waxen comb of the ancient figures and typical eels is fully matted and rolled up in shining tapers, to illuminate temple students in finding out the honey that couches in the carcass of the slain Lion of the tribe of Judah.' There is no fear of Bunyan's indulging his readers with the vagaries of the Jewish rabbies or Christian fathers—his converse was limited to the prophets and apostles. His object is to make us familiar with those types exhibited in the temple and alluded to by the inspired writers of the New Testament; to use a Puritan expression, he would enable us to plough with our spiritual Samson's heifer to expound the riddle, and thus discover the dark patterns of heavenly things. He. ix. 23, 24. Among the many striking objects to which Bunyan directs our wondering eyes, a few should excite our deeper attention while we accompany him in viewing this marvellous temple.

[1] Lee's *Solomon's Temple portrayed by Scripture Light*. Dedication.

[2] Job v. 7, literally translated from the Hebrew.

[3] Lee's *Solomon's Temple*, p. 173. [4] Ibid. p. 166.

1. All the materials that were used required preparation. The stones must be quarried, squared, and fitted for the building with many a hard knock and cutting of the chisel. So must you and I, my readers, pass through the new birth, and be prepared by the Holy Spirit to fit us for the spiritual building composed of living stones; and if not made meet for that building, we shall be eventually found lifting up our eyes in torment.

2. Very solemn is the consideration insisted on by our author—that all sons are servants to assist in building this spiritual edifice, but all servants are not sons to inherit a place in it; an awful thought, that there have been and now are servants employed in the conversion of sinners, and in building up the saints, who never did nor never will worship in that temple. Let us examine ourselves before we enter that dreary abode, to which we are hastening; 'for *there is* no work nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest.' Ec. ix. 10.

3. Are we zealously affected to forward the work, be careful then as to the materials we use, 'living stones' not wood, hay, or stubble. May all our persuasions be constantly used to bring poor thoughtless sinners to repentance but introduce them not as members of that house until you have a scriptural hope that they have passed from death unto life—that they are believers in Jesus, and have brought forth fruit meet for repentance.

4. All the foundation, the superstructure, the furniture, must be according to the written word of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone. Reject all the inventions of man and all human authority in the worship of God.

5. The temple was so built that the worshippers looked to the west toward the holy of holies. All the superstitions and idolatrous notions of man lead him to turn to the east, to worship the rising sun. 'The heathen made the chief gates of their temples towards the west, that these stupid worshippers, drawing nigh to their blind, deaf, and dumb deities, might have their idols rising upon them out of the east.'[1] The temple as a type, and Christianity as the antitype, run counter to such idolatrous absurdities and folly.

6. Christian, be content with whatever may be your lot, however humble your place in the church and world. Soon will it be changed for the better. In this world we are working men, and must be content to be clad and fed as such, that we may be fitted for our solemn and joyful change. Soon we shall put on our church-going holiday suit and partake all the dainties of the heavenly feast, the glories of the New Jerusalem. Reader, these are samples of the prominent truths which will occupy your attention, while accompanying Bunyan in your interesting visit to Solomon's Temple. May you richly enjoy your survey of that astonishing building, under so trusty and experienced a guide.

GEO. OFFOR.

[1] Lee's *Solomon's Temple*, p. 232.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

COURTEOUS CHRISTIAN READER,

I HAVE, as thou by this little book mayest see, adventured, at this time, to do my endeavour to show thee something of the gospel-glory of Solomon's temple: that is, of what it, with its utensils, was a type of; and, as such, how instructing it was to our fathers, and also is to us their children. The which, that I might do the more distinctly, I have handled particulars one by one, to the number of threescore and ten; namely, all that of them I could call to mind; because, as I believe, there was not one of them but had its signification, and so something profitable for us to know.

For, though we are not now to worship God in these methods, or by such ordinances, as once the old church did: yet to know their methods, and to understand the nature and signification of their ordinances, when compared with the gospel, may, even now, when themselves, as to what they once enjoined on others, are dead, may minister light to us. And hence the New Testament ministers, as the apostles, made much use of Old Testament language, and ceremonial institutions, as to their signification, to help the faith of the godly in their preaching of the gospel of Christ.

I may say that God did in a manner tie up the church of the Jews to types, figures, and similitudes; I mean, to be butted and bounded[2] by them in all external parts of worship. Yea, not only the Levitical law and temple, but, as it seems to me, the whole land of Canaan, the place of their lot to dwell in, was to them as ceremonial, or a figure. Their land was a type of heaven, their passage over Jordan into it a similitude of our going to heaven by death. He. iii. 5–10. The fruit of their land was said to be uncircumcised. Le. xix. 23.

[2] Legal terms to define the boundaries of an estate, *butted* upon a common or high road or river, and *bounded* by the property of another person.—(ED.)

As being at their first entrance thither unclean. Ex. xii. 15. In which their land was also a figure of another thing, even as heaven was a type of sin and grace.[1] Le. vi. 17; xxiii. 17.

Again, the very land itself was said to keep Sabbath, and so to rest a holy rest, even then when she lay desolate, and not possessed of those to whom she was given for them to dwell in. Le. xxvi. 34, 35.

Yea, many of the features of the then church of God were set forth, as in figures and shadows, so by places and things, in that land. 1. In general, she is said to be beautiful as Tirzah, and to be comely as Jerusalem. Ca. vi. 4. 2. In particular, her neck is compared to the tower of David, builded for an armoury. Ca. iv. 4. Her eyes to the fish-pools of Heshbon, by the gate of Bethrabbim. Her nose is compared to the tower of Lebanon, which looketh towards Damascus. Ca vii. 4. Yea, the hair of her head is compared to a flock of goats, which come up from mount Gilead; and the smell of her garments to the smell of Lebanon. Ca. iv. 1, 11.

Nor was this land altogether void of shadows, even of her Lord and Saviour. Hence he says of himself, 'I AM the rose of Sharon, *and* the lily of the valleys.' Ca. ii. 1. Also, she, his beloved, saith of him, 'His countenance *is* as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars.' Ca. v. 15. What shall I say? The two cities Sion and Jerusalem, were such as sometimes set forth the two churches, the true and the false, and their seed Isaac and Ishmael. Ga. iv.

I might also here show you, that even the gifts and graces of the true church were set forth by the spices, nuts, grapes, and pomegranates, that the land of Canaan brought forth; yea, that hell itself was set forth by the valley of the sons of Hinnom and Tophet, places in this country. Indeed, the whole, in a manner, was a typical and a figurative thing.

But I have, in the ensuing discourse, confined myself to the temple, that immediate place of God's worship; of whose utensils, in particular, as I have said, I have spoken, though to each with what brevity I could, for that none of them are without a spiritual, and so a profitable signification to us. And here we may behold much of the richness of the wisdom and grace of God; namely, that he, even in the very place of worship of old, should ordain visible forms and representations for the worshippers to learn to worship him by; yea, the temple itself was, as to this, to them a good instruction.

But in my thus saying, I give no encouragement to any now, to fetch out of their own fancies figures or similitudes to worship God by. What God provided to be an help to the weakness of his people of old was one thing, and what they invented without his commandment was another For though they had his blessing when they worshipped him with such types, shadows, and figures, which he had enjoined on them for that purpose, yet he sorely punished and plagued them when they would add to these inventions of their own. Ex. xxxii. 35. 2 Ki. xvii. 16—18. Ac. vii. 38—43. Yea, he, in the very act of instituting their way of worshipping him, forbade their giving, in any thing, way to their own humours or fancies, and bound them strictly to the orders of heaven. 'Look,' said God to Moses, their first great legislator, '*that* thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount.' Ex. xxv. 40. He. viii. 5. Nor doth our apostle but take the same measures, when he saith, 'If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord.' 1 Co. xiv. 37.

When Solomon also, was to build this temple for the worship of God, though he was wiser than all men, yet God neither trusted to his wisdom nor memory, nor to any immediate dictates from heaven to him, as to how he would have him build it. No; he was to receive the whole platform thereof in writing, by the inspiration of God. Nor would God give this platform of the temple, and of its utensils, immediately to this wise man, lest perhaps by others his wisdom should be idolized, or that some should object, that the whole fashion thereof proceeded of his fancy, only he made pretensions of Divine revelation, as a cover for his doings.

Therefore, I say, not to him, but to his father David, was the whole pattern of it given from heaven, and so by David to Solomon his son, in writing. 'Then David,' says the text, 'gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch, and of the houses thereof, and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the inner parlours thereof, and of the place of the mercy-seat, and the pattern of all that he had by the spirit, of the courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the dedicated things: also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord, and for all the vessels of service in the house of the Lord.' 1 Ch. xxviii. 11—13.

Yea, moreover, he had from heaven, or by Divine revelation, what the candlesticks must be made of, and also how much was to go to each; the same order and commandment he also gave for the making of the tables, flesh-hooks, cups, basons, altar of incense, with the pattern for the chariot

[1] Heaven is a type of sin and grace. Had there been no sin, we should have been limited to an earthly paradise; but sin and the grace of a Saviour's purchase opens heaven to our wondering hearts.—(Ed.)

of the cherubims, &c. ver. 14–19. 'All *this, said David*, the Lord made me understand in writing by *his* hand upon me, *even* all the work of this pattern.' ver. 19. So, I say, he gave David the pattern of the temple, so David gave Solomon the pattern of the temple; and according to that pattern did Solomon build the temple, and no otherwise.

True, all these were but figures, patterns, and shadows of things in the heavens, and not the very image of the things; but, as was said afore, if God was so circumspect and exact in these, as not to leave any thing to the dictates of the godly and wisest of men, what! can we suppose he will now admit of the wit and contrivance of men in those things that are, in comparison to them, the heavenly things themselves? He. viii. 5; ix. 8–10, 23; x. 1.

It is also to be concluded, that since those shadows of things in the heavens are already committed by God to sacred story; and since that sacred story is said to be able to make the man of God perfect in all things—2 Ti. iii. 15–17.—it is duty to us to leave off to lean to common understandings, and to inquire and search out by that very holy writ, and nought else, by what and how we should worship God. David was for inquiring in his temple.' Ps. xxvii. 4.

And, although the old church-way of worship is laid aside as to us in New Testament times, yet since those very ordinances were figures of things and methods of worship now; we may, yea, we ought to search out the spiritual meaning of them, because they serve to confirm and illustrate matters to our understandings. Yea, they show us the more exactly how the New and Old Testament, as to the spiritualness of the worship, was as one and the same; only the old was clouded with shadows, but ours is with more open face.

Features to the life, as we say, set out by a picture, do excellently show the skill of the artist. The Old Testament had the shadow, nor have we but the very image; both then are but emblems of what is yet behind. We may find our gospel clouded in their ceremonies, and our spiritual worship set out somewhat by their carnal ordinances.

Now, because, as I said, there lies, as wrapt up in a mantle, much of the glory of our gospel matters in this temple which Solomon builded; therefore I have made, as well as I could, by comparing spiritual things with spiritual, this book upon this subject.

I dare not presume to say that I know I have hit right in every thing; but this I can say, I have endeavoured so to do. True, I have not for these things fished in other men's waters; my Bible and Concordance are my only library in my writings. Wherefore, courteous reader, if thou findest any thing, either in word or matter, that thou shalt judge doth vary from God's truth, let it be counted no man's else but mine. Pray God, also, to pardon my fault. Do thou, also, lovingly pass it by, and receive what thou findest will do thee good.

And for the easier finding of any particular in the book, I have in the leaves following set before thee the chief heads, one by one; and also in what page of the book thou mayest find them.

Thy servant in the gospel,

JOHN BUNYAN.

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SOLOMON'S TEMPLE SPIRITUALIZED.

'THOU SON OF MAN, SHEW THE HOUSE TO THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL, - SHEW THEM THE FORM OF THE HOUSE, AND THE FASHION THEREOF, AND THE GOINGS OUT THEREOF, AND THE COMINGS IN THEREOF, AND ALL THE FORMS THEREOF, AND ALL THE ORDINANCES THEREOF, AND ALL THE FORMS THEREOF, AND ALL THE LAWS THEREOF.'—EZEK. XLIII. 10, 11.

I. *Where the Temple was built.*

THE temple was built at Jerusalem, on Mount Moriah, in the threshing-floor of Arnon the Jebusite; whereabout Abraham offered up Isaac; there where David met the angel of the Lord, when he came with his drawn sword in his hand, to cut off the people at Jerusalem, for the sin which David committed in his disorderly numbering the people. Ge. xxii. 3–5. 1 Ch. xxi. 15; xxi. 12. Ch. iii. 1.

There Abraham received his Isaac from the dead; there the Lord was entreated by David to take away the plague, and to return to Israel again in mercy; from whence, also, David gathered that there God's temple must be built. 'This,' saith he, *is* the house of the Lord God, and this *is* the altar of the burnt-offering for Israel. 1 Ch. xxi. 28; xxii. 1; iii. 1.

This Mount Moriah, therefore, was a type of the Son of God, the mountain of the Lord's house, the rock against which the gates of hell cannot prevail.

II. *Who built the Temple.*

The temple was builded by Solomon, a man peaceable and quiet; and that in name, by nature, and in governing. For so God had before told David, namely, that such a one the builder of the temple should be. 'Behold,' saith he, 'a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about; for his name shall be Solomon, and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days. He shall build an house for my name, and he shall be my son, and I *will be* his father.' 1 Ch. xxii. 9, 10. Ps. lxxii. 1–4.

As, therefore, Mount Moriah was a type of Christ, as the foundation, so Solomon was a type of him, as the builder of his church. The mount was signal,[1] for that thereon the Lord God, before Abraham and David, did display his mercy. And as Solomon built this temple, so Christ doth build his house; yea, he shall build the everlasting temple, 'and he shall bear the glory.' Zec. vi. 12, 13.

[1] One of the types or signs.—(ED.)

He. iii. 3, 4. And in that Solomon was called peaceable, it was to show with what peaceable doctrine and ways Christ's house and church should be built. Is. ix. 6. Mi. iv. 2–4.

III. *How the Temple was built.*

The temple was built, not merely by the dictates of Solomon, though he was wiser than Ethen, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, and all men. 1 Ki. iv. 31. But it was built by rules prescribed by, or in a written word, and as so delivered to him by his father David.

For when David gave to Solomon his son a charge to build the temple of God, with that charge he gave him also the pattern of all in writing; even a pattern of the porch, house, chambers, treasuries, parlours, &c., and of the place for the mercy-seat; which pattern David had of God; nor would God trust his memory with it. 'The Lord made me,' said he, 'understand in writing, by *his* hand upon me, *even* all the works of this pattern.' Thus, therefore, David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of all; and thus Solomon his son built the house of God. 1 Ch. xxviii. 9–20.

And answerable to this, Christ Jesus, the builder of his own house, WHOSE HOUSE ARE WE, doth build his holy habitation for him to dwell in; even according to the commandment of God the Father. For, saith he, 'I have not spoken of myself, but the Father which sent me. He gave me a commandment what I should speak.' And hence it is said, God gave him the revelation; and again, that he took the book out of the hand of him that sat on the throne; and so acted, as to the building up of his church. Jn. xii. 49, 50. Re. i. 1; v. 5.

IV. *Of what the Temple was built.*

The materials with which the temple was built, were such as were in their own nature common to that which was left behind; things that naturally were not fit, without art, to be laid on so holy a house. And this shows that those of whom Christ Jesus designs to build his church, are by nature no better than others. But as the trees and stones of which the temple was built, were first hewed and squared before they were fit to be laid in that house, so sinners, of which the church is to be built, must first be fitted by the word and doctrine, and then fitly laid in their place in the church.

For though, as to nature, there is no difference betwixt those made use of to build God's house with, yet by grace they differ from others; even as those trees and stones that are hewed and squared for building, by art are made to differ from those which abide in the wood or pit.

The Lord Jesus, therefore, while he seeketh materials wherewith to build his house, he findeth them the clay of the same lump that he rejecteth and leaves behind. 'Are we better *than they?* No, in no wise.' Ro. iii. 9. Nay, I think, if any be best, it is they which are left behind. 'He came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' Mar. ii. 17. And, indeed, in this he doth show both the greatness of his grace and workmanship; his grace in taking such; and his workmanship in that he makes them meet for his holy habitation.[1]

This the current of Scripture maketh manifest; wherefore it is needless now to cite particulars: only we must remember, that none are laid in this building as they come out of the wood or pit, but as they first pass under the hand and rule of this great builder of the temple of God.

V. *Who was to fell those trees, and to dig those stones, with which Solomon built the Temple.*

As the trees were to be felled, and stones to be digged, so there was for that matter select workmen appointed.

These were not of the sons of Jacob nor of the house of Israel; they were the servants of Hiram, king of Tyre, and the Gibeonites, namely, their children that made a league with Joshua, in the day that God gave the land of Canaan to his people. Jos. ix. 22–27. 1 Ki. v. 1 Ch. xxviii; xxix.

And these were types of our gospel ministers, who are the men appointed by Jesus Christ to make sinners, by their preaching, meet for the house of God. Wherefore, as he was famous of old who was strong to lift up his axe upon the thick boughs to square wood for the building of the temple; so a minister of the gospel now is also famous, if much used by Christ for the converting of sinners to himself, that he may build him a temple with them. Ps. vii. 4–6. Ro. xvi.

But why, may some say, do you make so homely a comparison? I answer, because I believe it is true; for it is grace, not gifts, that makes us sons, and the beloved of God. Gifts make a minister; and as a minister, one is but a servant to hew wood and draw water for the house of my God. Yea, Paul, though a son, yet counted himself not a son but a servant, purely as he was a minister. A servant of God, a servant of Christ, a servant of the church, and your servants for Jesus' sake. Tit. i. 1. Ro. i. 1. Co. iv. 5.

A man then is a son, as he is begotten and born of God to himself, and a servant as he is gifted for work in the house of his Father; and though it is truth the servant may be a son, yet he is not a son because he is a servant. Nor doth it follow, that because all sons may be servants, that there-

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[1] How universal is this feeling among Christians! 'Why was I made to hear thy voice,' while so many more amiable and less guilty 'make a wretched choice?' All are equally encouraged—'Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.'—(Ed.)

fore all servants are sons; no, all the servants of God are not sons; and therefore when time shall come, he that is only a servant here, shall certainly be put out of the house, even out of that house himself did help to build. 'The servant abideth not in the house for ever,' the servant, that is, he that is only so. Eze. xlvi. 16, 17. Jn. viii. 35.

So then, as a son, thou art an Israelite; as a servant, a Gibeonite. The consideration of this made Paul start; he knew that gifts made him not a son. 1 Co. xii. 28–31; xiii. 1, 2.

The sum then is, a man may be a servant and a son; a servant as he is employed by Christ in his house for the good of others; and a son, as he is a partaker of the grace of adoption. But all servants are not sons; and let this be for a caution, and a call to ministers, to do all acts of service for God, and in his house with reverence and godly fear; and with all humility let us desire to be partakers ourselves of that grace we preach to others. 1 Co. ix. 25.

This is a great saying, and written perhaps to keep ministers humble: 'And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien *shall be* your ploughmen, and your vine-dressers.' Is. lxi. 5. To be a ploughman here is to be a preacher; and to be a vine-dresser here is to be a preacher. Lu ix. 59–62. 1 Co. ix. 27. Mat. xx. 1–4, 8; xxi. 28. 1 Co. ix. 7. And if he does this work willingly, he has a reward; if not, a dispensation of the gospel was committed to him, and that is all. 1 Co. ix. 17.

VI. *In what condition the timber and stones were, when brought to be laid in the building of the temple.*

The timber and stones with which the temple was built, were squared and hewed at the wood or pit; and so there made every way fit for that work, even before they were brought to the place where the house should be set up: 'So that there was neither hammer, nor axe, *nor* any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building.' 1 Ki. vi. 7.

And this shows, as was said before, that the materials of which the house was built were, before the hand of the workman touched them, as unfit to be laid in the building as were those that were left behind; consequently that themselves, none otherwise but by the art of others, were made fit to be laid in this building.

To this our New Testament temple answers. For those of the sons of Adam who are counted worthy to be laid in this building, are not by nature, but by grace, made meet for it; not by their own wisdom, but by the Word of God. Hence he saith, 'I have hewed *them* by the prophets.' And again, ministers are called God's builders and labourers, even as to this work. Ho. vi. 5. 1 Co. iii. 10; 2 Co. vi. 1. Col. i. 28.

No man will lay trees, as they come from the wood, for beams and rafters in his house; nor stones, as digged, in the walls. No; the stones must be hewed and squared, and the trees sawn and made fit, and so be laid in the house. Yea, they must be so sawn, and so squared, that in coupling they may be joined exactly; else the building will not be good, nor the workman have credit of his doings.

Hence our gospel-church, of which the temple was a type, is said to be fitly framed, and that there is a fit supply of every joint for the securing of the whole. 1 Pe. ii. 5. Ep. ii. 20, 21; iv. 16. Col. ii. 19. As they therefore build like children, that build with wood as it comes from the wood or forest, and with stones as they come from the pit, even so do they who pretend to build God a house of unconverted sinners, unhewed, unsquared, unpolished. Wherefore God's workmen, according to God's advice, prepare their work without, and make it fit for themselves in the field, and afterwards build the house. Pr. xxiv. 27.

Let ministers therefore look to this, and take heed, lest instead of making their notions stoop to the Word, they make the Scriptures stoop to their notions.

VII. *Of the foundation of the Temple.*

The foundation of the temple is that upon which it stood; and it was twofold: First, the hill Moriah, and then those great stones upon which it was erected. This hill Moriah, as was said afore, did more properly typify Christ. Hence Moriah is called 'The Mountain of the house,' it being the rock on which it was built. Those great stones, called foundation-stones, were types of the prophets and apostles. Mat. xvi. 18. Ep. ii. 20, 21. He. xi. 10. Wherefore these stones were stones of the biggest size, stones of eight cubits, and stones of ten cubits. 1 Ki. vii. 10.

Now, as the temple had this double foundation, so we must consider it respectively and distinctly; for Christ is the foundation one way, the prophets and apostles a foundation another. Christ is the foundation personally and meritoriously; but the prophets and apostles, by doctrine, ministerially. The church then, which is God's New Testament temple, as it is said to be built on Christ the foundation; so none other is the foundation but he. 1 Co. iii. 11, 12. But as it is said to be built upon the apostles, so it is said to have twelve foundations, and must have none but they. Re. xxi. 14.

What is it then? Why, we must be builded upon Christ, as he is our priest, sacrifice, prophet, king, and advocate; and upon the other, as they are infallible instructors and preachers of him; not that any may be an apostle that so shall esteem of himself, nor that any other doctrine be administered but what is the doctrine of the twelve; for they are

set forth as the chief and last. These are also they, as Moses, which are to look over all the building, and to see that all in this house be done according to the pattern showed to them in the mount. Ex. xxxix. 43. Jn. xx. 21–23. 1 Co. iii. 9; iv. 9.

Let us then keep these distinctions clear, and not put an apostle in the room of Christ, nor Christ in the place of one of those apostles. Let none but Christ be the high-priest and sacrifice for your souls to God; and none but that doctrine which is apostolical, be to you as the mouth of Christ for instruction to prepare you, and to prepare materials for this temple of God, and to build them upon this foundation.

VIII. *Of the richness of the stones which were laid for the foundations of the Temple.*

These foundation stones, as they were great, so they were costly stones; though, as I said, of themselves, of no more worth than they of their nature that were left behind. Their costliness therefore, lay in those additions which they received from the king's charge

First, In that labour which was bestowed upon them in sawing, squaring, and carving. For the servants, as they were cunning at this work, so they bestowed much of their art and labour upon them, by which they put them into excellent form, and added to their bigness, glory, and beauty, fit for stones upon which so goodly a fabric was to be built

Secondly, These stones, as they were thus wrought within and without, so, as it seems to me, they were inlaid with other stones more precious than themselves. Inlaid, I say, with stones of divers colours. According as it is written, I 'will lay thy foundations with sapphires.' Is. liv. 11. Not that the foundations were sapphires, but they were laid, inlaid with them; or, as he saith in another place, They were adorned with goodly stones and gifts.' Lu. xxi. 5.

This is still more amplified, where it is written of the New Jerusalem, which is still the New Testament church on earth, and so the same in substance with what is now. 'The foundations of the wall of the city,' saith he, '*were* garnished with all manner of precious stones.' Re. xxi. 19. True, these there are called 'The foundations of the wall of the city,' but it has respect to the matter in hand; for that which is before called a temple, for its comparative smallness, is here called a city, for or because of its great increase: and both the foundations of the wall of the city, as well as of the temple, are 'the twelve apostles of the Lamb.' Re. xxi. 14.

For these carvings and inlayings, with all other beautifications, were types of the extraordinary gifts and graces of the apostles. Hence the apostle calls such gifts signs of apostleship. Ro. xv. 19. 2 Co. xii. 12. He. ii. 4. For as the foundation stones of the temple were thus garnished, so were the apostles beautified with a call, gifts, and graces peculiar to themselves. Hence he says, 'First apostles;' for that they were first and chief in the church of Christ. 1 Co. xii. 28.

Nor were these stones only laid for a foundation for the temple; the great court, the inner court, as also the porch of the temple, had round about them three rows of these stones for their foundation. 1 Ki. vii. 12. Signifying, as it seems to me, that the more outward and external part, as well as that more internal worship to be performed to God, should be grounded upon apostolical doctrine and appointments. 1 Co. iii. 10–12. 2 Th. ii. 15; iii. 6. He. vi. 1–4.

IX. *Which way the face or front of the Temple stood.*

1. The temple was built with its face or front towards the east, and that, perhaps, because the glory of the God of Israel was to come from the way of the east into it. Eze. xliii. 1–4; xlvii. 1. Wherefore, in that its front stood toward the east, it may be to show that the true gospel church would have its eye to, and expectation from, the Lord. We look, said Paul, but whither? We have 'our conversation,' said he, 'in heaven,' from whence our expectation is. 2 Co. iv. 18. Phi. iii. 20. Ps. lxii. 5.

2. It was set also with its face towards the east, to keep the people of God from committing of idolatry; to wit, from worshipping the host of heaven, and the sun whose rising is from the east. For since the face of the temple stood toward the east, and since the worshippers were to worship at, or with their faces towards the temple, it follows that both in their going to, and worshipping God towards that place, their faces must be from, and their backs towards the sun.[1] The thus building of the temple, therefore, was a snare to idolaters, and a proof of the zeal of those that were the true worshippers; as also to this day the true gospel-instituted worship of Jesus Christ is. Hence he is said, to idolaters, to be a snare and trap, but to the godly a glory. Is. viii. 14; lx. 19.

3. Do but see how God catched the idolatrous Jews, by this means, in their naughtiness: 'And he brought me,' saith the prophet, 'into the inner court of the Lord's house, and behold at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, *were* about five and twenty men with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east.' Eze. viii. 16. It was therefore, as I said, set with its face towards the east, to prevent false worship, and detect idolaters.[1]

[1] To oppose the customs of heathens, who made their chief gates towards the west, that these stupid worshippers, drawing nigh to their blind, deaf, and dumb deities, might have their idols, as it were, arising upon them out of the east.'—(Lee's *Solomon's Temple*, p. 242.)—(Ed.)

4. From the east also came the most blasting winds, winds that are destructive to man and beasts, to fruit and trees, and ships at sea. Ex. x. 13. Job xxvii. 21. Eze. xvii. 10; xix. 12. Ps. xlviii. 7. Eze. xxvii. 26. I say, the east wind, or that which comes from thence, is the most hurtful; yet you see, the temple hath set her face against it, to show that the true church cannot be blasted or made turn back by any affliction. It is not east winds, nor none of their blastings, that can make the temple turn about. Hence he saith that Jacob's face shall not wax pale. And again, 'I have made thy face strong against their faces,' and that 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Is. xxix. 22. Eze. iii. 8. Mat. xvi. 18.

5. It might be also built with its face towards the east, to show that the true church looketh, as afore I hinted, for her Lord and King from heaven; knowing, that at his coming he will bring healing in his wings; for from the east he will appear when he comes the second time without sin unto salvation, of which the sun gives us a *memento* in his rising there every morning. 'For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.' Mat. xxiv. 27. Mal. iv. 2. He. ix. 28. Col. iii. 4. 2 Pe. iii. 11–14.

6. Christ, as the north pole, draws those touched with the load-stone of his word, with the face of their souls towards him, to look for, and hasten to his coming. And this also is signified by the temple standing with its face towards the east.

X. *Of the courts of the Temple.*

I perceive that there were two courts belonging to the temple. The first was called the outward court. Eze. xl. 7; xlvi. 21.

1. This was that into which the people of necessity first entered, when they went to worship in the temple; consequently that was it, in and by which the people did first show their desires to be the worshippers of God. And this answers to those badges and signs of love to religion, that people have in face, or outward appearance. Mat. xxiii. 27. 2 Co. x. 7.

2. In this, though there may sometimes be truth, yet oftener lies and dissimulation: wherefore commonly an outward appearance is set in opposition to faith and truth, as the outward is in opposition to the inner court, and outward to the inner man; and that is, when it is by itself, for then it profits nothing. Ro. ii. 28. 1 Co. xiii. 1–3. 2 Co. v. 12.

3. Hence, though the outward court was something to the Jews, because by outward bodies they were distinguished from the Gentiles; yet to us it is little, for now 'he is not a Jew who is one only outwardly.' Therefore all the time of the Beast's reign, this court is given to be trodden under foot; for, as I said, outward show will avail nothing, when the beast comes to turn and toss up professors with his horns. Re. xi. 10–12.

4. But as there was an outward, so there was an inner court, a court that stood nearer the temple; and so to the true practical part of worship, than that outward court did. Eze. x. 3; xlvi. 1. 1 Ki. vi. 36.

5. This inner court is that which is called 'the court of the priests,' because it was it in which they boiled the trespass-offerings, and in which they prepared the sin-offering for the people. 2 Ch. iv. 9. Eze. xlvi. 20.

6. This court, therefore, was the place of practice and of preparation to appear before God, which is the first true token of a sincere and honest mind. Wherefore here, and not in the outward court, stood the great brazen altar, which was a type of Christ, by whom alone the true worshippers make their approach with acceptance unto God. Also here stood the great brazen scaffold, on which the king kneeled when he prayed for the people, a type of Christ's prayers for his when he was in the world. 2 Ch. vi. 13. Jn. xvii.

7. Wherefore this court was a type of practical worship, and so of our praying, hearing, and eating, before God. There belonged to this court several gates, an east, a south, and a north gate; and when the people of the land went into this court to worship, they were not to go out at that gate by which they came in, but out of the gate over against it, to show that true Christians should persevere right on, and not turn back, whatever they meet with in the way. 'He that entereth in by the way of the north gate to worship, shall go out by the way of the south gate; and he that entereth in by the way of the south gate, shall not return by the way of the gate whereby he came in, but shall go forth over against it.' Eze. xlvi. 9.

8. These courts were places of great delight to the Jews, as both feigned and sincere profession is to those that practice therein. Wherefore, when the Jews did enter into these, they did use to do it with praise and pipe, as do both hypocrites and sincere ones. So then, when a man shall tread in both these courts, and shall turn what he seems to be, into what he *should* be in reality; then, and not till then, he treads them as he should; for then he makes the outward court, and his treading there but a passage to that which is more inward and sincere. But he that stays in the outward one is but such an one as pleases not God, for that he wants the practice of what he professes with his mouth.

XI. *Of the great brazen altar that stood in the inner court of the Temple.*

1. In the inner court stood the great brazen altar which Solomon made. This is evident; for

that when he kneeled upon the scaffold there to pray, he kneeled before this altar. See Ex. xl. 6, 29. 2 Ch. vi. 13. 2 Ki. xvi. 14. Joel ii. 17.

2. This altar seems to be placed about the middle of this court over against the porch of the house; and between it and the temple was the place where Zechariah was slain. This altar was called 'the altar of burnt-offering,' and therefore it was a type of Christ in his divinity. For Christ's body was our true burnt-offering, of which the bodies of the sacrificed beasts were a type; now that altar upon which his body was offered was his Divinity or Godhead; for that, and that only, could bear up that offering in the whole of its suffering; and that therefore, and that only, was to receive the fat, the glory. Hence it is said he, 'through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God.' He. ix. 14.

3. For Christ is priest, and sacrifice, and altar, and all. And as a priest he offered, as a sacrifice he suffered, and as God he supported his humanity, in that suffering of all the pains it underwent. Ga. i. 4; ii. 20. 1 Pe. iii. 18. He. ix. 14.

4. It was then Christ's Godhead, not the tree, that was the altar of burnt-offering, or that by which Christ offered himself an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour.

5. That it was not the tree, is evident, for that could not sanctify the gift, to wit, his body; but Christ affirmeth, 'that the altar sanctifieth the gift.' And by so saying, he affirmeth that the altar on which he offered his offering was greater than the offering itself. Mat. xxiii. 19. Now the body of Christ was the gift; for so he saith, I give my flesh for the life of the world. Jn. vi.

But now, what thing is that which is greater than his body, save the altar, his Divinity on which it was offered? The tree then was not the altar which sanctified this gift, to make it of virtue enough to make reconciliation for iniquity. Jn. vi. 51; xvii. 19. He. ix. 14. Col. i. 19—21. Now, since this altar of burnt-offering was thus placed in the inner court, it teaches us several things:

First, That those that come only into the outward court, or that rest in a bare appearance of Christianity, do not, by so doing, come to Jesus Christ; for this altar stands not there. Hence John takes notice only of the temple and this altar, and them that worship therein, and leaves out the outward court, and so them that come no farther. Re. xi. 1, 2.

Second. This teaches us also that we are to enter into that temple of God by blood. The altar, this altar of burnt-offering, stood as men went into the temple; they must go by it; yea, there they must leave their offering, and so go in and worship, even as a token that they came thither by sacrifice and by blood.

Third. Upon this altar Solomon, at the dedication of the temple, offered thousands, both of oxen and of sheep, to signify, surely, the abundant worth and richness that would be in the blood of Christ to save when it should be shed for us. For his blood is spoken of with an 'how much more.' For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God!' He. ix. 13, 14; x. i. 12. 2 Ch. vii. 5—8.

Let us then not dare to stop or stay in the outward court, for there is not this altar. Nor let us dare, when we come into this court, to be careless whether we look to this altar or no. For it is by blood we must enter; 'for without shedding of blood is no remission.' Let us always then, when we come hither, wash our hands in innocency, and so compass this holy altar: for that by Christ, who is the altar indeed, we are reconciled to God. This is looking to Jesus; this is coming to God by him, of whom this altar and the sacrifice thereon was a type.

XII. *Of the pillars that were before the porch of the Temple.*

There were divers pillars belonging to the temple; but in this place we are confined to speak of only two; namely, those which stood before the temple.

These pillars stood before the porch or entrance into the temple, looking towards the altar, the court, and them that were the worshippers there; also they were a grace and beauty to the front of the house.

1. These pillars stood, one on the right hand and the other on the left, at the door of the porch of the temple, and they had names given them, you may be sure, to signify something. The name of that on the right hand was called *Jachin*, he [God] shall establish; and the name of that on the left hand was *Boaz*, in it is strength. 1 Ki. vii. 21. 2 Ch. iii. 17.

2. These two pillars were types of Christ's apostles; of the apostles of circumcision, and of the uncircumcision. Therefore the apostle Paul also calleth them pillars, Ga. ii., and saith that that pillar on the right hand was a type of himself and his companions, who were to go to the uncircumcised, and teach the Gentiles the way of life. When James, Cephas, and John, saith he, 'who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we *should go* unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision.' Ga. ii. 9. So then, these two pillars were types of these two

orders of the apostles in this their divers service for God.[1]

3. And that Paul and Barnabas were signified by those on the right hand, to wit, to be the apostles of the Gentiles, he showeth again, where he saith, I am 'the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.' Ro. xi. 13; xv. 16.

4. And since the name of this pillar was *Jachin*, God shall establish, as it showeth that opposition shall attend it; so also, that God would bless his word preached by them to the Gentiles, to the conversion of numbers of them, maugre the opposition of the enemy.

5. This is further implied, for that they were made of brass; as he saith of the prophet, I have made thee a fenced brazen wall, an iron pillar; and their fighting against thee shall nothing at all prevail. Je. xv. 20. Wherefore Paul says of himself, 'I am set for the defence of the gospel,' 'that the truth thereof might continue with you.' Phi. i. 17. Ga. ii. 5.

XIII. *Of the height of these pillars that thus stood before the porch of the door of the Temple.*

The pillars were eighteen cubits high a-piece, and that is as high, yea, as high again as the highest giant that ever we read of in the Word; for the highest of which we read was but six cubits and a span. True, the bedstead of Og was nine cubits long, but I trow the giant himself was shorter. De. iii. 11. 2 Ch. iii. 15.[2] But put the longest to the longest, and set the one upon the shoulders of the other, and yet each pillar was higher than they.

We have now, as I know of, but few that remain of the remnant of the giants; and though they boast as if they were higher than Agag, yet these pillars are higher than they. These pillars are the highest; you may equal them; and an inch above is worth an ell below. The height therefore of these pillars is, to show us what high dignity God did put upon those of his saints whom he did call to be apostles of the Lamb: for their office and call thereto is the highest in the church of God. These men, I say, were made thus high by their being cast in such a mould. Of that which added yet further to their height we will speak anon: we only speak now of the high call by which they, and only they, were made capable of apostolic authority. The apostles were sent immediately,[3] their call was extraordinary, their office was universal; they had alike power in all churches, and their doctrine was infallible. Ac. xxvi. 16. 1 Co. ix. 1. Ga. i. 1. 1 Jn. i. 1—3. Jn. ii. 23.

And what can our pretended giants do or say in comparison of these? The truth is, all other men to these are dwarfs, are low, dark, weak, and beneath, not only as to call and office, but also as to gifts and grace. This sentence, 'Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ,' drowneth all! What now are all other titles of grandeur and greatness, when compared with this one sentence?

True, the men were but mean in themselves; for what is Paul or what Apollos, or what was James or John? Yet by their call to that office they were made highest of all in the church. Christ did raise them eighteen cubits high; not in conceit; for so there are many higher than they, but in office, and calling, and Divine authority.

And observe it, these stand at the door, at the entering into the temple of God, at which they enter that go in thither to worship God, to shew that all right worship, and that which will be acceptable to God, is by, or according to, their doctrine.

XIV. *Of the chapiters (capitals) of the pillars of the Temple.*

There were also two chapiters made for the pillars of the temple; for each, one; and they were five cubits high apiece. These were for the adorning of the pillars, and therefore were types and shadows of that abundance of grace which God did put upon the apostles after the resurrection of our Lord. Wherefore, as he saith here, the chapiters were upon the pillars; so it saith that great grace was upon all the apostles. Ac. iv. 33.

These chapiters had belonging to them a bowl made pummil-fashion,[4] and it was placed upon the head of them, perhaps to signify their aptness to receive, and largeness to contain of the dew of heaven; that shadow of the doctrine of the gospel; which doctrine the apostles, as the chief, were to receive and hold forth to the world for their conversion. Hence, as the bowls were capable to receive the dew of heaven, these are said to receive 'grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith among all nations, for his name.' Ro. i. 5. 1 Ki. vii. 16, 42. 2 Ch. iv. 13. De. xxxii. 10. Ro. xv. 29.

There was also upon these chapiters a net-work, or nets like unto chequer-work, which still added to their lustre. These nets were they which shewed for what intent the apostolical office was ordained;

[1] 'There were two pillars, which some resemble to the two states of the church—Jewish and Christian; others understand magistracy and ministry.'—(Lee's *Temple*, 1659, p. 281.)—(Ed.)

[2] The height of these pillars was thirty-five cubits each, including the base and chapiter. The base, ornamented with lines or net-work, twelve cubits; the column eighteen cubits, and the chapiter five cubits, making the height thirty-five cubits; while the column or pillar, cast by itself, was only eighteen. This reconciles the apparent discrepancy between 1 Ki. vii. 15 and 2 Ch. iii. 15.—(Ed.)

[3] Immediately, or by Christ himself.—(Ed.)

[4] Pummil, or pommel, round like an apple.—(Ed.)

namely, that by their preaching they might bring many souls to God. And hence Christ calls them fishermen, saying, 'Ye shall catch men.' Mat. iv. 19. Mar. i. 17. Lu. v. 10. 2 Co. xii. 16. The world is compared to a sea, men to fishes, and the gospel to a net. Eze. xlvii. 10—12. Mat. xiii. 47—50. As therefore men catch fish with a net, so the apostles caught men by their word, which word, as I told you, to me is signified by this net-work upon the top of these pillars. See therefore the mystery of God in these things.

XV. *Of the pomegranates adjoined to these nets on the chapiters.*

There were also joined to these nets upon the top of the pillars pomegranates in abundance; four hundred for the net-work. Pomegranates, you know, are beautiful to look on, pleasant to the palate, comfortable to the stomach, and cheering by their juice. 1 Ki. vii. 42. Ca. iv. 3; viii. 2; iv. 13; vi. 11; vii. 12. There were to be two rows of these pomegranates for one net-work, and so two rows of them for the other.

And this was to show that the net of the gospel is not an empty thing; but is sufficiently baited with such varieties as are apt to allure the world to be catched by them. The law is but a sound of words, but the gospel is not so; that is, baited with pomegranates; with variety of excellent things. Hence it is called 'the gospel of the kingdom,' and 'the gospel of the grace of God,' because it is, as it were, baited with grace and glory, that sinners may be allured, and may be taken with it to their eternal salvation. Mat. xxiv. 14. Ac. xx. 24.

Grace and glory, grace and glory! these are the pomegranates with which the word of the gospel is baited, that sinners may be taken and saved thereby. The argument of old was 'milk and honey;' that was, I say, the alluring bait, with which Moses drew six hundred thousand out of Egypt, into the wilderness of old. Ex. iii. 8. But behold we have pomegranates, two rows of pomegranates; grace and a kingdom, as the bait of the holy gospel; no wonder, then, if, when men of skill did cast this net into the sea, such numbers of fish have been catched, even by one sermon. Ac. ii. They baited their nets with *taking* things, things taking to the eye and taste.

Nets are truly instruments of death, but the net of the gospel doth catch to draw from death; wherefore this net is contrary; life and immortality is brought to light through this. No marvel, then, if men are so glad, and that for gladness they leap like fishes in a net, when they see themselves catched in this drag of the holy gospel of the Son of God. They are catched from death and hell, catched to live with God in glory!

XVI. *Of the chains that were upon these pillars that stood before the Temple.*

As there were nets to catch, and pomegranates to bait, so there were chains belonging to these chapiters on these pillars. 'And he made chains, *as* in the oracle, and put *them* upon the head of the [pillars],' or chapiters. 2 Ch. iii. 16.

But what were these chains a type of? I answer, they were, perhaps, a type of those bonds which attend the gospel, by which souls taken are tied fast to the horns of the altar. Gospel grace, and gospel obligations, are ties and binding things; they can hold those that are entangled by the word. 'Love *is* strong as death;' bands of love, and the cords of a man, and chains take hold on them that are taken by the gospel. Ho. xi. Ca. viii. 6.

But this strength to bind lieth not in outward force, but in a sweet constraint, by virtue of the displays of undeserved love. 'The love of Christ constraineth us.' 2 Co. v. 14. Wherefore as you find the nets, so the chains had pomegranates on them. 'And' he 'made an hundred pomegranates, and put *them* upon the chains.' 2 Ch. iii. 16. The chains then had baits, as well as the nets, to show that the bands of the gospel are unresistible goodnesses; such with which men love to be bound, and such as they pray they may be held fast by. He binds his foal to the vine; his saint unto this Saviour. Ge. xlix. 11.

By these chains there is therefore showed what strength there is in gospel-charms, if once the adder doth but hear them. Never man yet was able to resist them that well did know the meaning of them. They are mighty to make poor men obedient, and that in word and deed. These chains were such as were in the oracle, to show that gospel bonds are strong as the joys of heaven, and as the glories there; can make them chains as in the oracle, as in the most holy place. It is heaven that binds sinners on earth to the faith and hope of the gospel of Christ.

XVII. *Of the lily work which was upon the chapiters, that were upon these pillars of the Temple.*

These pillars were also adorned with lily work, as well as with pomegranates and chains. 'The chapiters that were upon the top of the pillars *were* of lily work;' 'so was the work of the pillars finished.' 1 Ki. vii. 19—22.

This lily work is here put in on purpose, even to show us how far off those that were to be the true apostles of the Lamb should be from seeking carnal things, or of making their prevailing[1] a stalking-horse to worldly greatness, and that pre-

[1] In all the editions of this book published since the author's death, these words are altered to 'their preaching.'—(Ed.)

ferment. There was lily work upon them; that is, they lived upon the bounty and care of God, and were content with that glory which he had put upon them. 'The lilies,' saith Christ, 'they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.' Mat. vi. 28, 29. Lu. xii. 27–29. Thus, therefore, these pillars show, that as the apostles should be fitted and qualified for their work, they should be also freed from cares and worldly cumber; they should be content with God's providing for them, even as the goodly lilies are. And as thus prepared, they were set in the front of the house, for all ministers to see and learn, and take example of them how to behave themselves as to this world in the performing of their office.

And that which gives us further light in this is, that this lily work is said, by divine institution, to be placed 'over against the belly,' the belly of the pillars, a type of ours. 1 Ki. vii. 20. The belly is a craving thing; and these things, saith the text, were placed over against the belly, to teach that they should not humour, but put check unto the havings and cravings of the belly; or to show that they need not do it, for that he that calls to his work will himself provide for the belly. It is said of the church, that 'her belly is like a heap of wheat set about with lilies.' Ca. vii. 2. To show that she should without covetousness have sufficient, if she would cast all her care upon God, her great provider. This the apostles did, and this is their glory to this day.

'So was the work of the pillars finished.' To live lily lives, it seems, is the glory of an apostle, and the completing of their office and service for God. But this directly opposite to the belly, over against the belly, and this makes it the harder work. But yet, so living is the way to make all that is done sweet-scented, to those that be under this care. Covetousness makes a minister smell frowish,[1] and look more like a greedy dog, than an apostle of Jesus Christ. Judas had none of this lily work; so his name stinks to this day. 'He that grows like the lily shall cast forth his scent like Lebanon, his branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon. Ho. xiv. 6. Thus lived Christ, first; and thus the apostles, next; nor can any other as to this, live like, or be compared to them. They coveted no man's silver or gold, or apparel. They lived like lilies in the world, and did send forth their scent as Lebanon.

Thus you see of whom these pillars were a shadow, and what their height, their chapiters, their bowls, their nets, their chains, their pomegranates, and their lily work did signify, and how all was most sweetly answered in the antitype. These were men of the first rate; the apostles, I mean, were such.

XVIII. *Of the fashion of the Temple.*

Of the length and breadth of the temple I shall say nothing; but as to the height thereof, there methinks I see something. The temple was higher than the pillars, and so is the church than her officers; I say, consider them singly as officers, though inferior as to gifts and office; for, as I said before of ministers in general, so now I say the same of the apostles, though as to office they were the highest, yet the temple is above them. Gifts and office make no men sons of God; as so, they are but servants, though these were servants of the highest form. It is the church, as such, that is the lady, a queen, the bride, the Lamb's wife; and prophets, apostles, and ministers, &c., are but servants, stewards, labourers for her good. Ps. xlv. 9. Re. xix. 7. 1 Co. iii. 5; iv. 1, 2. As therefore the lady is above the servant, the queen above the steward, or the wife above all her husband's officers, so is the church, as such, above these officers. The temple was higher than the pillars.

Again, as the temple was highest, so it enlarged itself still upward; for as it ascended in height, so it still was wider and wider; even from the lowest chambers to the top.

The first chambers were but five cubits broad, the middle ones were six, but the highest were seven cubits. 1 Ki. vi. 5, 6. The temple therefore was round about above some cubits wider than it was below; for '*there was* an enlarging and winding about still upward to the side chambers, for the winding about went still upward round about the house; therefore the breadth of the house *was still* upward, and so increased *from* the lowest *chambers* to the highest, by the midst. Eze. xli. 7.

And this was to show us that God's true gospel temple, which is his church, should have its enlargedness of heart still upward, or most for spiritual and eternal things: wherefore he saith, 'Thy heart shall fear and be enlarged,' that is, be most affected with things above, 'where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God.' Is. lx. 5. Col. iii. 1. Indeed it is the nature of grace to enlarge itself still upward, and to make the heart widest for the things that are above. The temple therefore was narrowest downwards, to show that a little of earth, or this world, should serve the church of God. And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.

But now, upwards, and as to heavenly things, we are commanded to be covetous, as to them, and after them to enlarge ourselves, both by the fashion

[1] Frowish, or frowzy, fetid, musty. Alas! how many ministers there are who are afflicted with this unsavoury smell. —(Ed.)

of the temple, as by express words. 1 Ki. iv. 29. Is. lx. 5. Phi. iii. 14. 1 Co. xii. 31. 1 Ti. vi. 8. Ps. cxix. 32.

Since, then, the temple was widest upward, let us imitate it, and have our conversation in heaven. Let our eyes, our ears, our hands, and hearts, our prayers, and groans, be most for things above. Let us open our mouths, as the ground that is chapt doth for the latter rain, for the things that are eternal. Job xxix. 23. Ps. lxxxi. 10.

Observe again, that the lowest parts of the temple were the narrowest part of the temple; so those in the church who are nearest, or most concerned with earth, are the most narrow-spirited as to the things of God. But now let even such a one be taken up higher, to above, to the uppermost parts of the temple, and there he will be enlarged, and have his heart stretched out. For the temple, you see, was widest upwards; the higher, the more it is enlarged. Paul being once caught up into paradise, could not but be there enlarged. 2 Co. xii.

One may say of the fashion of the temple, as some say of a lively picture, it speaks. I say, its form and fashion speaks; it says to all saints, to all the churches of Christ, open your hearts for heaven, be ye enlarged upwards!

I read not in Scripture of any house, but this that was thus enlarged upwards; nor is there anywhere, save only in the church of God, that which doth answer this similitude. All other are widest downward, and have the largest heart for earthly things. The church only is widest upward, and has its greatest enlargements towards heaven.

XIX. *Of the outward glory of the Temple.*

I do also think, that as to this, there was a great expression in it; I mean, a voice of God, a voice that teacheth the New Testament church to carry even conviction in her outward usages that, I say, might give conviction to the world. And besides this of its enlarging upwards, there was such an outward beauty and glory put upon it, as was alluring to beholders. The stones were curiously carved, and excellently joined together; its outward show was white and glittering, to the dazzling of the eyes of the beholders; yea, the disciples themselves were taken with it, it was so admirable to behold. Hence it is said, they came to Christ to show him the building of the temple. 'Master,' said they, 'see what manner of stones, and what buildings *are here.*' Mat. xxiv. 1. Mar. xiii. 1. Lu. xxi. 5. And hence it is said, that kings, and the mighty of the earth, were taken with the glory of it. 'Because of thy temple at Jerusalem, shall kings bring presents unto thee;' as it is. Ps. lxviii. 29, 31.

Kings, Gentile kings, they shall be so taken with the sight of the outward glory of it; for they were not suffered to go into it; no uncircumcised were admitted in thither. It was therefore the outward glory of it with which the beholders were thus taken.

Her enlarging upward, as that was to show us what the inward affections of Christians should be, so her curious outward adorning and beauty was a figure of the beauteous and holy conversation of the godly. Col. iii. 1—3. And it is brave, when the world are made to say of the lives and conversations of saints, as they were made to say of the stones and outward building of the temple, Behold, what Christians, and what goodly conversations are here! I say it is brave when our light so shines before men, that they seeing our good works shall be forced to glorify our Father which is in heaven. Mat. v. 16.

Hence this is called our adorning wherewith we adorn the gospel, and that by which we beautify it. Tit. ii. 10. This, I say, is taking to beholders, as was this goodly outside of the temple. And without this, what is to be seen in the church of God? Her inside cannot be seen by the world, but her outside may. Now, her outside is very homely, and without all beauty, save that of the holy life; this only is her visible goodliness. This puts to silence the ignorance of foolish men. This allureth others to fall in love with their own salvation, and makes them fall in with Christ against the devil and his kingdom.

XX. *Of the porch of the Temple.*

We come next to the porch of the temple that is commonly called Solomon's. 1. This porch was in the front of the house, and so became the common way into the temple. 1 Ki. vi. 3. 2 Ch. iii. 4. 2. This porch therefore was the place of reception in common for all, whether Jews or religious proselytes, who came to Jerusalem to worship. Ac. iii. 11; v. 12. 3. This porch had a door or gate belonging to it, but such as was seldom shut, except in declining times, or when men put themselves into a rage against those better than themselves. 2 Ch. xxix. 7. Ac. xxi. 28—30. 4. This gate of this porch was called Beautiful, even the Beautiful gate of the temple, and was that at which the lame man lay, to beg for an alms of them that went in thither to worship. Ac. iii. 1, 2, 10.

Now then, since this porch was the common place of reception for all worshippers, and the place also where they laid the beggars, it looks as if it were to be a type of the church's bosom for charity. Here the proselytes were entertained, here the beggars were relieved, and received alms. These gates were seldom shut; and the houses of Christian compassion should be always open. This therefore beautified this gate, as charity beautifies any of the churches. Largeness of heart, and

tender compassion at the church-door, is excellent; it is the bond of perfectness. 1 Co. xii. 31; xiii. 1—4. He. xiii. 1—3. Jn. v. 6, 7. Col. iii. 14.

The church-porch to this day is a coming in for beggars, and perhaps this practice at first was borrowed from the beggars lying at the temple-gate. This porch was large, and so should the charity of the churches be. It was for length the breadth of the temple, and of the same size with 'the Holiest of all.' 1 Ki. vi. 3. 2 Ch. iii. 4. The first might be to teach us in charity we should not be niggardly, but, according to the breadth of our ability, we should extend it to all the house; and that in our so doing, the very emblem of heaven is upon us, of which the holiest was a figure. 'As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all,' &c. Ga. vi. 10.

It is a fine ornament to a true church to have a large church-porch, or a wide bosom, for reception of all that come thither to worship.[1] This was commanded to the Jews, and their glory shone when they did accordingly: 'And it shall come to pass, *that* in what tribe the stranger sojourneth, there shall ye give *him* his inheritance, saith the Lord God.' Eze. xlvii. 23.

This porch was, as I said, not only for length the breadth of the temple, and so the length and breadth of the holiest; but it was, if I mistake not, for height far higher than them both: for the holy place was but thirty cubits high, and the most holy but twenty; but the porch was in height an hundred and twenty cubits. This beautiful porch, therefore, was four times as high as was the [oracle in] temple itself. 1 Ki. vi. 2, 20. 2 Ch. iii. 4.

One excellent ornament, therefore, of this temple was, for that it had a porch so high, that is, so famous for height; hence he says, 'This house that is so high,' that is so famous for height. So high as to be seen afar off. Charity, if it be rich, runs up from the church like a steeple, and will be seen afar off; I say, if it be rich, large, and abounds. Christ's charity was blazed abroad; it was so high no man could hide it: and the charity of the churches will be seen from church to church, yea, and will be spoken of to their commendations in every place, if it be warm, fervent, and high. Mar. vii. 36—44. 2 Co. viii. 24; ix. 2, 13, 14.

XXI. *Of the ornaments of the porch of the Temple.*

There were three things belonging to the porch, besides its height, that were ornaments unto it. 1. It was overlaid within with gold. 2. It had the pillars adjoined unto it. 3. It was the inlet into the temple.

First. It was overlaid with gold. Gold ofttimes was a type of grace, and particularly of the grace of love. That in Solomon's chariot called gold is yet again mentioned by the name love. Ca. iii. 9, 10. As it is in the church, the grace of love is as gold. It is the greatest, the richest of graces, and that which abides for ever. Hence they that show much love to saints are said to be rich. 1 Ti. vi. 17—19. And hence charity is called a treasure, a treasure in the heavens. Lu. xii. 33, 34. Love is a golden grace; let then the churches, as the porch of the temple was, be inlaid with love, as gold.

Second. It had the pillars adjoined to it, the which, besides their stateliness, seem to be there typically to example. For there was seen, by the space of four cubits, their lily-work in the porch. 1 Ki. vii. 19. Of their lily-work I spake before. Now that they were so placed that they might be seen in the porch of the house, it seems to be for example, to teach the church, that she should live without worldly care, as did the apostles, the first planters of the church. And let ministers do this; they are now the pillars of the churches, and they stand before the porch of the house; let them also show their lily-work to the house, that the church may learn of them to be without carefulness as to worldly things, and also to be rich in love and charity towards the brethren. A covetous minister is a base thing, a pillar more symbolizing Lot's wife than an holy apostle of Jesus Christ; let them, since they stand at the door, and since the eyes of all in the porch are upon them, be patterns and examples of good works. 1 Ti. vi. 10—12. Tit. ii. 7.

Third. Another ornament unto this porch was, that it was an inlet into the temple. Charity is it which receiveth orphans, that receiveth the poor and afflicted into the church. Worldly love, or that which is carnal, shuts up bowels, yea, and the church-doors too, against the poor of the flock; wherefore look that this kind of love be never countenanced by you. Crave that rather which is a fruit of the Spirit. O churches, let your ministers be beautified with your love, that they may beautify you with their love; and also be an ornament unto you, and to that Gospel they minister to you, for Jesus Christ's sake.

XXII. *Of the ascent by which they went up into the porch of the Temple.*

1. This porch also had certain steps, by which they went up into the house of the Lord. I know not directly the number of them; though Ezekiel speaks something about it. Eze. xl. 38, 39. Hence, when men went to worship in the temple, they were said to go UP into the house of the Lord. Is. xxxviii. 22.

[1] This is a valuable lesson to the ministers and members of churches, to be ever ready to welcome the returning prodigal. The porch is never to be shut against the poor fugitive; and the only proper inquiry as to opening the door of the church, is, 'If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest freely enter.'—(Ed.)

These steps, which were the ascent to the temple, were so curiously set, and also so finely wrought, that they were amazing to behold. Wherefore, when the queen of Sheba, who came to prove Solomon's wisdom, saw 'the house which he had built, - and his ascent by which he went up into the house of the Lord, she had no more spirit in her.' She was by that sight quite drowned, and overcome. 1 Ki. x. 4, 5.

2. These steps, whether cedar, gold, or stone, yet that which added to their adornment was the wonderment of a queen. And whatever they were made of, to be sure they were a shadow of those steps which we should take to and in the house of God. Steps of God. Ps. lxxxv. 13. Steps ordered by him. Ps. xxxvii. 23. Steps ordered in his word. Ps. cxix. 133. Steps of faith. Ro. iv. 12. Steps of the Spirit. 2 Co. xii. 18. Steps of truth. 3 Jn. 4. Steps washed with butter. Job. xxix. 6. Steps taken before, or in the presence of, God. Steps butted and bounded by a divine rule. These are steps indeed.

3. There are therefore no such steps as these to be found any where in the world. A step to honour, a step to riches, a step to worldly glory, these are everywhere; but what are these to the steps by which men do ascend or go up to the house of the Lord!

He then that entereth into the house of the Lord is an ascending man; as it is said of Moses, he went up into the mount of God. It is ascending to go into the house of God. The world believe not this; they think it is going downward to go up to the house of God; but they are in a horrible mistake.

The steps then by which men went up into the temple are, and ought to be, opposed to those which men take to their lusts and empty glories. Hence such steps are said not only to decline from God, but to take hold of the path to death and hell. Ps. xliv. 18. Pr. ii. 18; v. 5; vii. 25–27.

The steps, then, by which men went up to the house of the Lord, were significative of those steps which men take when they go to God, to heaven, and glory: for these steps were the way to God, to God in his holy temple.

But how few are there that, as the queen of the south, are taken with these goodly steps! Do not most rather seek to push away our feet from taking hold of the path of life, or else lay snares for us in the way? But all these notwithstanding, the Lord guide us in the way of his steps: they are goodly steps, they are the best.

XXIII. *Of the gate of the porch of the Temple.*

1. The porch, at which was an ascent to the temple, had a gate belonging to it. This gate, according to the prophet Ezekiel, was six cubits wide. The leaves of this gate were double, one folding this way, the other folding that. Eze. xl. 48.

Now here some may object, and say, Since the way to God by these doors were so wide, why doth Christ say the way and gate is narrow?

Answ. The straitness, the narrowness, must not be understood of the gate simply, but because of that cumber that some men carry with them, that pretend to be going to heaven. Six cubits! What is sixteen cubits to him who would enter in here with all the world on his back? The young man in the gospel, who made such a noise for heaven, might have gone in easy enough; for in six cubits breadth there is room: but, poor man, he was not for going in thither, unless he might carry in his houses upon his shoulder too, and now the gate was strait. Mar. x. 17–27. Wherefore he that will enter in at the gate of heaven, of which this gate into the temple was a type, must go in by himself, and not with his bundles of trash on his back;[1] and if he will go in thus, he need not fear there is room. 'The righteous nation that keepeth the truth, they shall enter in.' Is. xxvi. 2.

2. They that enter in at the gate of the inner court must be clothed in fine linen: how then shall they go into the temple that carry the clogs of the dirt of this world at their heels? 'Thus saith the Lord God; No stranger uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary.' Eze. xliv. 9.

3. The wideness therefore of this gate is for this cause here made mention of, to wit, to encourage them that would gladly enter thereat, according to the mind of God, and not to flatter them that are not for leaving of all for God.

4. Wherefore let such as would go in remember that here is room, even a gate to enter in at six cubits wide. We have been all this while but on the outside of the temple, even in the courts of the house of the Lord, to see the beauty and glory that is there. The beauty hereof made men cry out, and say, 'How amiable *are* thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! my soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord;' and to say, 'a day in thy courts *is* better than a thousand.' Ps. lxxxiv. 1, 2, &c.

XXIV. *Of the pinnacles of the Temple.*

1. There were also several pinnacles belonging to the temple. These pinnacles stood on the top aloft in the air, and were sharp, and so difficult to stand upon: what men say of their number and length I wave, and come directly to their signification.

[1] Wealth and honours, when sanctified, are valuable aids to Christian usefulness; but unutterable woes will fall upon him who attempts to enter heaven with temporal or ecclesiastical pomps vain-gloriously carried upon his shoulders.—(Ed.)

2. I therefore take those pinnacles to be types of those lofty airy notions with which some men delight themselves, while they hover, like birds, above the solid and godly truths of Christ. Satan attempted to entertain Christ Jesus with this type, and antitype, at once, when he set him on one of the pinnacles of the temple, and offered to thrust him upon a false confidence in God, by a false and unsound interpretation of a text. Mat. iv. 5, 6. Lu. iv. 9—11.

3. You have some men cannot be content to worship IN the temple, but must be aloft; no place will serve them but pinnacles, pinnacles; that they may be speaking in and to the air, that they may be promoting their heady notions, instead of solid truth; not considering that now they are where the devil would have them be; they strut upon their points, their pinnacles; but let them look to it, there is difficulty standing upon pinnacles; their neck, their soul, is in danger. We read, God is *in* his temple, not *upon* these pinnacles. Ps. xi. 4. Hab. ii. 20.

4. It is true, Christ was once upon one of these; but the devil set him there, with intent to have dashed him in pieces by a fall; and yet even then told him, if he would venture to tumble down, he should be kept from dashing his foot against a stone. To be there, therefore, was one of Christ's temptations; consequently one of Satan's stratagems; nor went he thither of his own accord, for he knew that there was danger; he loved not to clamber pinnacles.

5. This should teach Christians to be low and little in their own eyes, and to forbear to intrude into airy and vain speculations, and to take heed of being puffed up with a foul and empty mind.[1]

XXV. *Of the porters of the Temple.*

1. There were porters belonging to the temple. In David's time their number was four thousand men. 1 Ch. xxiii. 5.

2. The porters were of the Levites, and their work was to watch at every gate of the house of the Lord; at the gate of the outer court, at the gates of the inner court, and at the door of the temple of the Lord. 2 Ch. xxxv. 15.

3. The work of the porters, or rather the reason of their watching, was to look that none not duly qualified entered into the house of the Lord. 'He set,' saith the text, 'the porters at the gates of the house of the Lord, that none *which was* unclean in any thing should enter in.' 2 Ch. xxiii. 19.

4. The excellency of the porters lay in these three things, their watchfulness, diligence, and valour, to make resistance to those that, as unfit, would attempt to enter those courts and the house of God. 1. Ch. xxvi. 6. Mar. xiii. 34.

5. These porters were types of our gospel ministers, as they are set to be watchmen in and over the church, and the holy things of God. Therefore as Christ gives to every man in the church his work, so he commands 'the porter to watch.' Is. xxi. 11. Eze. iii. 17; xxxiii. 7. Ac. xx. 27—31. 2 Ti. iv. 5. Re. ii. 2, 3.

6. Sometimes every awakened Christian is said to be a porter, and such at Christ's first knock open unto him immediately. Lu. xii. 35—40.

7. The heart of a Christian is also sometimes called the porter; for that when the true shepherd comes to it, to him this porter openeth also. Jn. x. 3.

8. This last has the body for his watch-house; the eyes and ears for his port-holes; the tongue therewith to cry, Who comes there? as also to call for aid, when anything unclean shall attempt with force and violence to enter in, to defile the house.

XXVI. *Of the charge of the porters of the Temple more particularly.*

1. The charge of the porters was, to keep their watch, in four square, even round about the temple of God. Thus it was ordained by David, before him by Moses, and after him by Solomon his son. 1 Ch. ix. 24. Nu. iii. 2 Ch. xxiii. 19; xxxv. 15.

2. The porters had some of them the charge of the treasure-chambers; some of them had the charge of the ministering vessels, even to bring them in and out by tale; also the opening and shutting of the gates of the house of the Lord was a part of their calling and office.

3. I told you, the porters were types of our gospel ministers, as they are watchmen in and over the house of God; and therefore in that they were thus to watch round about the temple, what is it but to show how diligent Satan is, to see if he may get in somewhere, by some means, to defile the church of God; he goes round and round and round us, to see if he can find a hog-hole for that purpose.

4. This also showeth that the church of itself, without its watchmen, is a weak, feeble, and very helpless thing. What can the lady or mistress do to defend herself against thieves and sturdy villains, if there be none but she at home? It is said, when the shepherd is smitten, the sheep shall be scattered. What could the temple do without its watchmen?

5. Again, in that the porters had charge of the treasure-chambers as it is, 1 Ch. ix. 26, it is to intimate, that the treasures of the gospel are with the ministers of our God, and that the church, next to

[1] Every Christian pilgrim, if he journeys aright, must be entirely guided by prayerful personal inquiries at the holy oracles as to his way to heaven. How do sin and Satan strive to mislead him in this essential duty.—(Ed.)

Christ, should seek them at their mouth. 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels,' saith Paul, and they are 'stewards of the' manifold 'mysteries of God.' 1 Co. iv. 1. 2 Co. iv. 7. 1 Pe. iv. 10. Ep. iv. 11–13.

6. These are God's true scribes, and bring out of their treasury things new and old; or, as he saith in another place, 'At our gates,' that is, where our porters watch, '*are* all manner of pleasant *fruits, which* I have laid up for thee, O my beloved.' Ca. vii. 13. Mat. xiii. 52.

7. Further, some of them had charge of the ministering vessels, and they were to bring them in and out by tale. 1 Ch. ix. 28. (1.) If by ministering vessels you understand gospel ordinances, then you see who has the charge of them, to wit, the watchmen and ministers of the word. Lu. i. 12. 2 Th. ii. 15. 2 Ti. ii. 2. (2.) If by ministering vessels you mean the members of the church, for they are also ministering vessels, then you see who has the care of them, to wit, the pastors, the gospel ministers. Therefore 'obey them that have the rule over you - for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account; that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, for that *is* unprofitable for you.' He. xiii. 17.

8. The opening of the gates did also belong to the porters, to show that the power of the keys, to wit, of opening and shutting, of letting in and keeping out of the church, doth ministerially belong to these watchmen. Mat. xvi. 19. He. xii. 15.

9. The conclusion is, then let the churches love their pastors, hear their pastors, be ruled by their pastors, and suffer themselves to be watched over, and to be exhorted, counselled, and if need be, reproved, and rebuked by their pastors.[1] And let the ministers not sleep, but be watchful, and look to the ordinances, to the souls of the saints, and the gates of the churches. Watchman, watchman, watch!

XXVII. *Of the doors of the Temple.*

Now we are come to the gate of the temple; namely, to that which let out of the porch into the holy place.

1. These doors or gates were folding, and they opened by degrees. First, a quarter, and then a half, after that three quarters, and last of all the whole. These doors also hanged upon hinges of gold, and upon posts made of the goodly olive-tree. 1 Ki. vi. 33, 34. Eze. xli. 23, 24.

2. These doors did represent Christ, as he is the way to the Father, as also did the door of the tabernacle, at which the people were wont to stand when they went to inquire of God. Wherefore, Christ saith, 'I am the door,' alluding to this, 'by me if any man enter he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture.' Ex. xxxiii. 9, 10; xxxviii. 8; xl. 12. Le. i. 3, 4; viii. 3, 4, 33; xv. 14. Nu. vi. 13, 18; x. 3; xxv. 6; xxvii. 2. 1 Sa. ii. 22. Jn. x. 9. (1.) 'I am the door.' The door into the court, the door into the porch, the door into the temple, the door into the holiest, the door to the Father. But now we are at the door of the temple. (2.) And observe it, this door by Solomon was not measured as the door of the porch was: for though the door into the court, and the door into the porch were measured, to show that the right to ordinances and the inlet into the church is to be according to a prescript rule, yet this door was not measured; to show that Christ, as he is the inlet to saving grace, is beyond all measure, and unsearchable. Hence his grace is called 'unsearchable riches,' and that above all we can ask or think, for that it passeth knowledge. Ep. iii. 8, 19, 20.

3. It is, therefore, convenient that we put a note upon this, that we may distinguish rule and duty from grace and pardoning mercy; for as I said, though Christ, as the door to outward privileges, is set forth by rule and measure; yet, as he is the door to grace and favour, never creature, as yet, did see the length and breadth of him. Ep. iii. 17, 19.[2]

4. Therefore, I say, this gate was not measured; for what should a rule do here, where things are beyond all measure?

5. This gate being also to open by degrees, is of signification to us; for it will be opening first by one fold, then by another, and yet will never be set wide, wide open, until the day of judgment. For then, and not till then, will the whole of the matter be open. 'For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known.' 1 Co. xiii. 12.

XXVIII. *Of the leaves of this gate of the Temple.*

The leaves of this gate or door, as I told you before, were folding, and so, as was hinted, has something of signification in them. For by this means a man, especially a young disciple, may easily be mistaken; thinking that the whole passage, when yet but a part was open; whereas, three parts might be yet kept undiscovered to him. For these doors, as I said before, were never yet set wide open; I mean, in the anti-type; never man yet saw all the riches and fulness which is in Christ. So that I say, a new comer, if he judged by present sight, especially if he saw but little,

[1] The simple-minded nature of Bunyan here appears conspicuously. He measures others by his own bushel, as if every pastor had as single an eye to the welfare of their flocks as he had over the Church at Bedford. How tenderly ought the churches of Christ to cherish such pastors as Bunyan, while they prayerfully watch over their ministrations.—(Ed.)

[2] This is one of those beautiful gems which sparkle all through Bunyan's works, 'As the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!'—(Ed.)

might easily be mistaken; wherefore such, for the most part, are most horribly afraid that they shall never get in thereat. How sayest thou, young comer, is not this the case with thy soul? So it seems to thee that thou art too big, being so great, so tun-bellied a sinner. But, O thou sinner, fear not, the doors are folding-doors, and may be opened wider, and wider again after that; wherefore, when thou comest to this gate, and imaginest there is not space enough for thee to enter, knock, and it shall be wider opened unto thee, and thou shalt be received. Lu. xi. 9. Jn. vi. 37. So, then, whoever thou art that art come to the door, of which the temple door was a type, trust not to thy first conceptions of things, but believe there is grace abundant. Thou knowest not yet what Christ can do, the doors are folding-doors. He can 'do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think.' Ep. iii. 20.

The hinges on which these doors do hang were, as I told you, gold; to signify that they both turned upon motives and motions of love, and also that the openings thereof were rich. Golden hinges the gate to God doth turn upon,

The posts on which these doors did hang were of the olive-tree, that fat and oily tree, to show that they do never open with lothness or sluggishness, as doors do whose hinges want oil. They are always oily, and so open easily and quickly to those who knock at them. Hence you read, that he that dwells in this house gives freely, loves freely, and doth us good with all his heart. 'Yea,' saith he, 'I will rejoice over them to do them good, and I will plant them in this land assuredly with my whole heart, and with my whole soul. Je. iii. 12, 14, 22; xxxii. 41. Re. xxi. 6; xxii. 17. Wherefore, the oil of grace, signified by this oily tree, or these olive-posts, on which these doors do hang, do cause that they open glibly or frankly to the soul.

XXIX. *What the doors of the Temple were made of.*

1. The doors of the temple were made of fir; that is so sweet scented, and pleasant to the smell. 1 Ki. vi. 34.

2. Mankind is also often compared to the fir-tree. As Is. xli. 19; lv. 13; lx. 13—17; xiv. 8.

3. Now, since the doors of the temple were made of the same, doth it not show that the way into God's house, and into his favour, is by the same nature which they are of that thither enter, even through the veil, his flesh? He. x. 20. For this door, I mean the anti-type, doth even say of himself, '*I am* like a green fir-tree, from me is thy fruit found.' Ho. xiv. 8.

4. This fir-tree is Christ; Christ as man, and so as the way to the Father. The doors of the temple are also, as you see here, made of the fir-tree; even of that tree which was a type of the humanity of Jesus Christ. Consider Heb. ii. 14.

5. The fir-tree is also the house of the stork, that unclean bird, even as Christ is a harbour and shelter for sinners. As for the stork, saith the text, the fir-tree is her house; and Christ saith to the sinners that see their want of shelter, 'Come unto me, and I will give you rest.' He is a refuge for the oppressed, a refuge in time of trouble. De. xiv. 18. Le. xi. 19. Ps. civ. 17; lxxxiv. 2, 3. Mat. xi. 27, 28. He. vi. 17—20. He is, as the doors of fir of the temple, the inlet to God's house, to God's presence, and to a partaking of his glory. Thus God did of old, by similitudes, teach his people his way.

XXX. *How the doors of the Temple were adorned.*

And Solomon carved upon the doors 'cherubims, and palm trees, and open flowers, and covered them with gold.' 1 Ki. vi. 35. Eze. xli. 25.

First. He carved cherubims thereon. These cherubims were figures or types of angels, and forasmuch as they were carved here upon the door, it was to show,

1. What delight the angels take in waiting upon the Lord, and in going at his bidding, at his beck. They are always waiting like servants at the door of their Lord's house.

2. It may be also to show how much pleased they are to be where they may see sinners come to God. For 'there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth,' and comes to God by Christ for mercy. Lu. xv. 10.

3. They may be also placed here to behold with what reverence or irreverence those that come hither to worship do behave themselves. Hence Solomon cautions those that come to God's house to worship, that they take heed to their feet, because of the angels. Paul also says, Women must take heed that they behave themselves in the church as they should, and that because of the angels. Ec. v. 1, 2, 6. 1 Co. xi. 5, 6, 10.

4. They may also be carved upon the temple doors, to show us how ready they are, so soon as any poor creature comes to Christ for life to take the care and charge of its conduct through this miserable world. 'Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?' He. i. 14.

5. They may also be carved here, to show that they are ready, at Christ's command, to take vengeance for him upon those that despise his people and hate his person. Hence he bids the world take heed what they do to his 'little ones,' for 'their angels do always behold the face of their Father which is in heaven,' and are ready at the door to run at his bidding. Mat. xviii. 10.

6. Or lastly, they may be carved upon these doors, to show that Christ Jesus is the very sup-

porter and upholder of angels, as well as the Saviour of sinful man. For as he is before all things, so by him all things consist; angels stand by Christ, men are saved by Christ, and therefore the very cherubims themselves were carved upon these doors, to show they are upheld and subsist by him. 1 Co. viii. 6. Col. i. 17. He. i. 3.

Second. Again, as the cherubims are carved here, so there were palm trees carved here also. The palm tree is upright, it twisteth not itself awry. Je. x. 5.

1. Apply this to Christ, and then it shows us the uprightness of his heart, word, and ways with sinners. 'Good and upright *is* the Lord, therefore will he teach sinners in the way;' in at the door to life. Ps. xxv. 8; xcii. 15.

2. The palm or palm tree is also a token of victory; and as placed here, it betokeneth the conquest that Christ, the door, should get over sin, death, the devil, and hell for us. Ro. vii. 24; viii. 37. 1 Co. xv. 54—57. Re. vii. 9—11.

3. If we apply the palm tree to the church, as we may, for she also is compared thereto, Ca. vii. 8—10, then the palm tree may be carved here to show, that none but such as are upright of heart and life shall dwell in the presence of God. 'The hypocrite,' says Job, 'shall not come before him.' 'The upright,' says David, 'shall not dwell in thy presence.' Job xiii. 16. Ps. cxl. 13. They are they that are clothed in white robes, which signifies uprightness of life, that stand before the Lamb with 'palms in their hands.' Re. vii. 9.

Third. There were also carved upon these doors open flowers; and that to teach us that here is the sweet scent and fragrant smell; and that the coming soul will find it so in Christ, this door. 'I AM,' saith he, 'the rose of Sharon, *and* the lily of the valleys.' And again, 'His cheeks *are* as a bed of spices, *as* sweet flowers: his lips *like* lilies, dropping sweet-smelling myrrh.' Ca. ii. 1; v. 13. Open flowers. Open flowers are the sweetest, because full grown, and because, as such, they yield their fragrancy most freely. Wherefore, when he saith upon the doors are open flowers, he setteth Christ Jesus forth in his good savours, as high as by such similitudes he could; and that both in name and office. For open flowers lay, by their thus opening themselves before us, all their beauty also most plainly before our faces. There are varieties of beauty in open flowers, the which they also commend to all observers. Now, upon these doors, you see, are open flowers, flowers ripe, and spread before us, to show that his name and offices are savoury to them that by him do enter his house to God his Father. Ca. i. 1—4.

'All these were overlaid with fine gold.' Gold is the most rich of all metals; and here it is said the doors, the cherubims, the palm trees, and open flowers, were overlaid therewith. And this shows, that as these things are rich in themselves, even so they should be to us. We have a golden door to go to God by, and golden angels to conduct us through the world: we have golden palm trees as tokens of our victory, and golden flowers to smell on all the way to heaven.

XXXI. *Of the wall of the Temple.*

The wall of the temple was 'ceiled with fir tree, which he overlaid with fine gold, and set thereon palm trees and chains.' 2 Ch. iii. 5—7.

The walls were as the body of the house, unto which Christ alluded when he said, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' Jn. ii. 19. Hence to be, and worship in the temple, was a type of being in Christ, and worshipping God by him. For Christ, as was said, is the great temple of God, in the which all the elect meet, and in whom they do service to and for his Father.

Hence again the true worshippers are said to be in him, to speak in him, to walk in him, to obey in him. 2 Co. ii. 14; xii. 19. Col. ii. 6. For, as of old, all true worship was to be found at the temple, so now it is only found with Christ, and with them that are in him. The promise of old was made to them that worshipped within these walls. 'Unto them,' saith he, 'will I give in my house, and within my walls,' to them that worship there in truth, 'a place, and a name, better than of sons and of daughters.' Is. lvi. 5.

But now, in New Testament times, 'all the promises of God in him *are* yea, and in him, amen unto the glory of God by us.' 2 Co. i. 20. This is yet further hinted to us in that it is said these walls are ceiled with fir;[1] which, as was showed before, was a figure of the humanity of Jesus Christ.

A wall is for defence, and so is the humanity of Jesus Christ. It is, was, and will be, our defence for ever. For it was that which underwent and overcame the curse of the law, and that in which our everlasting righteousness is found. Had he not in that interposed, we had perished for ever. Hence we are said to be reconciled to God in the body of his flesh through death. Col. i. 19, 20. Ro. v. 8—10.

Now, this wall was overlaid with fine gold. Gold here is a figure of the righteousness of Christ, by which we are justified in the sight of God. Therefore you read, that his church, as justified, is said to stand at his right hand in cloth of gold. 'Upon thy right hand did stand the queen in gold of Ophir.' And again, 'Her clothing *is* of wrought gold.' Ps. xlv. 9, 13. This the wall was overlaid with; this the body of Christ was filled with. Men, while

[1] Ceiled is now only used with reference to the top of a room—the ceiling. It is an old English word, and means overlaid or lined with wood, wainscot, or plank, either roof, sides, or floor.—(Ed.)

in the temple, were clothed with gold, even with the gold of the temple; and men in Christ are clothed with righteousness, the righteousness of Christ. Wherefore this consideration doth yet more illustrate the matter. In that the palm trees were set on this wall, it may be to show that the elect are fixed in Jesus, and so shall abide for ever.

Chains were also carved on these walls, yea, and they were golden chains; there were chains on the pillars, and now also we find chains upon the walls. Phi. i. 12, 13. 1. Chains were used to hold one captive, and such Paul did wear at Rome, but he called them 'his bands in Christ.' 2. Chains sometimes signify great afflictions, which God lays on us for our sins. Ps. cvii. 9–11. La. i. 14; iii. 7. 3. Chains also may be more mystically understood, as of those obligations which the love of God lays upon us, to do and suffer for him. Ac. xx. 22 4. Chains do sometimes signify beauty and comely ornaments. 'Thy neck,' saith Christ to his spouse, 'is comely with chains *of gold*.' And again, 'I put bracelets upon thy hands, and a chain on thy neck.' Ca. i. 10. Eze. xvi. 8–11. Pr. i. 9. 5. Chains also do sometimes denote greatness and honour, such as Daniel had when the king made him the third ruler in the kingdom. Da. v. 7, 16, 29.

Now all these are temple-chains, and are put upon us for good; some to prevent our ruin, some to dispose our minds the better, and some to dignify and to make us noble. Temple-chains are brave chains. None but temple-worshippers must wear temple-chains.

XXXII. *Of the garnishing of the Temple with precious stones.*

'And he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty.' 2 Ch. iii. 6, 7. 1. This is another ornament to the temple of the Lord; wherefore, as he saith, it was garnished with them; he saith it was garnished with them for beauty. The line[1] saith, garnished; the margin saith, covered. 2. Wherefore, I think, they were fixed as stars, or as the stars in the firmament, so they were set in the ceiling of the house, as in the heaven of the holy temple. 3. And thus fixed, they do the more aptly tell us of what they were a figure; namely, of the ministerial gifts and officers in the church. For ministers, as to their gifts and office, are called stars of God, and are said to be in the hand of Christ. Re. i. 20. 4. Wherefore, as the stars glitter and twinkle in the firmament of heaven, so do true ministers in the firmament of his church. 1 Ch. xxix. 2. Jn. v. 35. Da. xii. 3. 5. So that it is said again these gifts come down from above, as signifying they distil their dew from above. And hence, again, the ministers are said to be set over us in the Lord, as placed in the firmament of his heaven to give a light upon his earth. 'There is gold and a multitude of rubies, but the lips of knowledge *are* a precious jewel.' Pr. xx. 15.

Verily, it is enough to make a man in this house look always upward; since the ceiling above head doth thus glitter with precious stones. Precious stones, all manner of precious stones, stones of all colours. For there are divers gifts, differences of administrations, and diversities of operations, 'but it is the same God which worketh all in all.' 1 Co. xii. 4–6. Thus had the ceiling of this house a pearl here, and there a diamond; here a jasper, and there a sapphire; here a sardius, and there a jacinth; here a sardonyx, and there an amethyst. 'For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge;' to one the gift of healing, to another faith; to this man to work miracles, to that a spirit of prophecy; to another the discerning of spirits, to another divers kinds of tongues. 1 Co. xii. 8–11.

He also overlaid the house, beams, posts, walls, doors, &c., and all with gold. O what a beautiful house the temple was; how full of glory was it! And yet all was but a shadow, a shadow of things to come, and which was to be answered in the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth, by better things than these.

XXXIII. *Of the windows of the Temple.*

'And for the house, he made windows of narrow lights.' 1 Ki. vi. 4. There were windows of this house, windows for the chambers and windows round about. Eze. xl. 16, 22—25, 29, 33, 36. These windows were of several sizes, but all narrow, narrow without, but wide within; they also were finely wrought, and beautified with goodly stones. Is. liv. 12.

1. Windows, as they are to a house an ornament, so also to it they are a benefit. 'Truly the light *is* sweet, and a pleasant *thing it is* for the eyes to behold the sun.' Ec. xi. 7. The window is that which Christ looks forth at, the window is that which the sun looks in at. Ca. ii. 9.

2. By the light which shines in at the window we also see to make and keep the house clean, and also to do what business is necessary there to be done. 'In thy light shall we see light;' light to do our duty, and that both to God and man.

3. These windows therefore were figures of the written word, by and through which Christ shows himself to his, and by which we also apprehend him. And hence the Word of God is compared to a glass through which the light doth come, and by which we see not only the beams of the sun, but our own smutches also. 2 Ch. xxx. 18. Ja. i. 23–25.

[1] The line means the text. The marginal reading agrees with the puritan version 'overlayed.' Tyndale renders it, 'And he paved the house with precious stones goodly.' Coverdale, 'And overlayed the house with precious stones to beautify it.'—(Ed.)

4. The lights indeed were narrow, wherefore we see also through their antitype but darkly and imperfectly 'Now we see through a glass darkly,' or, as in a riddle,[1] now we know but in part. 1 Co. xiii. 12.

5. Their windows and their light are but of little service to those that are without; the world sees but little of the beauty of the church by the light of the written Word, though the church, by that light, can see the dismal state of the world, and also how to avoid it.

XXXIV. *Of the chambers of the Temple.*

In the temple Solomon made chambers. 1 Ki. vi. 5.

1. The chambers were of several sizes; some little, some large; some higher, some lower; some more inward, and some outward.

2. These chambers were for several services; some were for rests, some to hide in, some to lay up treasure in, and some for solace and delight. 2 Ch. iii. 9. Eze. xl. 7; xli. 5, 9—11. 2 Ch. xxxi. 11, 12. They were for resting-places. Here the priests and porters were wont to lodge. They were for hiding-places. Here Jehoshabeath hid Joash from Athaliah the term of six years. 2 Ki. xi. 3. They were also to lay the temple treasure, or dedicated things in, that they might be safely kept there for the worshippers. Ezr. viii. 29. And some of them were for solace and delight; and, I must add, some for durable habitation. Wherefore in some of them some dwelt always, yea, their names dwelt there when they were dead.

(1.) Those of them which were for rest, were types of that rest which by faith we have in the Son of God, and of that eternal rest which we shall have in heaven by him. Mat. xi. 28. He. iv. 3. (2.) Those chambers which were for hiding and security, were types of that safety which we have in Christ from the rage of the world. Is. xxvi. 20. (3.) Those chambers which were for the reception of the treasures and dedicated things were types of Christ, as he is the common store-house of believers. 'For it pleased *the Father*, that in him should all fulness dwell;' 'and of his fulness we all receive, and grace for grace.' Jn. i. 16. Col. i. 19. (4.) Those chambers that were for solace and delight, were types of those retirements and secret meetings of Christ with the soul, where he gives it his embraces, and delights her with his bosom and ravishing delights. 'He brought me,' said she, 'into his chambers,' 'into the chamber of her that conceived me,' and there he gave her his love. Ca. i. 4; iii. 4.

The chambers which were for durable dwelling-places were types of those eternal dwelling-places which are in the heavens, prepared of Christ and the Father, for them that shall be saved. Jn. xiv. 1—4. 2 Cor. v. 1—4. This it is to 'dwell on high,' and to be safe from fear of evil! Here therefore you see are chambers for rest, chambers for safety, chambers for treasure, chambers for solace, and chambers for durable habitations. O the rest and peace that the chambers of God's high house will yield to its inhabitants in another world! Here they will 'rest from their labours,' 'rest in their beds,' rest with God, rest from sin, temptation, and all sorrow. Re. xiv. 13. Is. lvii. 1, 2. 2 Th. i. 7. God therefore then shall wipe all tears from our eyes, even when he comes out of his chamber as a bridegroom, to fetch his bride, his wife unto him thither, to the end they may have eternal solace together. O these are far better than the chambers of the south!

XXXV. *Of the stairs by which they went up into the chambers of the Temple.*

There were stairs by which men went up into these chambers of the temple, and they were but one pair, and they went from below to the first, and so to the middle, and thence to the highest chambers in the temple. 1 Ki. vi. 8. Eze. xli. 7.

1. These stairs were winding; so that they turned about, that did go up them. So then, he that assayed to go into these chambers, must turn with the stairs, or he could not go up, no, not into the lowest chambers.

2. These stairs therefore were a type of a two-fold repentance. That by which we turn from nature to grace, and that by which we turn from the imperfections which attend a state of grace to glory. Hence true repentance, or the right going up these turning stairs, is called repentance to salvation; for true repentance stoppeth not at the reception of grace; for that is but a going up these stairs to the middle chambers. 2 Co. vii. 10.

Thus, therefore, the soul, at its going up these stairs, turns and turns, till it enters the doors of the highest chambers. It groans, though in a state of grace, because that is not the state of glory. I count then, that from the first to the middle chambers may be a type of turning from nature to grace. But from the middle to the highest, these stairs may signify a turning still from the imperfections and temptations that attend a state of grace, to that of immortality and glory. 2 Co v. 1—9.

For as there are turning stairs, from the lowest to the middle chambers, so the stairs from thence still turn, and so will do, till you come to the highest chambers. I do not say that they that have received grace, do repent they received grace; but I say they that have received grace, are yet sorry that grace is not consummate in glory; and hence they are for going up thither still, by these turning stairs; yea, they cannot rest below, as they would,

[1] See margin of 1 Co. xiii. 12, Gr., 'in a riddle.'—(Ed.)

till they ascend to the highest chambers. 'O wretched man that I am!' And 'in this we groan earnestly,' is the language of gracious souls. Ro. vii. 24. 2 Co. v. 1—3. True, every one doth not do thus that comes into the temple of God; many rest below stairs, they like not to go turning upward. Nor do I believe that all that bid fair for ascending to the middle chambers, get up to the highest stories, to his stories in the heavens. Many in churches, who seem to be turned from nature to grace, have not the grace to go up, turning still; but rest in that show of things, and so die below a share in the highest chambers.

All these things are true in the anti-type, and, as I think, prefigured by these turning stairs to the chambers of the temple. But this turning, and turning still, displeases some much; they say it makes them giddy; but I say, there is no way like this, to make a man stand steady; stedfast in the faith, and with boldness in the day of judgment. For he has this seated in his heart; I went up by the turning stairs, till I came to the highest chambers. A strait pair of stairs are like that ladder by which men ascend to the gallows; they are the turning ones that lead us to the heavenly mansion-houses. Look, therefore, you that come into the temple of God to worship, that you stay not at the foot of these turning stairs, but go up thence; yea, up them, and up them, and up them, till you come to the view of the heavens; yea, till you are possessed of the highest chambers! How many times has God, by the Scripture, called upon you to TURN, and told you, you must turn or die! and now here he has added to his call a figure, by placing a pair of turning stairs in his temple, to convict your very senses, that you must TURN, if you mean to go up into his holy chambers, and so into his eternal mansion-houses; and look that you turn to purpose; for every turning will not serve. Some turn, but not to the Most High; and so turn to no purpose.

XXXVI. *Of the molten sea that was in the Temple.*

There was also a molten sea in the temple; it was made of brass, and contained three thousand baths.[1] 2 Ch. iv. 2—10. This sea was for the priests to wash in when they came into the temple to accomplish the service of God; to wash their hands and feet at, that they might not, when they came thither, die for their unpreparedness. The laver also which was in the wilderness was of the same use there. Ex. xxx.

1. It was, as may be supposed, called a sea, for that it was large to contain; and a sea of brass, for that it was made thereof. It is called in Revelations a sea of glass, alluding to that in the wilderness, which was made of the brazen looking-glasses of women that came to worship at the door of the tabernacle. Re. iv. 6; xv. 2. Ex. xxxviii. 8.

2. It was also said to be molten, because it was made of that fashion, by fire; and its anti-type therefore is said to be a sea of glass mingled with fire. Re. xv. 2. (1.) This sea was a figure of the word of the gospel, in the cleansing virtue of it; which virtue then it has when mingled with the fire of the Holy Ghost. And to this Christ alludes, when he saith, 'Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you.' Jn. xv. 3. (2.) It was a figure of the word, without mixture of men's inventions; hence it is called 'pure water.' Having your 'bodies washed with pure water.' And again, He sanctifies and cleanseth his church 'with the washing of water by the word.' Ep. v. 26. Tit. iii. 5. All these places are an allusion to the molten sea, at which of old they washed when they went into the temple to worship. Therefore, saith he, being washed, let us draw near to God. He. x. 22.

3. This sea from brim to brim was complete ten cubits; perhaps to show that there is as much in the word of the gospel to save, as there is in the ten[2] words to condemn.

4. From under this sea round about appeared oxen, ten in a cubit did compass it round about. 2 Ch. iv. 3. Understand by these oxen ministers, for to them they are compared in 1 Co. ix. 8—10. And then we are taught whence true ministers come; to wit, from under the power of the gospel, for this sea breeds gospel ministers, as the waters breed fish.

5. It is also said in the text, that these oxen were cast when the sea was cast; insinuating that when God ordained a word of grace to save us, he also in his decree provided ministers to preach it to us to that end. Paul tells us, that he was made a minister of the gospel, 'according to God's eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.' Ep. iii. 9—11. Col. i. 25.

6. This sea is said to have a brim like the brim of a cup. To invite us as well to drink of its grace, as to wash in its water. For the word and Spirit when mixed, has not only a cleansing, but a saving quality in it. 2 Ch. iv. 1—5. 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2.

7. This brim was wrought with lilies, or was like a lily flower; to show how they should grow and flourish, and with what beautiful robes they should be adorned, who were washed, and did drink of this holy water. Yea, that God would take care of them, as he also did of lilies, and would not fail to bestow upon them what was necessary for the body, as well as for the soul. Mat. vi. 28—34.

[1] A bath was a Hebrew measure containing about seven gallons and a half.—(ED.)

[2] The moral law of ten commandments.—(ED.)

XXXVII. *Upon what the molten sea stood in the Temple.*

1. This molten sea stood upon the backs of twelve brazen bulls or oxen. 2 Ch. iv. 4.

2. These oxen, as they thus stood, looked three towards the north, three towards the west, three towards the east, and three towards the south.

3. These twelve oxen were types of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, who, as these beasts, stood looking into the four corners of the earth, and were bid to go preach the gospel in all the world.

4. They were compared to oxen, because they were clean; for the ox was a clean beast. Hence the apostles are called holy. They were compared to oxen, because the ox is strong; and they also were mighty in the word. Pr. xiv. 4. 2 Co. xii. 12.

5. The ox will not lose what he has got by drawing; he will not let the wheels go back; so the apostles were set to defend, and not let that doctrine go back, which they had preached to others; nor did they, they delivered it pure to us.

6. One of the cherubs of which you read in the vision had a face like an ox, to show that the apostles, these men of the first order, are most like the angels of God. Eze. i. 10.

7. In that they stood with their faces every way, it was, as I said, to show how the apostles should carry the gospel into all the world. Mat. xxviii. 19, 20. Mar. xvi. 15–18.

8. And observe, just as these oxen were placed looking in the temple every way, even so stand open the gates of the New Jerusalem to receive those that by their doctrine should be brought into it. 'And they shall come from the east, and *from* the west, and from the north, and *from* the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.' Lu. xiii. 29. Re. xxi. 13, 14.

9. These oxen bear this molten sea upon their backs, to show that they should be the foundation workmen of the gospel, and that it ought not to be removed, as was the molten sea of old, from that basis to another.

10. It is also said concerning those oxen that thus did bear this molten sea, that all their hinder parts were inwards, that is, covered by that sea that was set upon their backs; their hinder parts, or, as the apostle has it, 'our uncomely parts.' 1 Co. xiii. 23, 24.

11. And, indeed, it becomes a gospel minister to have his uncomely parts covered with that grace which by the gospel he preacheth unto others. As Paul exhorts Timothy to take heed unto himself, and to his doctrine. 1 Ti. iv. 6.

12. But alas! there are too, too many who, can they but have their heads covered with a few gospel notions, care not though their hinder parts are seen of all the world. But such are false ministers; the prophet calls them 'the tail.' 'The prophet that speaketh lies, either by word or with his feet, he is the tail.' Is. ix. 15. Pr. vi. 12, 13.

13. But what a shame is it to hide his head under this molten sea, while his hinder parts hang out. Such an one is none of Christ's oxen; for they, with honour to their Master, show their heads before all the world, for that their hinder parts are inward, covered.

14. Look to thy hinder parts, minister, lest, while thy mouth doth preach the gospel, thy nakedness and shame be seen of those which hear thee. For they that do not observe to learn this lesson themselves, will not teach others to believe the Word, nor to live a holy life; they will learn of them to show their shame, instead of learning to be holy.

XXXVIII. *Of the lavers of the Temple.*

Besides this molten sea, there were ten lavers in the temple; five of which were put on the right side, and five also on the left. 2 Ch. iv. 6.

1. Of their fashion and their furniture, you may see. 1 Ki. vii. 38. These lavers, as the molten sea, were vessels which contained water; but they were not of the same use with it. True, they were both to wash in; the sea to wash the worshippers, but the lavers to wash the sacrifice. 'He made the ten lavers to wash in them such things as they offered for the burnt-offering, but the sea *was* for the priests to wash in.' 2 Ch. iv. 6. 2. The burnt-offering was a type of the body of Christ, which he once offered for our sins; and the fire on which the sacrifice was burned, a type of the curse of the law which seized on Christ when he gave himself a ransom for us. For, therefore, that under the law was called the burnt-offering, because of the burning upon the altar. Le. vi. 9.

But what, then, must we understand by these lavers, and by this sacrifice being washed in them, in order to its being burned upon the altar?

I answer, Verily, I think that the ten lavers were a figure of the ten commandments; in the purity and perfection of Christ's obedience to which he became capable of being made a burnt-offering, acceptable to God for the sins of the people. Christ was made under the law, and all his acts of obedience to God for us were legal, and his living thus a perfect legal life was his washing his offering in these ten lavers, in order to his presenting it upon the altar for our sins. The lavers went upon wheels, to signify walking feet; and Christ walked in the law, and so became a clean offering to God for us. The wheels were of the very same as were the lavers, to show that Christ's obedience to the law was of the same, as to length and breadth, with its commands and demands to their utmost tittle and extent. The inwards and legs of the burnt-

offering were to be washed in these lavers, Le. i. 9, 13. 2 Ch. iv. 6; to show that Christ should be pure and clean in heart and life.

We know that obedience, whether Christ's or ours, is called 'a walking in the way,' typified by the lavers walking upon their wheels. But I mean not by Christ, his washing of his offering, that he had any filthiness cleaving to his nature or obedience; yet this I say, that so far as our guilt laid upon him could impede, so far he wiped it off by washing in these lavers. For his offering was to be without blemish, and without spot to God. Hence it is said, he sanctified himself in order to his suffering. 'And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him.' Jn. xvii. 19. He. v. 6—10.

For albeit he came holy into the world, yet that holiness was but preparatory to that by which he sanctified himself, in order to his suffering for sin. That, then, which was his immediate preparation for his suffering was his obedience to the law, his washing in these lavers. He, then, first yielded complete obedience to the law on our behalf, and then, as so qualified, offered his washed sacrifice for our sins without spot to God. Thus, therefore, he was our burnt-offering washed in the ten lavers, that he might, according to law, be accepted of the Lord.

And he set five of the lavers on the right side of the house, and five of them on the left. Thus were the ten divided, as the tables of the law, one showing our duty towards God, the other our duty towards our neighbour; in both which the burnt-offering was washed, that it might be clean in both respects. They might also be thus placed, the better to put the people in mind of the necessity of the sanction of Christ according to the law, in order to his offering of himself an offering to God for us.

XXXIX. *Of the tables in the Temple.*

'He made also ten tables, and placed *them* in the temple, five on the right hand,[1] and five on the left.' 2 Ch. iv. 8.

Some, if not all of these tables, so far as I can see, were they on which the burnt-offering was to be cut in pieces, in order to its burning.

These tables were made of stone, of hewn stones, on which this work was done. Eze. xl. 40—43. Now, since the burnt-offering was a figure of the body of Christ, the tables on which this sacrifice was slain must needs, I think, be a type of the heart, the stony heart, of the Jews. For had they not had hearts hard as an adamant, they could not have done that thing.

Upon these tables, therefore, was the death of Christ contrived, and this horrid murder acted; even upon these tables of stone. In that they are called tables of hewn stone, it may be to show that all this cruelty was acted under smooth pretences, for hewn stones are smooth. The tables were finely wrought with tools, even as the heart of the Jews were with hypocrisy. But alas, they were *stone* still; that is, hard and cruel; else they could not have been an anvil for Satan to forge such horrid barbarism upon. The tables were in number the same with the lavers, and were set by them to show what are the fruits of being devoted to the law, as the Jews were, in opposition to Christ and his holy gospel. There flows nothing but hardness and a stony heart from thence. This was showed in its first writing; it was writ on tables of stone, figures of the heart of man; and on the same tables, or hearts, was the death of Jesus Christ compassed.

One would think that the meekness, gentleness, or good deeds of Jesus Christ might have procured in them some relentings when they were about to take away his life; but alas, their hearts were tables of stone! What feeling or compassion can a stone be sensible of? Here were stony hearts, stony thoughts, stony counsels, stony contrivances, a stony law, and stony hands; and what could be expected hence but barbarous cruelty indeed? 'If I ask *you*,' said Christ, 'ye will not answer me, nor let *me* go.' Lu. xxii. 68.

In that these stony tables were placed about the temple, it supposeth that they were temple-men, priests, scribes, rulers, lawyers, &c., that were to be the chief on whose hearts this murder was to be designed, and by them enacted to their own damnation without repentance.

XL. *Of the instruments wherewith this sacrifice was slain, and of the four tables they were laid on in the Temple.*

The instruments that were laid upon the tables in the temple were not instruments of music, but those with which the burnt-offering was slain. 'And the four tables *were* of hewn stone for the burnt-offering: whereupon also they laid the instruments wherewith they slew the burnt-offering and the sacrifice.' Eze. xl. 42, 43.

Here we are to take notice that the tables are the same, and some of them of which we spake before. That the instruments with which they slew the sacrifice were laid upon these tables. The instruments with which they slew the sacrifices, what were they but a bloody axe, bloody knives, bloody hooks, and bloody hands? For these we need no proof; matter of fact declares it. But what were those instruments a type of?

Answ. Doubtless they were a type of our sins. They were the bloody axe, the knife, and bloody hands that shed his precious blood. They were

[1] This is from the Genevan or puritan version. Our translation has 'on the right side.'—(Ed.)

the meritorious ones, without which he could not have died. When I say ours, I mean the sins of the world. Though, then, the hearts of the Jews were the immediate contrivers, yet they were our sins that were the bloody tools or instruments which slew the Son of God. 'He was wounded for our transgressions, he died for our sins.' Is. liii. 1 Co. xv. Ga. i.

O the instruments of us churls, by which this poor man was taken from off the earth! Is. xxxii. 7. Pr. xxx. 14. The whip, the buffetings, the crown of thorns, the nails, the cross, the spear, with the vinegar and gall, were all nothing in comparison of our sins. 'For the transgression of my people was he stricken.' Is. liii. 8. Nor were the flouts, taunts, mocks, scorns, derisions, &c., with which they followed him from the garden to the cross, such cruel instruments as these. They were our sins then, our cursed sins, by, with, and for the sake of which the Lord Jesus became a bloody sacrifice.

But why must the instruments be laid upon the tables?

1. Take the tables for the hearts of the murderers, and the instruments for their sins, and what place more fit for such instruments to be laid upon? It is God's command that these things should be laid to heart, and he complains of those that do not do it. Is. xlii. 25; lvii. 11.

2. Nor are men ever like to come to good, until these instruments with which the Son of God was slain indeed be laid to heart. And they were eminently laid to heart even by them soon after; the effect of which was the conversion of thousands of them. Ac ii. 36, 37.

3. Wherefore when it says these instruments must be laid upon the stony tables, he insinuates, that God would take a time to charge the murder of his Son home upon the consciences of them that did that murder, either to their conversion or condemnation. And is it not reason that they who did this horrid villany, should have their doings laid before their faces upon the tables of their heart? That they may look upon him whom they have pierced, and mourn. Zec. xii. 10. Re. i. 7.

4. But these instruments were laid but upon some of the tables, and not upon all the ten, to show that not all, but some of those, so horrid, should find mercy of the Lord.

5. But we must not confine these tables only to the hearts of the bloody Jews; they were *our* sins for the which he died. Wherefore these instruments should be laid upon our tables too, and the Lord lay them there for good, that we also may see our horrid doings, and come bending to him for forgiveness!

6. These instruments thus lying on the tables in the temple, became a continual motive to God's people to repentance; for so oft as they saw these bloody and cruel instruments, they were put in mind how their sins should be the cause of the death of Christ.

7. It would be well also, if these instruments were at all times laid upon our tables, for our more humbling for our sins in every thing we do, especially upon the Lord's table, when we come to eat and drink before him. I am sure the Lord Jesus doth more than intimate, that he expects that we should do so, where he saith, When ye eat that bread, and drink that cup, do this in remembrance of me. In remembrance that I died for your sins, and consequently that they were the meritorious cause of the shedding of my blood.

To conclude. Let all men remember, that these cruel instruments are laid upon the table of their hearts, whether they see them there or no. 'The sin of Judah *is* written with a pen of iron, *and* with the point of a diamond - upon the table of their heart.' Je xvii. 1 A pen of iron will make letters upon a table made of stone, and the point of a diamond will make letters upon glass. Wherefore in this saying, God informs us that if we shall forbear to read these lines to our conversion, God will one day read them against us unto our condemnation.

XLI. *Of the candlesticks of the Temple.*

'And he made ten candlesticks of gold, according to their form, and set *them* in the temple, five on the right hand, and five on the left.' 2 Ch. iv. 7.

These candlesticks were made of gold, to show the worth and value of them. They were made after the form, or exact, according to rule, like those that were made in the tabernacle, or according to the pattern which David gave to Solomon to make them by. Observe, there was great exactness in these; and need there was of this hint, that men might see that every thing will not pass for a right ordered candlestick with God. Ex. xxv. 31—40. 1 Ch. xxviii. 15.

These candlesticks are said sometimes to be ten, sometimes seven, and sometimes one; ten here; seven, Re. i. 12, 13, and one in Zec. iv.[1] Ten is a note of multitude, and seven a note of perfection, and one a note of unity. Now, as the precious stones with which the house was garnished were a type of ministerial gifts, so these candlesticks were a type of those that were to be the churches of the New Testament; wherefore he says, 'The candle-

[1] The candlesticks mentioned in 2 Ch. iv. 7, Zec. iv., and Re. i., appear to have been of one pattern. A stem, with a bowl bearing a centre and six branches—three on each side. Of these there were ten in the temple. The prophets Zechariah and John, in their holy visions, saw but one, with its seven lamps secretly supplied by living olive trees. These lights 'are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth;' the seven lamps 'are the seven churches.' What a source for reflection is here opened.—(Ed.)

sticks which thou sawest are the seven churches.' Re. i. 12—20.

1. The candlesticks were here in number ten, to show that Christ under the New Testament would have a many gospel-churches. 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth,' saith he, 'will draw all *men* unto me;' that is, abundance. For the children of the desolate, that is, of the New Testament church, shall be many more than they of the Jews were. Jn. xii. 32. Ga. iv. 27.

2. In that the candlesticks were set by the lavers and stony tables, it might be to show us, that Christ's churches should be much in considering, that Christ, though he was righteous, yet died for our sins; though his life was according to the holy law, yet our stony hearts caused him to die. Yea, and that the candlesticks are placed there, it is to show us also, that we should be much in looking on the sins by which we caused him to die; for the candlesticks were set by those tables whereon they laid the instruments with which they slew the sacrifice.

3. These candlesticks being made according to form, seem not only to be exact as to fashion, but also as to work. For that in Exodus, with its furniture, was made precisely of one talent of gold, perhaps to show, that Christ's true spouse is not to be a grain more, nor a dram less, but just the number of God's elect. This is Christ's completeness, his fulness; one more, one less, would make his body a monster.

4. The candlestick was to hold the light, and to show it to all the house; and the church is to let her light so shine that they without may see the light. Mat. v. 15, 16. Lu. viii. 16; xi. 33; xii. 35.

5. To this end the candlesticks were supplied with oil-olive, a type of the supply that the church hath, that her light may shine, even of the spirit of grace.

XLII. *Of the lamps belonging to the candlesticks of the Temple.*

To these candlesticks belonged several lamps, with their flowers and their knops. Ex. xxv. 33. 2 Ch. iv. 21.

1. These lamps were types of that profession that the members of the church do make of Christ, whether such members have saving grace or not. Mat. xxv. 1—7.

2. These lamps were beautified with knops and flowers, to show how comely and beautiful that professor is, that adorns his profession with a suitable life and conversation.

3. We read that the candlestick in Zechariah had seven lamps belonging to it, and a bowl of golden oil[1] on the top; and that by golden pipes this golden oil emptied itself into the lamps, and all, doubtless, that the lamps might shine. Zec. iv. 2, 12.

4. Christ, therefore, who is the high-priest, and to whom it belongs to dress the lamps, doth dress them accordingly. But now there are a lamp-carriers of two sorts; such as have only oil in their lamps, and such as have oil in their lamps and vessels too, and both these belong to the church, and in both these Christ will be glorified: and they should have their proper places at last. They that have the oil of grace in their hearts, as well as a profession of Christ in their hands, they shall go in with him to the wedding; but they who only make a profession, and have not oil in their vessels, will surely miscarry at last. Mat. xxv.

5. Wherefore, O thou professor! thou lamp-carrier! have a care and look to thyself; content not thyself with that only that will maintain thee in a profession, for that may be done without saving grace. But I advise thee to go to Aaron, to Christ, the trimmer of our lamps, and beg thy vessel full of oil of him—that is, grace—for the seasoning of thy heart, that thou mayest have wherewith, not only to bear thee up now, but at the day of the bridegroom's coming, when many a lamp will go out, and many a professor be left in the dark; for that will to such be a woeful day. Le. xxiv. 2. Mat. xxv.

Some there are that are neither for lamps nor oil for themselves; neither are they pleased if they think they see it in others. But they that have lamps and they that have none, and they which would blow out other folk's light, must shortly appear to give an account of all their doings to God. And then they shall see what it is to have oil in their vessels and lamps: and what it is to be without in their vessels, though it is in their lamps; and what a dismal thing it is to be a malignant[2] to either; but at present let this suffice.

XLIII. *Of the shew-bread on the golden table in the Temple.*

There was also shew-bread set upon a golden table in the temple. 1 Ki. vii. 48. The shew-bread consisted of twelve cakes made of fine flour, two tenth deals[3] were to go to one cake, and they were to be set in order in two rows upon the pure table. Le. xxiv. 5—9.

1. These twelve loaves to me do seem to be a type of the twelve tribes under the law, and of the children of God under the gospel, as they present themselves before God, in and by his ordinances through Christ. Hence the apostle says, 'For we

[1] Oil called golden, from its representing that which is better than thousands of gold and silver. So pure that, in the golden bowl, it would look like liquid gold.—(Ed.)

[2] A malignant was a term of reproach given to those who, in the civil wars, opposed Divine truth, and promoted popery and arbitrary domination. Clarendon calls it 'a term imposed upon those that the puritans wished to render odious to the people.'—(Ed.)

[3] A tenth deal is the tenth part of a Hebrew measure, called the ephah, containing about a bushel.—(Ed.)

being many are one bread,' &c. 1 Co. x. 17. For so were the twelve cakes, though twelve; and so are the gospel-saints, though many; for 'we, *being* many, are one body in Christ.' Ro. xii. 5.

2. But they were a type of the true church, not of the false. For Ephraim, who was the head of the ten tribes in their apostacy, is rejected, as 'a cake not turned.' Indeed he is called a cake, as a false church may be called a church: but he is called 'a cake not turned,' as a false church is not prepared for God, nor fit to be set on the golden table before him. Ho. vii. 8.

3. These cakes or shew-bread were to have frankincense strewed upon them, as they stood upon the golden table, which was a type of the sweet perfumes of the sanctifications of the Holy Ghost; to which I think Paul alludes, when he says, 'The offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable' to God, 'being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.' Ro. xv. 16.

4. They were to be set upon the pure table, new and hot; to show that God delighted in the company of new and warm believers. 'I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth:' 'when Israel *was* a child, then I loved him.' Je. ii 2. Ho. xi. 1. Men at first conversion are like to a cake well baked, and new taken from the oven; they are warm, and cast forth a very fragrant scent, especially when, as warm, sweet incense is strewed upon them.

5. When the shew-bread was old and stale, it was to be taken away, and new and warm put in its place, to show that God has but little delight in the service of his own people when their duties grow stale and mouldy. Therefore he removed his old, stale, mouldy church of the Jews from before him, and set in their rooms upon the golden table the warm church of the Gentiles.

6. The shew-bread, by an often remove and renewing, was continually to all them before the Lord in his house, to show us, that always, as long as ordinances shall be of use, God will have a new, warm, and sanctified people to worship him.

7. Aaron and his sons were to eat the old shew-bread, to show that when saints have lived in the world as long as living is good for them, and when they can do no more service for God in the world, they shall yet be accepted of Jesus Christ; and that it shall be as meat and drink to him to save them from all their unworthinesses.

8. The new shew bread was to be set even on the Sabbath before the Lord, to show with what warmth of love and affections God's servants should approach his presence upon his holy day.

XLIV. *Of the snuffers belonging to the candlesticks and lamps of the Temple.*

As there were candlesticks and lamps, so there were snuffers also prepared for these in the temple of the Lord. 'And the snuffers were snuffers of gold.' 1 Ki. vii. 50. 1. Snuffers. The use of snuffers is to trim the lamps and candles, that their lights may shine the brighter. 2. Snuffers, you know, are biting, pinching things; but use them well, and they will prove not only beneficial to those within the house, but profitable to the lights.

Snuffers, you may say, of what were they a type?

Answ. If our snuffs are our superfluities of naughtiness, our snuffers then are those righteous reproofs, rebukes, and admonitions, which Christ has ordained to be in his house for good; or, as the apostle hath it, for our edification; and perhaps Paul alludes to these when he bids Titus to rebuke the Cretians sharply, that they might be sound in the faith. Tit. i. 12, 13. As who should say, they must use the snuffers of the temple to trim their lights withal, if they burn not well. These snuffers therefore are of great use in the temple of God; only, as I said, they must be used wisely. It is not for every fool to handle snuffers at or about the candles, lest perhaps, instead of mending the light, they put the candle out. And therefore Paul bids them that are spiritual do it. Ga. vi. 1. My reason tells me, that if I use these snuffers as I should, I must not only endeavour to take the superfluous snuff away, but so to do it, that the light thereby may be mended; which then is done if, as the apostle saith, I use sharpness to edification, and not for destruction. 1 Co. v. 4, 5. 2 Co. xiii. 10.

Are not the seven churches in Asia called by name of candlesticks? And why candlesticks, if they were not to hold the candles? And candles must have snuffers therewith to trim the lights. And Christ, who is our true Aaron, in those rebukes which he gave those churches, alluding to these snuffers, did it that their lights might shine the brighter. Re. ii. iii. Wherefore, as he used them, he did it still with caution to their light, that it might not be impaired. For as he still thus trimmed these lamps, he yet encouraged what he saw would shine if helped. He only nipt the snuff away.

Thus, therefore, he came to them with these snuffers in his hand, and trimmed their lamps and candlesticks. Re. ii. 4, 20; iii. 2, 15. This should teach ministers, to whom it belongs under Christ to use the snuffers well. Strike at the snuff, not at the light, in all your rebukes and admonitions; snuff not your lamps of a private revenge, but of a design to nourish grace and gifts in churches. Thus our Lord himself says he did, in his using of these snuffers about these candlesticks. 'As many,' saith he, 'as I love, I rebuke and chasten; be zealous therefore, and repent.' Re. iii. 19.

To conclude; Watchman, watch, and let not

your snuffs be too long, nor pull them off with your fingers, or carnal reasonings, but with godly admonitions, &c. Use your snuffers graciously, curb vice, nourish virtue; so you will use them well, and so your light will shine to the glory of God.[1]

XLV. *Of the snuff-dishes that were with the snuffers in the Temple.*

As there were snuffers, so there were also snuff-dishes in the temple; 'and they were also made of gold.' Ex. xxv. 38; xxxvii. 23. Nu. iv. 9. The snuff-dishes were those in which the snuffs were put when snuffed off, and by which they were carried forth of the temple. They therefore, as the snuffers are, are of great use in the temple of God. 1. By them the golden floor of the temple is kept from being daubed by the snuffs. 2. By them also the clean hands of those that worship there are kept from being defiled. 3. By them also the stinks of the snuffs are soonest suppressed in the temple; and consequently the tender noses of them that worship there preserved from being offended.

Snuffs, you know, are daubing things, stinking things, nauseous things; therefore we must take heed that they touch not this floor on which we walk, nor defile the hands which we lift up to God, when we come to worship him. But how must this be done, but as we take them off with the snuffers, and put them in these snuff-dishes? Some are for being at the snuffs with their fingers, and will also cast them at their feet, and daub the floor of God's holy house; but usually such do burn as well as defile themselves. But is it not a shame for a man to defile himself with that vice which he rebuketh in another? Let us then, while we are taking away the snuffs of others, hate even the garment spotted by the flesh, and labour to carry such stink with the snuff dishes out of the temple of God.

Snuff-dishes, you may say, what are they?

I answer, If sins are the snuffs, and rebukes and admonitions the snuffers; then, methinks, repentance, or, in case that be wanting, the censures of the church, should be the snuff-dishes. Hence, repentance is called a church-cleansing grace, and the censures of the church a purging out of the old leaven, and making it a new lump. 1 Co. v. 2. 2 Co. vii. 11.

Ah! were these snuff-dishes more of use in the churches, we should not have this man's snuff defile that man's fingers as it doth. Nor would the temple of God be so besmeared with these snuffs, and be daubed as it is.

Ah! snuffs pulled off, lie still in the temple-floor, and there stink, and defile both feet and fingers, both the callings and conversations of temple-worshippers, to the disparaging of religion, and the making of religious worship but of low esteem with men; and all, I say, for want of the due use of these snuffers, and these snuff-dishes, there. Nay, are not whole churches now defiled with those very snuffs, that long since were plucked off, and all for want of the use of these snuff-dishes, according to the Lord's commandment. For you must know, that reproof and admonitions are but of small use, where repentance, or church-censures, are not thereto annexed. When ministers use the snuffers, the people should hold the snuff-dishes.

Round reproofs for sin, when they light upon penitent hearts, then brave work is in the church: then the snuff is not only pulled away, but carried out of the temple of God aright, &c. And now the worship and worshippers shine like gold. '*As* an ear-ring of gold, and an ornament of fine gold, *so is* a wise reprover upon an obedient ear.' Pr. xxv. 12.

Ministers, it appertains to you to use the snuffers, and to teach the people to hold the snuff-dishes right. Ac. xx. 20, 21. 2 Ti. iv. 2. We must often be snuffed with these snuffers, or our light will burn but dimly, our candle will also waste. Pray, therefore, O men of God, look diligently to your people. Snuff them as you see there is need; but touch not their snuff with your white fingers; a little smutch on YOU will be seen a great way. Remember also that you leave them nowhere, but with these snuff-dishes, that the temple may be cleared of them. Do with the snuff as the neat housewife doth with the toad which she finds in her garden. She takes the fork, or a pair of tongs, and therewith doth throw it over the pales. Cast them away, I say, with fear, zeal, care, revenge, and with great indignation, and then your church, your conversation, your fingers, and all, will be kept white and clean. 2 Co. vii. 11.

XLVI. *Of the golden tongs belonging to the Temple.*

There were also tongs of gold used in the temple of old. 1 Ki. vii. 49. 1. These tongs were used about the altar, to order the fire there. 2. They were used too about the candlestick, and are therefore called HIS tongs. 3. Perhaps there were tongs for both these services; but of that the word is silent.

But what were they used about the candlestick to do?

Answ. To take holy fire from off the altar to light the lamps withal. For the fire of the temple was holy fire, such as at first was kindled from

[1] Daniel Burgess published a curious sermon, in 1697, on the golden snuffers, showing that they are a type or emblem of spiritual snuffing or reproving; and of pure gold, to show that reprovers should be holy and unblameable. His directions and cautions are valuable, but Bunyan says much more in his few lines than Burgess does in his eighty pages.—(ED.)

heaven, and when kindled, maintained by the priests, and of that the lamps were lighted. Le. ix. 24. 2 Ch. vii. 1. Nor was there, upon pain of death, any other fire to be used there. Le. x. 1, 2. These tongs, therefore, were used to take fire from off the altar to light the lamps and candlesticks withal. For to trim the lights, and to dress the lamps, was Aaron's work day by day. He shall light and order the lamps upon the pure candlestick before the Lord, and Aaron did so. He lighted the seven lamps thereof, as the Lord commanded Moses. Ex. x. 24, 25. Le. xxiv. 2, 3. Nu. viii. 3. What is a lamp or candlestick to us, if there be not light thereon; and how lighted without fire, and how shall we take up coals to light the lamps withal, if we have not tongs prepared for that purpose? With these tongs fire also was taken from off the altar, and put into the censers to burn sweet incense with, before the Lord. The tongs then were of great use in the temple of the Lord.

But what were the tongs a type of?

The altar was a type of Christ; the fire of the Holy Ghost; and these tongues were a type of that holy hand of God's grace, by which the coals, or several dispensations and gifts of the Holy Ghost, are taken and given to the church, and to her members, for her work and profit in this world.

Tongs, we know, are used instead of fingers; wherefore Aaron's golden tongs were a type of Christ's golden fingers. Ca v. 14. Isaiah saith that one of the seraphims flew to him with 'a live coal in his hand, *which* he had taken with the tongs from off the altar.' Here the type and antitype, to wit, tongs and hand, are put together. Is. vi. 6. But the prophet Ezekiel, treating of like matters, quite waives the type, the tongs, and speaketh only of this holy hand; 'And he spake unto the man clothed with linen, and said, Go in between the wheels under the cherub'—where the mercy-seat stood, where God dwelt, Ex. xxv. Ps. lxxx. 1;—'and fill thy hand with coals of fire from between the cherubims.' Eze. x. 2.

Thus you see our golden tongs are now turned into a golden hand; into the golden hand of the man clothed in linen, which is Jesus Christ, who at his ascension received of God the Father the Spirit in all fulness, to give, as his divine wisdom knew was best, the several coals or dispensations thereof unto his church, for his praise, and her edification. Mat. iii. 11. Ac. ii. It is by this hand also that this holy fire is put into our censers. It is this hand also that takes this coal, therewith to touch the lips of ministers, that their words may warm like fire; and it is by this hand that the Spirit is given to the churches, as returns of their holy prayers. Lu. xi. 9—13. Ro. viii. 26. Re. viii. 5.

It was convenient that the fire in the temple should be disposed of by golden tongs; but the Holy Ghost, by the golden hand of Christ's grace, for that can wittingly dispose of it, according as men and things are placed, and to do and be done in the churches; wherefore he adds, 'And *one* cherub stretched forth his hand from between the cherubims, unto the fire that *was* between the cherubims, and took *thereof*, and put *it* into the hands of *him that was* clothed with linen, who took *it* and went out.' Eze. x. 7.

By this hand, then, by this Man's hand, the coals of the altar are disposed of, both to the lamps, the candlesticks, the censers, and the lips of ministers, according to his own good pleasure. And of all this were the tongs in the temple a type.

XLVII. *Of the altar of incense in the Temple.*

The alter of incense was made first for the tabernacle, and that of shittim wood; but it was made for the temple of cedar, and it was to be set before the veil, that is, by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat; that is, at the entering of the holiest, but not within. And the priest was to approach it every morning, which, as to the holiest, he might not do. Besides, when he went in to make an atonement, he was to take fire from off that altar to burn his incense within the holy place. Ex. xxx. 1—10. Le. xvi. 18.

1. It was called *the golden altar*, because it was overlaid with pure gold. This altar was not for burnt-offering, as the brazen altar was; nor for the meat-offering, nor the drink-offering, but to burn incense thereon. Ex. xxx. 7. Which sweet incense was a type of grace and prayer. Ps. cxli. ii.

2. Incense, or that called incense here, was not a simple but a compound, made up of sweet spices called *stacte*, *onycha*, and *galbanum*; and these three, may answer to these three parts of this duty, to wit, prayer, supplication, and intercession. Ex. xxx. 34—37; xxxvii. 29. 1 Ti. ii. 1.

3. This incense was to be burned upon the altar every morning; upon that altar which was called the altar of incense, which was before the veil; to show that it is our duty every morning to make our prayer to God by Jesus Christ before the veil; that is, before the door of heaven, and there to seek, knock, and ask for what we need, according to the word. Lu. xi. 9—13.

4. This incense was to be kindled every morning, to show how He continueth interceding for us, and also that all true praise of men to God is by the work, the renewed work, of the Holy Ghost upon our hearts. Ro. viii. 26.

5. Incense, as you see, was made of sweet spices, such as were gummy, and so apt to burn with a smoke, to show, that not cold and flat, but hot and fervent, is the prayer that flows from the spirit of faith and grace. Zec. xii. 10. Je. v. 16.

6. The smoke of this incense was very sweet

and savoury, like pleasant perfume, to show how delightful and acceptable the very sound and noise of right prayer is unto the nostrils of the living God, because it comes from a broken heart. Ps. li. 17. Ca. ii. 14.

7. This incense was to be offered upon the golden altar, to show us that no prayer is accepted but what is directed to God in the name of his holy and blessed Son our Saviour. 1 Pe. ii. 5. He. xiii. 15.

8. They were commanded to burn incense every morning upon this altar, to show that God is never weary of the godly prayers of his people. It also showeth that we need every day to go to God for fresh supplies of grace to carry us through this evil world.

9. This altar, though it stood without the veil, to teach us to live by faith, and to make use of the name of Christ, as we find it recorded in the first temple, yet was placed so nigh unto the holiest, that the smell of the smoke might go in thither; to show that it is not distance of place that can keep the voice of true prayer from our God, the God of heaven; but that he will be taken with what we ask for according to his word. It stood, I say, nigh the veil, nigh the holiest; and he that burnt incense there, did make his approach to God. Hence the Psalmist, when he spake of praying, saith, 'It is good for me to draw near to God.' Ps lxxiii. 28. He. x. 22.

10. This altar thus placed did front the ark within the veil; to put us in mind that the law is kept therein from hurting us; to let us know also that the mercy-seat is above, upon the ark, and that God doth sit thereon, with his pardon in his hand to save us. O! what speaking things are types, shadows, and parables, had we but eyes to see, had we but ears to hear! He that did approach the altar with incense of old aright—and then he did so when he approached it by Aaron, his high-priest—pleased God; how much more shall we have both person and prayers accepted, and a grant of what we need, if indeed we come as we should to God by Jesus Christ. But take heed you approach not to a wrong altar; take heed also that you come not with strange fire; for they are dangerous things, and cause the worshippers to miss of what they would enjoy. But more of this in the next particular.

XLVIII. *Of the golden censers belonging to the Temple.*

There were also golden censers belonging to the temple, and they were either such as belonged to the sons of Levi in general, or that were for Aaron and his sons in special. Nu. xvi. 6, 17, 18. The censers of the Levites were a type of ours; but the censer of Aaron was a type of Christ's. The censers, as was hinted before, were for this use in the temple, namely, to hold the holy fire in, on which incense was to be burned before the Lord. Le. x. 1, 2.

These censers then were types of hearts. Aaron's golden one was a type of Christ's golden heart, and the censers of the Levites were types of other worshippers' hearts. The fire also which was put therein was a type of that Spirit by which we pray, and the incense that burnt thereon, a type of our desires. Of Christ's censer we read, Revelations the eighth, which is always filled with much incense; that is, with continual intercessions, which he offereth to God for us; and from whence also there always goes a cloud of sweet savour, covering the mercy-seat. Le. xvi. 13. He. vii. 25. Re. viii. 3, 4.

But to speak of the censers, and fire, and incense of the worshippers; for albeit they were all put under one rule, that is, to be according to law, yet oftentimes, as were the worshippers, such were the censers, fire, and incense. 1. Hence the two hundred and fifty censers with which Korah and his company offered, are called the censers of sinners; for they came with wicked hearts then to burn incense before the Lord. Nu. xvi. 17, 37. 2. Again, as the censers of these men were called the censers of sinners, showing they came at that time to God with naughty hearts, so the fire that was in Nadab and Abihu's censers is called strange fire, which the Lord commanded them not. Le. x. 1. 3. This strange fire was a type of that strange spirit opposed to the Spirit of God, in and by which, notwithstanding, some adventure to perform worship to God. 4. Again, as these censers are called the censers of sinners, and this fire called strange fire, so the incense of such is also called strange, and is said to be an abomination unto God. Ex. xxx. 9. Is. i. 13; lxvi. 3.

Thus you see that both the censers, fire, and incense of some is rejected, even as the heart, spirit, and prayer of sinners are an abomination unto God. Ho. vii. 14; iv. 12; v. 4. Pr. xxviii. 9.

But there were besides these true censers, holy fire and sweet incense among the worshippers in the temple, and their service was accepted by Aaron their high-priest; for that was through the faith of Christ, and these were a type of our true gospel worshippers, who come with holy hearts, the holy spirit, and holy desires before their God, by their Redeemer. These are a perfume in his nose. 'The prayer of the upright *is* his delight.' Pr. xv. 8. Their prayers went up like 'incense, *and* the lifting up of their hands *as* the evening sacrifice.' Ps. cxli. 2.

Let them then that pretend to worship before God in his holy temple look to it, that both their censers, fire, and incense, heart, spirit, and desires, be such as the word requires; lest, instead of receiving of gracious returns from the God of heaven, their censers be laid up against them; lest the

fire of God devours them, and their incense become an abomination to him, as it happened to those made mention of before.

But it is said the censers of Korah and his company was hallowed.

Answ. So is God's worship, which is so his by his ordination, yet even that very worship may be spoiled by man's transgression. Prayer is God's ordinance, but all prayer is not accepted of God. We must then distinguish between the thing commanded, and our using of that thing. The temple was God's house, but was abused by the irreverence of those that worshipped there, even to the demolishing of it.

A golden censer is a gracious heart, heavenly fire is the Holy Ghost, and sweet incense the effectual fervent prayer of faith. Have you these? These God expects, and these you must have if ever your persons or performances be of God accepted.

XLIX. *Of the golden spoons of the Temple.*

1. The golden spoons belonging to the temple were in number, according to Moses, twelve; answering to the twelve tribes. Nu. vii. 86. But when the temple was built, I suppose they were more, because of the number of the basons.

2. The spoons, as I suppose, were for the worshippers in the temple to eat that broth withal, wherein the trespass-offerings were boiled: for which purpose there were several cauldrons hanged in the corners of that court called the priest's to boil them in. 1 Sa. ii. 13, 14. Eze. xlvi. 19, 20.

3. Now, in that he saith here were spoons, what is it but that there are also babes in the temple of the Lord. There was broth for babes as well as meat for men, and spoons to eat the broth withal.

4. True, the gospel being more excellent than the law, doth change the term, and instead of broth, saith, There is milk for babes. But in that he saith milk, he insinuates there are spoons for children in the church.

5. 'I could not,' saith Paul to them at Corinth, 'speak to you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, *even* as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk and not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able *to bear it*, neither yet now are ye able.' 1 Co. iii. 1, 2.

6. See, here were need of spoons, milk is spoon meat; for here were those which could not feed themselves with milk, let them then that are men eat the strong meat. 'For every one that useth milk *is* unskilful in the word of righteousness, for he is a babe. But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, *even* those who, by reason of use, have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.' He. v. 13, 14.

7. Spoons, you know, are to feed us with weak and thin food, even with that which best suiteth with weak stomachs, or with a babyish temper. Hence, as the strong man is opposed to the weak, so the milk is opposed to the strong meat.

8. So then, though the babe in Christ is weaker than the man in Christ, yet is he not by Christ left unprovided for; for here is milk for babes, and spoons to eat it with. All this is taught us by the spoons; for what need is there of spoons where there is nothing to eat but strong meat?

9. Babes, you know, have not only babyish stomachs, but also babyish tricks, and must be dealt withal as babes; their childish talk and frompered carriages must be borne withal.

10. Sometimes they cry for nothing, yea, and count them for their foes which rebuke their childish toys and ways. All which the church must bear, because they are God's babes; yea, they must feed them too: for if he has found them milk and spoons, it is that they may be fed therewith, and live: yea, grown ministers are God's nurses, wherefore they must have a lap to lay them in, and knees to dandle them upon, and spoons to feed them with.[1]

11. Nor are the babes but of use in the church of God; for he commands that they may be brought to cry with the congregation before the Lord for mercy for the land. Joel ii. 16.

12. Incense, I told you, was a type of prayers, and the spoons, in the time of Moses, were presented at the temple full of it. Perhaps to show that God will, with the milk which he has provided for them, give it to them as a return of their crying to him, even as the nurse gives the child the teat and milk.

13. You know the milk is called for when the child is crying, as we say, to stop its mouth with it. O babes! did you but cry soundly, God would give you yet more milk.

14. But what were these golden spoons a type of? I answer, if the milk is the juice and consolations of the Word, then the spoons must be those soft sentences and golden conclusions with which the ministers feed their souls by it. 'I have fed you,' saith Paul, 'with the milk of the Word;' saith Peter, 'even as you have been able to bear it.' Compare these two or three texts—1 Pe. ii. 1–3. 1 Co. iii. 2. 1 Th. ii. 7.

15. And this is the way to strengthen the weak

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[1] Great was the fatherly care felt by Bunyan for his own children, especially for his blind Mary; and judging by the lessons he draws from the temple spoons, those feelings extended to his church. It must be a severe trial to a minister's temper, when teased with babes in religion at three score and ten years of age, especially if they are old professors. Thus Bunyan, in addressing the readers of his emblems, says—

'We now have boys with beards, and girls that be
'Huge as old women wanting gravity.'—(Ed.)

hands, and to confirm the feeble knees. This is the way to make them grow to be men who now are but as infants of days. 'Thus a little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation.' Yea, thus in time you may make a little child to jostle it with a leopard; yea, to take a lion by the beard; yea, thus you may embolden him to put his hand to the hole of the asp, and to play before the den of the cockatrice. Is. xi. 6–8; lx. 22.

Who is most stout was once a babe; he that can now eat meat was sometimes glad of milk, and to be fed with the spoon. Babes in Christ, therefore, must not be despised nor overlooked; God has provided them milk and spoons to eat it with, that they may grow up to be men before him.

L. *Of the bowls and basons belonging to the Temple.*

As there were spoons, so there were bowls and basons belonging to the temple. Some of these were of gold, and some of silver; and when they were put together, their number was four hundred and forty. These you read of, Ezr. i. 10. The bowls or basons were not to wash in, as was the sea and lavers of the temple; they were rather to hold the messes in, which the priests at their holy feasts did use to set before the people. This being so, they were types of that proportion of faith by which, or by the measure of which, every man received of the holy food for the nourishment of his soul. For, as a man, had he a thousand messes set before him, he eating for his health, cannot go beyond what his stomach will bear; so neither can the child of God, when he comes to worship in the temple of God, receive of the good things that are there, beyond the 'proportion of his faith.' Ro. xii. 6. Or, as it is in another place, according to 'the ability which God giveth.' 1 Pe. iv. 11. And hence it is, at the self-same ordinance, some receive three times as much as others do; for that their bowl, I mean their faith, is able to receive it. Yea, Benjamin's mess was five times as big as was the mess of any of his brethren; and so it is with some saints while they eat with their brother Joseph in the house of the living God.

There are three go to the same ordinance, and are all of them believers; who, when they come home, and compare notes, do find their receivings are not of the same quantity. One says, I got but little; the other says, It was a pretty good ordinance to me; the third says, I was exceeding well there. Why, to be sure, he that had but little there, had there but little faith; for great faith in him would have received more. He had it then according to the largeness of his bowl, even according to his faith, 'as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.' Ro. xii. 3. Mark, faith is a certain measure, and that not only as to its degree, but for that it can receive, retain, or hold what is put into it.

So then, here it is no matter how much milk or holy broth there is; but how big is thy bowl, thy faith. Little bowls hold but little, nor canst thou receive but as thy faith will bear; I speak now of God's ordinary dealing with his people, for so he saith in his Word, 'According to your faith be it unto you.' Mat. ix. 29. If a man goeth to the ocean sea for water, let him carry but an egg-shell with him, and with that he shall not bring a gallon home. I know, indeed, that our little pots have a promise of being made like the bowls of the altar; but still our mess must be according to our measure, be that small, or be it great. The same prophet saith again, the saints shall be 'filled like bowls, *and* as the corners of the altar;' which, though it supposes an enlargement, yet it must be confined to that measure of faith which is provided for its reception. Zec. ix. 15; xiv. 20. And suppose these bowls should signify the promises, though the saints, not the promises, are compared to them, because they, not promises, are the subjects of faith; yet it is the promise by our measure of faith in that, that is nourishing to our souls.

When Ahasuerus made a feast to his subjects, they drank their wine in bowls. They did not drink it by the largeness of the vessel whence they drew it, but according to their health, and as their stomachs would so receive it. Es. i. 7, 8. Thy faith, then, is one of the bowls or basons of the temple, by, or according to which, thou receivest thy mess, when thou sittest feasting at the table of God. And observe, all the bowls were not made of gold, as all faith is not of a saving sort. It is the golden faith that is right; the silver bowls were of an inferior sort. Re. iii. 18.

Some, I say, have golden faith; all faith is not so. Wherefore look to it, soul, that thy bowl, thy faith, be golden faith, or of the best kind. Look, I say, after a good faith, and great, for a great faith receives a great mess. Of old, beggars did use to carry their bowls in their laps, when they went to a door for an alms.[1] Consequently, if their bowls were but little, they ofttimes came off by the loss, though the charity of the giver was large. Yea, the greater the charity, the larger the loss, because the beggar's bowl was too little. Mark it well, it is ofttimes thus in the matters of our God. Art thou a beggar, a beggar at God's

[1] The degraded state of the poor, when the religious houses (so called) distributed food to all comers, was long felt after the suppression of those hot-beds of vice, from the encouragement they gave to idleness, pauperism, and the most vicious habits. Even in Bunyan's days the beggar, carrying a bowl to receive the fruit of their industrious neighbours' toil, was still remembered. At intervals, plague and famine swept away the helpless wretches, to the terror of all classes. How severely is this curse still felt in Ireland.—(Ed.)

door, be sure thou gettest a great bowl; for as thy bowl is, so will be thy mess. 'According to your faith,' saith he, 'be it unto you.' Mat. ix. 29.

LI. *Of the flagons and cups of the Temple.*

The next thing to be considered is the flagons and cups of the temple; of these we read, 1 Ch. xxviii. 17. Je. lii. 19. Is. xxii. 24. These were of great use among the Jews, especially on their feasting days; as of their sabbaths, new-moons, and the like. Le. xxiii. 13. Nu. xxviii. 7. 1 Ch. xvi. 3. Is. xxv. 6; lxii. 8, 9.

For instance, the day that David danced before the ark, 'he dealt among all the people, *even* among the whole multitude of Israel, as well to the women as men, to every one a cake of bread, and a good piece *of flesh*, and a flagon *of wine*.' 2 Sa. vi. 19. 1 Ch. xvi. 3. 'In this mountain,' that is, in the temple typically, saith the prophet, 'shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.' Is. xxv. 6.

These are feasting times; the times in which our Lord used to have his spouse into his wine-cellar, and in which he used to display with delight his banner over her head in love. Ca. ii. 4, 5. The church of Christ, alas! is of herself a very sickly puely thing; a woman; a weaker vessel; but how much more must she needs be so weak, when the custom of women is upon her, or when she is sick of love? Then she indeed has need of a draught, for she now sinks, and will not else be supported. 'Stay me with flagons,' saith she, 'and comfort me with apples, for I *am* sick of love.' Ca. ii. 5.

These flagons, therefore, were types of those feastings, and of those large draughts of Divine love, that the Lord Jesus draweth for and giveth to his spouse in those days that he feasteth with them. For then he saith, 'Drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved.' This he does to cheer her up under her hours of sadness and dejection; for now new 'corn shall make the young men cheerful, and new wine the maids.' Pr. xxxi. 6, 7. Ps. cxvi. 13. Je. xvi. 7. Ca. v. Zec. ix. 17.

As there were flagons, so there were cups; and they are called cups of consolation, and cups of salvation, because, as I said, they were they by which God at his feastings with his people, or when he suppeth with them, giveth out the more large draughts of his love unto his saints, to revive the spirits of the humble, and to revive the hearts of the contrite ones. At these times God made David's cup run over. For we are now admitted, if our faith will bear it, to drink freely into this grace, and to be merry with him. Ps. xxiii. 5. Lu. xv. 22—24. Ca. v. 1; vii. 11, 12. Jn. xiv. 23. Re. iii. 20. This is that to which the apostle alludeth, when he saith, 'Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess, but be filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart unto the Lord.' Ep. v. 18, 19.

For the cups, as to their use in the general, understand them as of the bowls made mention of before. For assurances are the blooms and flowers of faith, not always on it, though usually on feasting days it is so. So the degree of the one is still according to the measure of the other. Ja. v. Ro. xv. 13.

LII. *Of the chargers of the Temple.*

In the tabernacle they had but twelve of them, and they were made of silver; but in the temple they had in all a thousand and thirty. The thirty were made of gold, the rest were made of silver. Ezr. i. 9. Nu. vii. 84. These chargers were not for uses common or profane, but, as I take it, they were those in which the passover, and other meat-offerings, were drest up, when the people came to eat before God in his holy temple. The meat, you know, I told you, was opposite to milk; and so are these chargers to the bowls, and cups, and flagons of the temple.

The meat was of two sorts, roast or boiled. Of that which was roasted was the passover, and of that which was boiled were the trespass-offerings. Wherefore, concerning the passover, he saith, 'Eat not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast *with* fire; his head with his legs, and with the purtenance thereof.' Ex. xii. 9. This roast meat was a type of the body of Christ as suffering for our sins, the which, when it was roast, was, and is as dressed up in chargers, and set before the congregations of the saints.

But what were the chargers a type of? I also ask, in what charger our gospel passover is now dressed up and set before the people? Is it not in the four evangelists, the prophets, and epistles of the apostles? They therefore are the chargers and the ordinance of the supper; in these also are the trespass-offerings, with what is fried in pans, mystically prepared for the children of the Highest.

And why might they not be a type of gospel sermons?

I answer, I think not so fitly; for, alas! the best of sermons in the world are but as thin slices cut out of those large dishes. Our ministers are the carvers, good doctrine is the meat, and the chargers in which this meat is found are the holy canonical Scriptures, &c., though, as I said, most properly the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

In these is Christ most truly, lively, and amply set before us as crucified, or roasted at the fire of God's law for our sins, that we might live by him through faith, feeding upon him. 2 Co. iii. 12. Ga. iii. 12. Ac. iii. 18—22; xiii. 2—5; xxvi. 22. 1 Pe. i. 10. Ac. vii. 52; xv. 15; xxviii. 23. Ro. xvi. 26. Re. x. 7.

There is in these chargers not only meat, but sauce, if you like it, to eat the meat withal; for the passover there are bitter herbs, or sound repentance; and for other, as the thank-offerings, their is holy cheerfulness and prayers to God for grace. All these are set forth before in the holy Scriptures, and presented to us thereby, as in the gold chargers of the temple. He that will scoff at this, let him scoff. The chargers were a type of something; and he that can show a fitter antitype than is here proposed to consideration, let him do it, and I will be thankful to him.

Christians, here is your meat before you, and get your carvers to slice it out for you, and this know, the deeper you dip it in the sauce, the better it will relish. But let not unbelief teach you such manners as to make you leave the best bits behind you. For your liberty is to eat freely of the best, of the fat, and of the sweet.

LIII. *Of the goings out of the Temple.*

As to the comings into the temple, of them we have spoken already; namely, of the outer and inner court, as also of the doors of the porch and temple. The coming in was but one strait course, and that a type of Jesus Christ; but the goings out were many. Jn. x. 9; xiv. 6.

Now, as I said, it is insinuated that the goings out are many, answerable to the many ways which the children of men have invented to apostatize in from God. Christ is the way into; but sin the way out of the temple of God. True, I read not of a description of the goings out of this house, as I read of the comings in. Only when they had Athaliah out thence, she is said to go out by the way by which the horses come into the king's stables, and there she was slain, as it were upon the horse dung-hill. 2 Ki. xi. 16. 2 Ch. xxiii. 15. When Uzziah also went out of this house for his transgression, he was cast out of all society, and made to dwell in a kind of a pest-house, even to the day of his death. 2 Ch. xxvi. 21.

Thus, therefore, though these goings out are not particularly described, the judgments that followed them that have for their transgressions been thrust out thence, have been both remarkable and tremendous: for to die upon a dung-hill, or in a pest-house, and that for wicked actions, is a shameful, a disgraceful thing. And God will still be spreading dung upon the faces of such; no greatness shall prevent it. Mal. ii. 3. Yea, and will take them away with it. 'I will drive them out of my house,' says he, 'I will love them no more.' Ho. ix. 15.

But what are we to understand in gospel days, by going out of the house of the Lord, for or by sin? I answer, if it be done voluntarily, then sin leads you out: if it be done by the holy compulsion of the church, then it is done by the judicial judgment of God; that is, they are cut off, and cast out from thence, as a just reward for their transgressions.[1] Le. xx; xxii. 3. Eze. xiv. 8. 1 Co. v. 13.

Well, but whither do they go, that are thus gone out of the temple or church of God? I answer, not to the dunghill with Athaliah, nor to the pest-house with Uzziah, but to the devil, that is the first stop, and so to hell, without repentance. But if their sin be not unpardonable, they may by repentance be recovered, and in mercy tread these courts again. Now the way to this recovery is to think seriously what they have done, or by what way they went out from the house of God. Hence the prophet is bid to show to the rebellious house, first the goings out of the house, and then the comings in. But, I say, first he bids show them the goings out thereof. Eze. xliii. 10, 11. And this is of absolute necessity for the recovering of the sinner. For until he that has sinned himself out of God's house shall see what danger he has incurred to himself by this his wicked going out, he will not unfeignedly desire to come in thither again.

There is another thing as to this point to be taken notice of. There is a way by which God also doth depart from this house, and that also is by sin, as the occasion. The sin of a man will thrust him out, and the sin of men will drive God out of his own house. Of this you read, Eze. xi. 22, 23. For this, he saith, 'I have forsaken mine house, I have left mine heritage, I have given the dearly beloved of my soul into the hand of her enemies.' Je. xii. 7. And this also is dreadful. The great sentence of Christ upon the Jews lay much in these words, 'Your house is left unto you desolate;' that is, God has left you to bare walls, and to lifeless traditions. Consider, therefore, of this going out also. Alas! a church, a true church, is but a poor thing if God leaves, if God forsakes it. By a true church I mean one that is congregated according to outward rule, that has sinned God away, as she had almost quite done that was of Laodicea. Re. iii.

He that sins himself out, can find no good in the world; and they that have sinned God out, can

[1] How careful ought churches to be in casting out an offending member, seeing that their sentence should be as 'the judicial judgment of God.' It is not revenge, hatred, malice, or the mere exercise of power, that is to lead to it; it is *the good of the individual* that is to be pursued and sought. While the church endeavours to remain pure, its aim and object should be mainly to correct and reform the offender, that his spirit may be saved. When discipline is undertaken from any other motive than this; and when it is pursued from private pique, or rivalship, or ambition, or the love of power, it is wrong. The salvation of the offender, and the glory of God, should prompt to all the measures which should be taken in the case. 'Restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted,' Gal. vi. 1.—Ed.

find no good in the church. A church that has sinned God away from it, is a sad lump indeed. You therefore that are in God's church, take heed of sinning yourselves out thence; also take heed, that while you keep in, you sin not God away, for thenceforth no good is there. 'Yea, woe to them when I depart from them!' saith God. Ho. ix. 12.

LIV. *Of the singers belonging to the Temple.*

Having thus far passed through the temple, I now come to the singers there. The singers were many, but all of the church, either Jews or proselytes; nor was there any, as I know of, under the Old Testament worship, admitted to sing the songs of the church, and to celebrate that part of worship with the saints, but they who, at least in appearance, were so. The song of Moses, of Deborah, and of those that danced before David, with others that you read of, they were all performed, either by Jews by nature, or by such as were proselyted to their religion. Ex. xv. 1. Jude v. 1, 2. 1 Sa. xviii. 6. And such worship then was occasioned by God's great appearance for them, against the power of the Gentiles their enemies.

But we are confined to the songs of the temple, a more distinct type of ours in the church under the gospel. 1. The singers then were many, but the chief of them, in the days of David, were David himself, Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman, and their sons. 2. In David's time the chief of these singers were two hundred fourscore and eight. 1 Ch. xxv. These singers of old were to sing their songs over the burnt-offering, which were types of the sacrificed body of Christ; a memorial of which offering we have at the Lord's table, the consummation of which Christ and his disciples celebrated with a hymn. Mat. xxvi. 30. And as of old they were the church that did sing in the temple, according to institution, to God, so also they are by God's appointment to be sung in the church by the new. Hence,

1. They are said to be the redeemed that sing. 2. The songs that they sing are said to be the 'songs of their redemption.' Re. v. 9, 10. 3. They were and are songs that no man can learn but they.

But let us run a little in the parallel.

1. They were of old appointed to sing, that were cunning and skilful in songs. And answerable to that it is said, That no man could learn our New Testatment songs, but the hundred and forty and four thousand which were redeemed from the earth. 1 Ch. xv. 22. Re. xiv. 3.

2. These songs were sung with harps, psalteries, cymbals, and trumpets; a type of our singing with spiritual joy, from grace in our hearts. 1 Ch. xxv. 6. 2 Ch. xxix. 26–28. Col. iii. 16.

3. The singers of old were to be clothed in fine linen; which fine linen was a type of innocency, and an upright conversation. Hence the singers under the New Testament are said to be virgins, such in whose mouth was no guile, and that were without 'fault before the throne of God.' 1 Ch. xv. 27. Re. xiv. 1–5. See also vii. 9–16. Ps. xxxiii. 1.

4. The songs sung in the temple were new, or such as were compiled after the manner of repeated mercies that the church of God had received, or were to receive. And answerable to this, is the church to sing now new songs, with new hearts. for new mercies. Ps. xxxiii. 3; xl. 3; xcvi., cxliv. 9. Re. xiv. 3. New songs, I say, are grounded on new matter, new occasions, new mercies, new deliverances, new discoveries of God to the soul, or for new frames of heart; and are such as are most taking, most pleasing, and most refreshing to the soul.

5. These songs of old, to distinguish them from heathenish ones, were called God's songs, the Lord's songs: because taught by him, and learned of him, and enjoined to them, to be sung to his praise. Hence David said, God had put a new song in his mouth, '*even* praise unto our God.' 1 Ch. xxv. 7. Ps. xlvii. 6, 7; cxxxvii. 4; xl. 3.

6. These songs also were called 'the songs of Zion.' and 'the songs of the temple.' Ps. cxxxvii. 3. Am. viii. 3. And they are so called as they were theirs to sing there; I say, of them of Zion, and the worshippers in the temple. I say, to sing in the church, by the church, to him who is the God of the church, for the mercies, benefits, and blessings which she has received from him. Sion-songs, temple-songs, must be sung by Sion's sons, and temple-worshippers.

The redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads, they shall obtain joy and gladness; and sorrow and sighing shall fly away. Therefore they shall come and sing in the height, or upon the mountain of Zion; and shall flow together thither, to the goodness of the Lord. 'Break forth into singing, ye mountains,' and let the inhabitants of the rock sing. Is. xliv. 23; xlii. 11; li. 11.

To sing to God, is the highest worship we are capable of performing in heaven; and it is much if sinners on earth, without grace, should be capable of performing it, according to his institution, acceptably. I pray God it be done by all those that now-a-days get into churches, in spirit and with understanding.[1]

[1] In Bunyan's 'now a days,' it was much debated whether singing ought to be introduced in a mixed assembly. It was contended that a voice and talent for singing does not accompany the new birth; that it might tend to hypocrisy and vanity; and that it was not expressly commanded. The Quakers rejected it, but all other sects adopted that delightful part of public worship. See Keach's *Breach Repaired.*—(Ed.)

LV. *Of the union of the holy and most holy Temple.*

That commonly called the temple of God at Jerusalem, considered as standing of two parts, was called the outward and inward temple, or, the holy and most holy place. They were built upon one and the same foundation; neither could one go into the holiest, but as through the holy place. 1 Ki. iii. 1; vi. 1. 2 Ch. v. 1, 13; vii. 2.

The first house, namely, that which we have been speaking of, was a type of the church-militant, and the place most holy a type of the church-triumphant; I say, of the church-triumphant, as it now is.

So, then, the house standing of these two parts, was a shadow of the church both in heaven and earth. And for that they are joined together by one and the same foundation, it was to show, that they above, and we below, are yet one and the self-same house of God. Hence they, and we together, are called, 'The whole family in heaven and earth.' Ep. iii. 14, 15.

And hence it is said again, that we who believe on earth 'are come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than *that of* Abel.' He. xii. 22—24.

The difference, then, betwixt us and them is, not that we are really two, but one body in Christ, in divers places. True, we are below stairs, and they above; they in their holiday, and we in our working-day clothes; they in harbour, but we in the storm; they at rest, and we in the wilderness; they singing, as crowned with joy; we crying, as crowned with thorns. But, I say, we are all of one house, one family, and are all the children of one Father. This, therefore, we must not forget, lest we debar ourselves of much of that which otherwise, while here, we have a right unto. Let us, therefore, I say, remember, that the temple of God is but one, though divided, as one may say into kitchen and hall, above stairs and below; or holy and most holy place. For it stands upon the same foundation, and is called but one, the temple of God; which is built upon the Lord our Saviour.

I told you before, that none of old could go into the most holy, but by the holy place, even by the veil that made the partition between. Ex. xxvi. 33 Le. xvi. 2, 12, 15. He. ix. 7, 8; x. 19. Wherefore, they are deceived that think to go into the holiest, which is heaven, when they die, who yet abandon and hate the holy place, while they live. Nay, Sirs, the way into the holiest is through the holy place; the way into heaven is through the church on earth; for that Christ is there by his word to be received by faith, before he can by us in person be received in the beatical vision. The church on earth is as the house of the women, spoken of in the book of Esther, where we must be dieted, perfumed, and made fit to go into the bridegroom's chamber, or as Paul says, 'made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light.' Es. ii. Col. i. 12.

LVI. *Of the holiest or inner Temple.*

The most holy place was, as I said, a figure of heaven itself, consequently a type of that where the most special presence of God is, and where his face is most clearly seen, and the gladness of his countenance most enjoyed. He. ix. 23, 24. Ex. xxv. 22. Nu. vii. 89.

The most holy place was dark, it had no windows in it, though there were such round the chambers; the more special presence of God, too, on Mount Sinai, was in the thick darkness there. 1 Ki. viii. 12. 2 Ch. vii. 1. Ex. xix. 9; xx. 21.

1. This holiest, therefore, being thus made, was to show that God, as in heaven, to us on earth is altogether invisible, and not to be reached otherwise than by faith. For, I say, in that this house had no windows, nothing therein could be seen by the highest light of this world. Things there were only seen by the light of the fire of the altar, which was a type of the shinings of the Holy Ghost. 1 Co. ii. And hence it is said, notwithstanding this darkness, 'He dwelleth in the light, which no man can approach unto;' none but the high-priest, Christ. 1 Ti. vi. 16. 1 Pe. iii. 21, 22.

2. The holiest, therefore, was thus built, to show how different our state in heaven will be from this our state on earth. We walk here by one light, by the light of a written word; for that is now a light to our feet, and a lanthorn to our path. But that place, where there will be no written word, nor ordinances as here, will yet to us shine more light and clear, than if all the lights that are in the world were put together, to light one man. 'For God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.' 1 Jn. i. 5. And in his light, and in the light of the Lamb immediately, we shall live, and walk, and rejoice all the days of eternity.

3. This also was ordained thus, to show that we, while in the first temple, should live by faith, as to what there was, or as to what was done in the second. Hence it is said, as to that, 'we walk by faith, not by sight.' 2 Co. v. 9. The things that are there we are told of, even of the ark of the testimony, and mercy-seat, and the cherubims of glory, and the presence of Christ, and of God: we are, I say, told of them by the word, and believe, and are taken therewith, and hope to go to them hereafter;

but otherwise we see them not. Therefore we are said to 'look, not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen *are* temporal, but the things which are not seen *are* eternal.' 2 Co. iv. 18.

4. The people of old were not to look into the holiest, lest they died, save only their high-priest, he might go into it. Nu. xvii. 13. To show that we, while here, must have a care of vain speculations, for there is nothing to be seen, by us while here, in heaven, otherwise than by faith in God's eternal testament. True, we may now come to the holiest, even as nigh as the first temple will admit us to come; but it must be by blood and faith, not by vain imagination, sense, or carnal reason. He. x. 19.

5. This holiest of all was four square every way, both as to height, length, and breadth. To be thus, is a note of perfection, as I have showed elsewhere; wherefore it was on purpose thus built, to show us that all fulness of blessedness is there, both as to the nature, degree, and duration. So 'when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.' 1 Co. xiii. 8–10. He. x. 19–22.

LVII. *Of the veil of the Temple.*

The veil of the temple was a hanging made of 'blue and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen,' and there were cherubims wrought thereon. Ex. xxvi. 31.

1. This veil was one partition, betwixt the holy and most holy place; and I take it, it was to keep from the sight of the worshippers the things most holy, when the high-priest went in thither, to accomplish the service of God. Ex. xxvi. 33. 2 Ch. iii. 14. He. ix. 8.

2. The veil was a type of two things.

(1.) Of these visible heavens through which Christ passed when he went to make intercession for us. And as by the veil, the priest went out of the sight of the people, when he went into the holiest of all, so Jesus Christ when he ascended, was by the heavens, that great and stretched out curtain, received out of the sight of his people here. Also by the same curtain, since it is become as a tent for him to dwell in, he is still received, and still kept out of our sight; for now we see him not, nor shall, until these heavens be rolled together as a scroll, and pass away like a thing rolled together. Is. xl. 22. Ac. i. 9–11; iii. 19–21. 1 Pe. i. 8.

(2.) This is that veil through which the apostle saith, Jesus is, as a forerunner for us, entered into the presence of God. For by veil here also must be meant the heavens, or outspread firmament thereof; as both Mark and Peter say, He 'is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God.' Mar. xvi. 19. 1 Pe. iii. 22.

3. The veil of the temple was made of blue, the very colour of the heaven. Of purple and crimson, and scarlet also, which are the colours of many of the clouds, because of the reflections of the sun. But again,

4. The veil was also a type of the body of Christ. For as the veil of the temple, when whole, kept the view of the things of the holiest from us, but when rent, gave place to man to look in unto them; even so the body of Christ, while whole, kept the things of the holiest from that view, we, since he was pierced, have of them. Hence we are said to enter into the holiest, by faith, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh. He. x. 19–22. But yet, I say, all is by faith; and, indeed, the rending of the veil that day that Christ was crucified, did loudly preach this to us. For no sooner was the body of Christ pierced, but the veil of the temple rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and so a way was made for a clearer sight of what was there beyond it, both in the type and antitype. Mat. xxvii. 50–53. He. x. 19, 20.

Thus you see that the veil of the temple was a type of these visible heavens, and also of the body of Christ; of the first, because he passed through it unto the Father; of the second, because we by it have boldness to come to the Father.

I read also of two other veils, as of that spread over the face of Moses, to the end that the children of Israel should not stedfastly behold; and of the first veil of the tabernacle. But of these I shall not in this place speak.

Upon the veil of the temple there were also the figures of cherubims wrought, that is, of angels; to show, that as the angels are with us here, and wait upon us all the days of our pilgrimage in this world; so when we die, they stand ready, even at the veil, at the door of these heavens, to come when bid, to fetch us, and carry us away into Abraham's bosom. Lu. xvi. 22.

The veil, then, thus understood, teaches us first where Jesus is, namely, not here, but gone into heaven, from whence we should wait for him. It also teaches us, that if we would even now discern the glories that are in the holiest of all, we must look through Jesus to them, even through the veil, 'that is to say, his flesh.' Yea, it teaches us that we may, by faith through him, attain to a kind of a presence, at least of the beauty and sweetness of them.

LVIII. *Of the doors of the inner Temple.*

1. Besides the veil, there was a door to the inner temple, and that door was made of olive-tree; 'and for the entering of the oracle, he made doors *of* olive-tree. The two doors also of olive-tree, and he carved upon them - cherubims, and palm trees, and open flowers, and overlaid *them* with

gold, and spread gold upon the cherubims, and upon the palm trees.' 1 Ki. vi. 31.

2. These doors were a type of the gate of heaven, even of that which lets into the eternal mansion-house that is beyond that veil. I told you before that the veil was a type of the visible heavens, which God has spread out as a curtain, and through which Christ went when he ascended to the right hand of the Father.

3. Now, beyond this veil, as I said, I find a door, a gate opening with two leaves, as afore we found at the door of the outward temple. These are they which the Psalmist calls to, when he saith, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, even lift *them* up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.' Ps xxiv. 7, 9.

4. The doors of the temple were made of fir, but these, as you see, were made of olive: to show us by that fat tree, that rich type, with what glory we shall be met, who shall be counted worthy to enter at these gates. The olive tree has its name from the oil and fatness of its nature, and the doors that let into the holiest were made of this olive tree.[1] Ro. xi. 16—18.

5. Cherubims were also carved upon these doors to show, that as the angels met us at the temple door, and as they wait upon us in the temple, and stand also ready at the veil, so even at the gate of the mansion-house, they will be also ready to give us a welcome thither, and to attend us into the presence chamber.

6. Palm trees also, as they were carved upon the temple doors, so we also find them here before the oracle, upon the doors that let in thither; to show, that as Christ gave us the victory at our first entering into faith, so he will finish that victory, by giving of us eternal salvation. Thus is he the author and finisher of our faith. For as sure as at first we received the palm branch by faith, so surely shall we wear it in our hands, as a token of his faithfulness in the heaven of heavens, for ever. Re. vii. 9.

7. Open flowers are also carved here, to show that Christ, who is the door to glory, as well as the door to grace, will be precious to us at our entering in thither, as well as at the first step we took thitherward in a sinful and miserable world. Christ will never lose his sweet scent in the nostrils of his church. He is most sweet now, will be so at death, and sweetest of all, when by him we shall enter into that mansion-house prepared for us in heaven.

8. The palm trees and open flowers may also be a type of the precious ones of God, who shall be counted worthy of his kingdom; the one, of the uprightness of their hearts; the other, of the good favour of their lives. 'The upright shall dwell in thy presence; and to him that ordereth his conversation aright, I will show the salvation of God.' Ps. cxl. 13.

9. Thus sweet on earth, sweet in heaven; and he that yields the fruit of the gospel here, shall find it for himself, and his eternal comfort, at the gates of glory.

10. All these were overlaid with gold, as you may say, and so they were at the door of the first house. True, but observe here we have an addition. Here is gold upon gold. Gold laid on them, and then gold spread upon that. He overlaid them with gold, and then spread gold upon them. The Lord gives grace and glory. Ps. lxxxiv. 11. Gold and gold. Gold spread upon gold. Grace is gold in the leaf, and glory is gold in plates. Grace is thin gold, glory is gold that is thick. Here is gold laid on, and gold spread upon that: and that both upon the palm trees and the cherubims. Gold upon the palm trees, that is, on the saints; gold upon the cherubims, that is, upon the angels. For I doubt not but that the angels themselves shall receive additional glory for the service which they have served Christ and his church on earth.

11. The angels are God's harvest men, and doubtless he will give them good wages, even glory upon their glory then. Mat. xiii. 38, 39; xxiv. 31. Jn. iv. 36.

12. You know harvest men use to be paid well for gathering in the corn, and I doubt not but so shall these, when the great ingathering is over. But what an entrance into life is here? Here is gold upon gold at the door, at our first step into the kingdom.

LIX. *Of the golden nails of the inner Temple.*

I shall not concern myself with all the nails of the temple, as of those made of iron, &c. 1 Ch xxii. 3. But only with the golden ones, of which you read, where he saith, 'And the weight of the nails *was* fifty shekels of gold.' 2 Ch. iii. 9. These nails, as I conceive, were all fastened to the place most holy, and of form most apt to that of which they were a figure.

1. Some of them represented Christ Jesus our Lord as fixed in his mediatory office in the heavens; wherefore in one place, when the Holy Ghost speaks of Christ, as he sprang from Judah to be a mediator, saith, 'Out of him came the corner,' the corner stone, 'out of him the nail.' Zec. x. 4. Now, since he is compared to a nail, a golden nail, it is to show, that as a nail, by driving, is fixed in his place; so Christ, by God's oath, is made an everlasting priest. He. vii. 25. Therefore, as he saith

[1] 'The olive wood is used, with ivory and mother of pearl, in ornamenting the most sumptuous apartments in oriental palaces. It is exceedingly durable and elegant. 'The choosing olive out of every other kind of wood, for the adorning these sumptuous apartments, shows the elegance and grandeur of the taste in which Solomon's temple was built, where the doors of the oracle, and some other parts, were of olive wood.'—(Harmer, Scheuzer, Lady M. W. Montague.)—(Ed.)

again, the nail, the Aaronical priesthood, that was fastened in a sure place, should be removed, be cut down, and fall; so he who has the key of David, which is Christ, Re. iii. 7, shall by God, as a nail, be fastened in a sure place, and abide; therefore he says again, 'And he shall be for a glorious throne,' or mercy-seat, 'to his Father's house.' And moreover, That 'they shall hang upon him,' as on a nail, 'all the glory of his Father's house, the offspring, and the issue, all vessels of small quantity, from the vessels of cups, even to all the vessels of flagons.' Is. xxii. 20—25. According to that which is written, 'And they sang a new song' to the Lamb that was slain, 'saying, Thou art worthy,' &c. Re. v. 9–12.

And therefore it is again that Christ, under the similitude of a nail, is accounted by saints indeed their great pledge or hope, as he is in heaven, of their certain coming thither. Hence they said of old, God has given us 'a nail in his holy place;' a nail, says the line, 'a pin, a constant and sure abode,' says the margin. Ezr. ix. 8. Now, this nail in his holy place, as was showed before, is Christ; Christ, as possessed of heaven, and as abiding, and ever living therein for us. Hence he is called, as there, our head, our life, and our salvation; and also we are said there to be set down together in him. Ep. i. Col. iii. 3. Ep. ii. 5, 6.

2. Some of these nails were types of the holy words of God, which for ever are settled in heaven. Types, I say, of their 'yea and amen.' Hence Solomon, in another place, compares the words of the wise God, 'to goads and nails, fastened by the masters of assemblies, *which* are given from one shepherd.' Ec. xii. 11.

They are called goads, because, as such prick the oxen on in their drawing, so God's words prick Christians on in their holy duties. They are called nails, to show, that as nails, when fastened well in a sure place, are not easily removed; so God's words, by his will, stand firm for ever. The masters of the assemblies are first, the apostles. The one shepherd is Jesus Christ. Hence the gospel of Christ is said to be everlasting, to abide for ever, and to be more stedfast than heaven and earth. Is. xl. 6—8. 1 Pe. i. 24, 25. He. xiii. 20. Re. xiv. 6. Mat. xxiv. 35. The Lord Jesus then, and his holy words, are the golden nails of the temple, and the fixing of these nails in the temple, was to show that Christ is the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever; and that his words abide, and remain the same for ever and ever. He then that hath Christ, has a nail in the holiest; he that hath a promise of salvation hath also a nail in heaven, a golden nail in heaven!

LX. *Of the floor and walls of the inner Temple.*

1. The floor of the oracle was overlaid with cedar, and so also were the walls of this house. 'He built twenty cubits on the sides of the house, both the floor and the walls with boards of cedar. He even built for it within, for the oracle, for the most holy *place*.' 1 Ki. vi. 16.

2. In that he doth tell us with what it was ceiled, and doth also thus repeat, saying, 'for the oracle, for it within, *even* for the most holy place,' it is because he would have it noted, that this only is the place that thus was done.

3. Twenty cubits, that was the length, and breadth, and height of the house; so that by his thus saying he teacheth that thus it was built round about.

4. The cedar is, if I mistake not, the highest of the trees. Eze. xxxi. 3—8. Now in that it is said the house, the oracle, was ceiled round about therewith, it may be to show, that in heaven, and no where else, is the height of all perfections. Perfection is in the church on earth, but not such as is in heaven.

(1.) There is a natural perfection, and so a penny is as natural silver as is a shilling. (2.) There is a comparative perfection, and so one thing may be perfect and imperfect at the same time; as a half-crown is more than a shilling, yet less than a crown. (3.) There is also that which we call the utmost perfection, and that is it which cannot be added to, or taken from him; and so God only is perfect. Now, heavenly glory is that which goes beyond all perfection on the earth, as the cedar goes beyond all trees for height. Hence God, when he speaks of his own excellency, sets it forth by its height. The high God, the most High, and the high and lofty One; and the Highest. Ps. xcvii. 9; cxxxviii. 6. Ge. xiv. 19—21. Da. iii. 26; v. 18. Ps. xviii. 13; lxxxvii. 5. Lu. i. 32; vi. 35. Is. lvii. 15. Ps. ix. 2; lvi. 2; xcii. 1. Is. xiv. 14. These terms also are ascribed to this house, for that it was the place where utmost perfection dwelt.

I take, therefore, the cedar in this place to be a note of perfection, even the cedar with which this house was ceiled. For since it is the wisdom of God to speak to us ofttimes by trees, gold, silver, stones, beasts, fowls, fishes, spiders, ants, frogs, flies, lice, dust, &c., and here by wood; how should we by them understand his voice, if we count there is no meaning in them? 'And the cedar of the house within *was* carved with knops and open flowers; all *was* cedar; there was no stone seen.' 1 Ki. vi. 18.

Knops and flowers were they with which the golden candlestick was adorned, as you read, Ex. xxv. 33, 35; xxxvii. 10, 21. The candlestick was a type of the church, and the knops and flowers a type of her ornaments. But what! must heaven be hanged round about with the ornaments of saints! with the fruits of their graces! Well, it is certain that something more than ordinary must be done with them, since they are admitted to follow them into

the holy place, Re. xiv. 13; and since, it is said, they shall have a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory bestowed on them, for them in the heavens.' 2 Co. iv. 16, 17.

'All *was* cedar; there was no stone seen.' Take stone in the type for that which was really so, and in the antitype for that which is so mystically, and then it may import to us, that in heaven, the antitype of this holiest, there shall never be anything of hardness of heart in them that possess it for ever. All imperfection ariseth from the badness of the heart, but there will be no bad hearts in glory. No shortness in knowledge, no crossness of disposition, no workings of lusts, or corruptions will be there; no, not throughout the whole heavens. Here, alas! they are seen, and that in the best of saints, because here our light is mixed with darkness; but there will be no night there, nor any stone seen.

'And the floor of the house was overlaid with gold.' 1 Ki. vi. 30. This is like that of which we read of the New Jerusalem that is to come from God out of heaven; says the text, 'The street of the city was pure gold;' and like that of which you read in Exodus, 'They saw the God of Israel, and under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in *his* clearness.' Re. xxi. 21. Ex. xxiv. 10. All the visions were rich, but this the richest, that the floor of the house should be covered or overlaid with gold. The floor and street are walking-places, and how rich will our steps be then! Alas! here we sometimes fall into the mire, and then again stumble upon blocks and stones. Here we sometimes fall into holes, and have our heel oft catched in a snare; but there will be none of these. Gold! gold! all will be gold, and golden perfections, when we come into the holy place! Job at best took but his steps in butter, but we then shall take all our steps in the gold of the sanctuary.

LXI. *Of the ark of the covenant which was placed in the inner Temple.*

In the Word I read of three arks; to wit, Noah's ark, that in which Moses was hid, and the ark of the covenant of God. Ge. vi. 14. Ex. ii. 3, 5. But it is the ark of the covenant of which I shall now speak. The ark was made 'of shittim-wood, two cubits and a half *was the* length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof.' It was overlaid 'with pure gold within and without,' and 'a crown of gold' was made for it 'round about.' Ex. xxv. 10, 11.

1. This ark was called 'the ark of the covenant,' as the first that you read of was called 'Noah's,' because as he in that was kept from being drowned, so the tables of the covenant were kept in this from breaking.

2. This ark, in this, was a type of Christ; for that in him only, and not in the hand of Moses, these tables were kept whole. Moses brake them, the ark keeps them.

3. Not only that wrote on two tables of stone, but that also called 'the ceremonial,' was put into the ark to be kept. The two tables were put into the midst of the ark, to answer to this—thy law is within my heart to do it. But the ceremonial was put into the side of the ark, to show that out of the side of Christ must come that which must answer that, for out thence came blood and water; blood, to answer the blood of the ceremonies; and water, to answer the purifyings and rinsings of that law. The ceremonies, therefore, were lodged in the side of the ark, to show that they should be answered out of the side of Jesus Christ. Ex. xxv. 16, 17. De. x. 5. Ps. xl. 8. Jn. xix. 34. He. x. 7.

4. The ark had the name of God put upon it; yea, it was called the strength of God, and his glory, though made of wood. And Christ is God both in name and nature, though made flesh; yea more, made to be sin for us. 2 Sa. vi. 2. 1 Ch. xiii. 6. 2 Ch. vi. 1. Jn. i. 14. Ro. ix. 5. 2 Co. v. 21.

5. The ark was carried upon men's shoulders this way and that, to show how Christ should be carried and preached by his apostles and ministers into all parts of the world. Ex. xxv. 14. 1 Ch. xv. 15. Mat. xxviii. 19, 20. Lu. xxiv. 46, 47.

6. The ark had those testimonies of God's presence accompanying it, as had no other ceremony of the law; and Christ had those signs and tokens of his presence with him, as never had man either in law or gospel. This is so apparent it needs no proof. And now for a few comparisons more.

(1.) It was at that that God answered the people, when they were wont to come to inquire of him; and in these last days God has spoken to us by his Son. 1 Ch. xiii. 3. 1 Sa. xiv. 18. He. i. 2. Jn. xvi. 23, 24.

(2.) At the presence of the ark the waters of Jordan stood still till Israel, the ransomed of the Lord, passed over from the wilderness to Canaan; and it is by the power and presence of Christ that we pass over death, Jordan's antitype, from the wilderness of this world to heaven. Jos. iii. 15—17. Jn. xi. 25. Ro. viii. 37—39. 1 Co. xv. 54—57.

(3.) Before the ark the walls of Jericho fell down; and at the presence of Christ shall all high towers, and strongholds, and hiding places for sinners be razed, and dissolved at his coming. Jos. vi. 20. Is. xxx. 25; ii. 10, 16. 2 Pe. iii. 10. Re. xx. 11—13.

(4.) Before the ark Dagon fell, that idol of the Philistines; and before Christ Jesus devils fell, those gods of all those idols. And he must reign till all his enemies be put under his feet, and until they be made his footstool. 1 Sa. v. 1—4. Mar. v. 12. 1 Co. xv. 25. He. x. 13.

(5.) The Philistines were also plagued for medd-

ling with the ark, while they abode uncircumcised; and the wicked will one day be most severely plagued for their meddling with Christ, with their uncircumcised hearts. 1 Sa. v. 6—13. Ps. l. 6. Mat. xxiv. 51; xxv. 11, 12. Lu. xiii. 25—29.

(6.) God's blessing was upon those that entertained the ark as they should; and much more is, and will his blessing be upon those that so embrace and entertain his Christ, and profess his name sincerely. 2 Sa. vi. 11. Ac. iii. 26. Ga. iii. 13, 14. Mat. xix. 27—29. Lu. xxii. 28, 29.

(7.) When Uzzah put forth his hand to stay the ark, when the oxen shook it, as despairing of God's protecting of it without a human help, he died before the Lord; even so will all those do, without repentance, who use unlawful means to promote Christ's religion, and to support it in the world. 1 Ch. xiii. 9, 10. Mat. xxvi. 52. Re. xiii. 10.

(8.) The ark, though thus dignified, was of itself but low—but a cubit and a half high; also Christ—though he was the glory of heaven and of God—yet made himself of no reputation, and was found in the likeness of a man. Ex. xxv. 10—12. Phi. ii. 6—11.

(9.) The ark had a crown of gold round about upon it, to show how Christ is crowned by his saints by faith, and shall be crowned by them in glory, for all the good he hath done for them; as also how all crowns shall one day stoop to him, and be set upon his head. This is showed in the type. Zec. vi. 11, 14. And in the antitype. Re. iv. 10; xix. 12.

(10.) The ark was overlaid with gold within and without, to show that Christ was perfect in inward grace and outward life, in spirit and in righteousness. Jn. i. 14. 1 Pe. ii. 22.

(11.) The ark was placed under the mercy-seat, to show that Jesus Christ, as Redeemer, brings and bears, as it were, upon his shoulders, the mercy of God to us, even in the body of his flesh, through death. Ex. xxv. 21. Ep. iv. 22; v. 1, 2.

(12.) When the ark was removed far from the people, the godly went mourning after it; and when Christ is hid, or taken from us, then we mourn in those days. 2 Sa. vii. 2. Mar. ii. 19, 20. Lu. v. 34, 35. Jn. xvi. 20—22.

(13.) All Israel had the ark again, after their mourning-time was over; and Christ, after his people have sorrowed for him a while, will see them again, 'and their hearts shall rejoice.' Jn. xvi. 1—3, 20—22.

By all these things, and many more that might be mentioned, it is most evident that the ark of the testimony was a type of Jesus Christ; and take notice a little of that which follows, namely, that the ark at last arrived to the place most holy. He. ix. 3, 4. That is, after its wanderings; for the ark was first made to wander, like a non-inhabitant, from place to place; now hither, and then thither: now in the hands of enemies, and then abused by friends; yea, it was caused to rove from place to place, as that of which the world was weary. I need instance to you for proof hereof none other place than the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the first Book of Samuel; and, answerable to this, was our dear Lord Jesus posted backwards and forwards, hither and thither, by the force of the rage of his enemies. He was hunted into Egypt so soon as he was born. Mat. ii. Then he was driven to live in Galilee the space of many years. Also, when he showed himself to Israel, they drove him sometimes into the wilderness, sometimes into the desert, sometimes into the sea, and sometimes into the mountains, and still in every of these places he was either haunted or hunted by new enemies.

And at last of all, the Pharisees plot for his life; Judas sells him, the priests buy him, Peter denies him, his enemies mock, scourge, buffet, and much abuse him. In fine, they get him condemned, and crucified, and buried; but at last God commanded, and took him to his place, even within the veil, and sets him to bear up the mercy-seat, where he is to this very day, being our ark to save us, as Noah's did him, as Moses' did him; yea, better, as none but Christ doth save his own.

LXII. *Of the placing of the ark in the holiest, or inner Temple.*

1. The ark, as we have said, and as the text declares, when carried to its rest, was placed in the inner temple, or in the most holy place, '*even* under the wings of the cherubims.' 'And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the Lord unto his place, to the oracle of the house, into the most holy *place, even* under the wings of the cherubims.' Ex. xxvi. 33; xxxix. 35. 1 Ki. viii. 3. 2 Ch. v. 7.

2. Before this, as was said afore, the ark was carried from place to place, and caused to dwell in a tent under curtains, as all our fathers did; to show that Christ, as we, was made for a time to wander in the world, in order to his being possessed of glory. 2 Sa. vii. 1, 3, 6. He. xi. 9. Jn. i. 10; xvi. 28; iii. 13.

3. But now, when the ark was brought into the holiest, it is said to be brought into its place. This world then was not Christ's place, he was not from beneath, he came from his Father's house; wherefore while here, he was not at his place, nor could until he ascended up where he was before. Jn. viii. 23; xvi. 28; vi. 62; iii. 13.

4. Christ's proper place, therefore, is the holiest. His proper place, as God, as Priest, as Prophet, as King, and as the Advocate of his people. Here, with us, he has no more to do, in person, as mediator. If he were on earth, he should not be a priest, &c. His place and work is now above

with his Father, and before the angels. Ac. v. 31. 1 Pe. iii. 22. He. iv. 14; viii. 4; ix. 24 1 Jn. ii. 1, 2. Re. i. 4, 5.

5. It is said the ark was brought 'to the oracle of the house,' Solomon was not content to say it was brought into the holiest; but he saith, his place was the oracle, the holy oracle, that is, the place of hearing. For he, when he ascended, had somewhat to say to God on the behalf of his people. To the oracle, that is, to the place of revealing. For he also was there to receive, and from thence to reveal to his church on earth, something that could not be made manifest but from this holy oracle. There therefore he is with the two tables of testimony in his heart, as perfectly kept; he also is there with the whole fulfilling of the ceremonial law in his side, showing and pleading the perfection of his righteousness, and the merit of his blood with his Father, and to receive and to do us good, who believe in him, how well pleased the Father is with what he has done in our behalf.

6. 'Into the most holy place.' By these words is showed, whither also the ark went, when it went to take up its rest. And in that this ark was a type of Christ in this, it is to show or further manifest, that what Christ doth now in heaven, he doth it before his Father's face. Yea, it intimates, that Christ even there makes his appeals to God, concerning the worth of what he did on earth; to God the Judge of all, I say, whether he ought not for his suffering-sake to have granted to him his whole desire, as Priest and Advocate for his people?

Wilt thou,' said Festus to Paul, 'go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me?' Ac. xxv. 9. Why, this our blessed Jesus was willing, when here, to go up to Jerusalem to be judged; and being misjudged of there, he made his appeal to God, and is now gone thither, even into the holy place, even to him that is Judge of all, for his verdict upon his doing; and whether the souls for whom he became undertaker, to bring them to glory, have not by him a right to the kingdom of heaven.

7. 'Under the wings of the cherubims.' This doth further confirm our words; for having appealed from earth to heaven, as the ark was set under the wings of the cherubims, so he, in his interceding with God and pleading his merits for us, doth it in the presence and hearing of all the angels in heaven.

And thus much of the ark of the covenant, and of its antitype. We come next to speak of the mercy-seat.

LXIII. *Of the mercy-seat, and how it was placed in the holy Temple.*

The mercy seat was made in the wilderness, but brought up by Solomon, after the temple was built, with the rest of the holy things. 2 Ch. v. 2–10.

The mercy-seat, as I have showed of the ark, was but low. 'Two cubits and a half was the length, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof;' but the height thereof 'was without measure.'

1. The length and breadth of the mercy-seat is the same with that of the ark: perhaps to show us, that the length and breadth of the mercy of God to his elect, is the same with the length and breadth of the merits of Christ. Ex. xxv. 10, 17. Therefore, we are said to be justified in him, blessed in him, even according to the purpose which God purposed in him.

2. But in that the mercy-seat is without measure, as to height, it is to show, that would God extend it, it is able to reach even them that fall from heaven, and to save all that ever lived on earth, even all that are now in hell. For there is not only breadth enough for them that shall be saved, but 'bread enough and to spare.' Lu. xv. 17. 'And thou shalt,' says God, 'put the mercy-seat above upon the ark.' Thus he said to Moses, and this was the place which David assigned for it. Ex. xxv. 21. 1 Ch. xxviii. 11. Now, its being by God's ordinance placed thus, doth teach us many things.

(1.) That mercy's foundation to us is Christ. The mercy-seat was set upon the ark of the testimony, and there it rested to usward. Justice would not, could not have suffered us to have had any benefit by mercy, had it not found an ark, a Christ to rest upon. 'Deliver him,' saith God, 'from going down to the pit, I have found a ransom.' Job. xxxiii. 24.

(2.) In that it was placed above, it doth show also that Christ was, of mercies, ordaining a fruit of mercy. Mercy is above, is the ordainer; God is love, and sent of love his Son to be the Saviour and propitiation for our sins. Jn. iii. 16. 1 Jn. iv. 10.

(3.) In that the mercy-seat and ark were thus joined together, it also shows, that without Christ mercy doth not act. Hence, when the priest came of old to God for mercy, he did use to come into the holy place with blood; yea, and did use to sprinkle it upon the mercy-seat, and before it, seven times. Take away the ark, and the mercy-seat will fall, or come greatly down at least. So take away Christ, and the flood-gate of mercy is let down, and the current of mercy stopped. This is true, for so soon as Christ shall leave off to mediate, will come the eternal judgment.

(4.) Again, in that the mercy-seat was set above upon the ark, it teacheth us to know, that mercy can look down from heaven, though the law stand by and looks on; but then it must be in Christ, as kept there, and fulfilled by him for us. The law out of Christ is terrible as a lion; the law in him is meek as a lamb. The reason is, for that it

finds in him enough to answer for all their faults, that come to God for mercy by him. 'Christ is the end of the law for righteousness;' and if that be true, the law for that can look no further upon whoever comes to God by him. The law did use to sentence terribly, until it was put into the ark to be kept.[1] But after it was said, 'It is there to be kept,' we read not of it as afore. 1 Ki. viii. 9. 2 Ch. v. 10. Ro. x. 4.

(5.) Let them then that come to God for mercy be sure to come to him by the ark, Christ. For grace, as it descends to us from above the mercy-seat, so that mercy-seat doth rest upon the ark. Wherefore, sinner, come thou for mercy that way: for there if thou meetest with the law, it can do thee no harm; nor can mercy, shouldst thou elsewhere meet it, do thee good. Come, therefore, and come boldly to the throne of grace, this mercy-seat, thus borne up by the ark, and 'obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need.' He. iv. 16.

Wherefore the thus placing of things in the holiest, is admirable to behold in the word of God. For that indeed is the glass by and through which we must behold this glory of the Lord. Here we see the reason of things; here we see how a just God can have to do, and that in a way of mercy, with one that has sinned against him. It is because the law has been kept by the Lord Jesus Christ; for as you see, the mercy-seat stands upon the ark of the covenant, and there God acts in a way of grace towards us. Ex. xxv. 17—23.

LXIV. *Of the living waters of the inner Temple.*

Although in the holy relation of the building of the temple no mention is made of these waters, but only of the mount on which, and the materials with which the king did build it, yet it seems to me that in that mount, and there too where the temple was built, there was a spring of living water. This seems more than probable, by Eze. xlvii. 1, where he saith, 'He brought me again unto the door of the house, and behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward, for the fore-front of the house *stood toward* the east, and the waters came down from under, from the right side of the house, at the south *side* of the altar.' So again, 'And a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim.' Joel iii. 18. Nor was the spring, wherever was the first appearance of these holy waters, but in the sanctuary, which is the holiest of all, Eze. xlvii. 12, where the mercy-seat stood, which in Revelations is called 'The throne of God, and of the Lamb.' Re. xxii. 1, 2.

This also is that which the prophet Zechariah means, when he says, 'Living waters shall go out from Jerusalem, half of them toward the former sea, and half of them toward the hinder sea,' &c. Zec. xiv. 8. They are said to go forth from Jerusalem, because they came down to the city from out of the sanctuary which stood in Jerusalem. This is that which in another place is called a river of water of life, because it comes forth from the throne, and because it was at the head of it, as I suppose, used in and about temple-worship. It was with this, I think, that the molten sea and the ten lavers were filled, and in which the priests washed their hands and feet when they went into the temple to do service; and that also in which they washed the sacrifices before they offered them to God; yea, I presume, all the washings and rinsings about their worship was with this water.

This water is said in Ezekiel and Revelations to have the tree of life grow on the banks of it, and was a type of the word and Spirit of God, by which, both Christ himself sanctified himself, in order to his worship as high-priest. Eze. xlvii. Re. xxii. And also this water is that which heals all those that shall be saved; and by which, they being sanctified thereby also, do all their works of worship and service acceptably, through Jesus Christ our Lord. This water therefore is said to go forth into the sea, the world, and to heal its fish, the sinners therein; yea, this is that water of which Christ Jesus our Lord saith, Whosoever shall drink thereof shall live for ever. Eze. xlvii. 8–10. Zec. xiv. 8. Jn. iv. 14.

LXV. *Of the chains which were in the oracle or inner Temple.*

As there were chains on the pillars that stood before the porch of the temple, and in the first house; so, like unto them, there were chains in the holiest, here called the oracle. These chains were not chains in show, or as carved on wood, &c., but chains indeed, and that of gold; and they were prepared to make a partition 'before the oracle' within. 1 Ki. vi. 21. 2 Ch. iii. 16.

I told you before that the holiest was called the oracle, not because in a strict sense the whole of it was so, but because such answer of God was there, as was not in the outward temple; but I think that the ark and mercy-seat were indeed more especially that called the oracle; 'for there I will meet with thee,' saith God, and from above that 'I will commune with thee.' Ex. xxv. 22. When David said, 'I lift up my hands toward thy holy oracle,' he meant not so much towards the holiest house, as toward the mercy-seat that was therein. Or, as he saith in the margin, 'Toward the oracle of thy sanctuary.' Ps. xxviii. 2.

When therefore he saith, 'before the oracle,' he

[1] As the mercy-seat covered the law deposited in the ark, so Christ covers the transgressions of his people; while Christ sits upon the mercy-seat, the law cannot rise up in judgment against them.—(Jennings.)

means, these chains were put in the most holy place, before the ark and mercy-seat, to give to Aaron and his sons to understand that an additional glory was there. For the ark and mercy-seat were preferred before that holy house itself, even as Christ and the grace of God is preferred before the highest heavens. 'The Lord *is* high above all nations, *and* his glory above the heavens.' Ps. cxiii. 4.

So then, the partition that was made in this house by these chains, these golden chains, was not so much to divide the holy from the place most holy, as to show that there is in the holiest house that which is yet more worthy than it.

The holiest was a type of heaven, but the ark and mercy-seat were a type of Christ, and of the mercy of God to us by him; and I trow any man will conclude, if he knows what he says, that the God and Christ of heaven are more excellent than the house they dwell in. Hence David said again, 'Whom have I in heaven *but thee?*' For thou art more excellent than they. Ps. lxxiii. 25. For though that which is called heaven would serve some; yea, though God himself was out of it, yet none but the God of heaven will satisfy a truly gracious man: it is God that the soul of this man thirsteth for; it is God that is his exceeding joy. Ps. xlii. 2; lxiii. 1; cxliii. 6; xvii. 15; xlii. 4.

These chains then, as they made this partition in the most holy place, may teach us, that when we shall be glorified in heaven, we shall yet, even then, and there, know that there will continue an infinite disproportion between God and us. The golden chains that are there will then distinguish [or separate] the Creator from the creature. For we, even we which shall be saved, shall yet retain our own nature, and shall still continue finite beings; yea, and shall there also see a disproportion between our Lord, our head, and us; for though now we are, and also then shall be like him as to his manhood; yea, and shall be like him also, as being glorified with his glory; yet he shall transcend and go beyond us, as to degree and splendour, as far as ever the highest king on earth did shine above the meanest subject that dwelt in his kingdom

Chains have of old been made use of as notes of distinction, to show us who are bond men, and who free. Yea, they shall at the day of judgment be a note of distinction of bad and good; even as here they will distinguish the heavens from God, and the creature from the Creator. 2 Pe. ii. 4. Jude 6. Mat. xxii. 13.

True, they are chains of sin and wrath, but these chains of gold; yet these chains, even these also will keep creatures in their place, that the Creator may have his glory, and receive those acknowledgments there from them, which is due unto his Majesty. Re. iv.; v. 11—14.

LXVI. *Of the high-priest, and of his office in the inner Temple.*

When things were thus ordained in the house 'most holy,' then went the high-priest in thither, according as he was appointed, to do his office, which was to burn incense in his golden censer, and to sprinkle with his finger the blood of his sacrifice, for the people, upon and above the mercy-seat. Ex. xxx. 7—10. Le. xvi. 11—14.

Now for this special work of his, he had peculiar preparations. 1. He was to be washed in water. 2. Then he was to put on his holy garments. 3. After that he was to be anointed with holy oil. 4. Then an offering was to be offered for him, for the further fitting of him for his office. 5. The blood of this sacrifice must be put, some of it upon his right ear, some on the thumb of his right hand, and some on the great toe of his right foot. This done, some more of the blood, with the anointing oil, must be sprinkled upon him, and upon his garment; for after this manner must he be consecrated to his work as high-priest. Ex. xxix.

His being washed in water was to show the purity of Christ's humanity. His curious robes were a type of all the perfections of Christ's righteousness. The holy oil that was poured on his head was to show how Christ was anointed with the Holy Ghost unto his work, as priest. The sacrifice of his consecration was a type of that offering Christ offered in the garden when he mixed his sweat with his own blood, and tears, and cries, when he prayed to him that was able to save him; 'and was heard in that he feared;' for with his blood, as was Aaron with the blood of the bullock that was slain for him, was this blessed one besmeared from head to foot, when his sweat, as great drops or clodders of blood, fell down from head and face, and whole body, to the ground. Lu. xxii. 44. He. x. 20.

When Aaron was thus prepared, then he offered his offering for the people, and carried the blood within the veil. Le. xvi. The which Christ Jesus also answered, when he offered his own body without the gate, and then carried his blood into the heavens, and sprinkled it before the mercy-seat. He. xiii. 11, 12; ix. 11, 12, 24. For Aaron was a type of Christ; his offering, a type of Christ's offering his body; the blood of the sacrifice, a type of the blood of Christ; his garments, a type of Christ's righteousness; the mercy-seat, a type of the throne of grace; the incense, a type of Christ's praise; and the sprinkling of the blood of the sacrifice upon the mercy-seat, a type of Christ's pleading the virtue of his sufferings for us in the presence of God in heaven. He. ix. 10—28.

'Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the apostle and high

priest of our profession, Christ Jesus.' He. iii. 1. 'Seeing then that we have a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast *our* profession. For we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as *we are*, *yet* without sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. For every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things *pertaining* to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins: who can have compassion on the ignorant, and on them that are out of the way; for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity. He. iv. 14–16; v. 1, 2.

This then is our high priest; and this was made so 'not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.' For Aaron and his sons were made priests without an oath, 'but this with an oath by him that said unto him, The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou *art* a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec. By so much was Jesus made a surety of a better testament.'

'And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death. But this *man*, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such an high priest became us, *who is* holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself. For the law maketh men high priests which have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the law, *maketh* the Son, who is consecrated for evermore. Now of the things which we have spoken *this is* the sum: We have such an high priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens; a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle,[1] which the Lord pitched, and not man. For every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer. For if he were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests that offer gifts according to the law: who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the tabernacle: for, See, saith he, *that* thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount.' He. vii. 16 to viii. 5.

'But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption *for us*. For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.

'For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us: Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment: so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.' He. ix. 11–14, 24–28.

LXVII. *Of the high-priest's going into the Holiest alone.*

As it was the privilege of the high-priest to go into the holiest alone, so there was something of mystery also, to which I shall speak a little: 'There shall,' says God, 'be no man in the tabernacle of the congregation, when he [Aaron] goeth in to make an atonement in the holy *place*, until he come out, and have made an atonement for himself, and for his household, and for all the congregation of Israel.' Le. xvi. 17. The reason is, for that Christ is mediator alone; he trod the wine-press alone; and of the people there was none with him to help him there. Is. lxiii. 3. 1 Ti. ii. 5.

Of the people there was none to help him to bear his cross, or in the management of the first part of his priestly office. Why then should there be any to share with him in his executing of the second part thereof? Besides, he that helps an intercessor must himself be innocent, or in favour, upon some grounds not depending on the worth of the intercession. But as to the intercession of Christ, who can come in to help upon the account of such innocency or worth? Not the highest angel; for there is none such but one, wherefore he must do that alone. Hence it is said, He went in alone, is there alone, and there intercedes alone.

[1] In Bunyan's edition this is called the 'new tabernacle,' a typographical error which is corrected by restoring the true reading.—(Ed.)

And this is manifest not only in the type Aaron, but in the antitype Christ Jesus. He. vi. 19, 20; ix. 7–11, 21, 23, 24.

I do not say that there is no man in heaven but Jesus Christ; but I say, he is there to make intercession for us alone. Yea, the holy text says more. 'I go,' saith Christ, 'to prepare a place for you; and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am *there ye* may be also.' Jn. xiv. 1–3.

This text seems to insinuate that Christ is in the holiest or highest heavens alone; and that he there alone must be, until he has finished his work of intercession; for not till then he comes again to take us to himself. Let us grant Christ the pre-eminency in this, as also in all other things; for he is intercessor for his church, and makes it for them in the holiest alone. It is said he is the light that no man can approach unto.

LXVIII. *Of the high-priest's going in thither but once a year.*

As the high-priest went into the holiest when he went in thither alone; so to do that work, he went in thither but once a year. Thou shalt not come 'at all times,' said God to him, 'into the holy *place*, within the veil, before the mercy-seat, which *is* upon the ark, that thou die not.' Le. xvi. 2.

And as he was to go in thither but 'once a year,' so not then neither, unless clothed and adorned, with his Aaronical holy robes. Le. xvi. 32–34. Then he was to be clothed, as I hinted before, with the holy robes, the frontlet of gold upon his forehead, the names of the twelve tribes upon his breast, and the jingling bells upon the skirts of his garment? nor would all this do, unless he went in thither with blood. Ex. xxviii. Le. xvi.

Now, this once a year the apostle taketh special notice of, and makes great use of it. 'Once a year,' saith he, this high-priest went in thither: once a year, that is, to show, that Christ should once in the end of the world, go into heaven itself, to make intercession there for us. For by this word 'year,' he shows the term and time of the world is meant; and by 'once' in that year, he means once in the end of the world.

'Not,' saith he, 'that he should offer himself often: as the high-priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others. For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. He. ix. 25, 26.

And having thus once offered his sacrifice without the veil, he is now gone into the holiest, to perfect his work of mediation for us. Not into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.

Now if our Lord Jesus is gone indeed, now to appear in the presence of God for us; and if this now be the once a year that the type speaks of; the once in the end of the world, as our apostle says; then it follows, that the people of God should all stand waiting for his benediction that to them he shall bring with him when he shall return from thence. Wherefore he adds, 'Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.' ver. 28.

This, therefore, shows us the greatness of the work that Christ has to do at the right hand of God, for that he stays there so long. He accomplished all the first part of his priesthood in less than forty years, if you take in the making of his holy garments and all; but about this second part thereof, he has been above in heaven above sixteen hundred years, and yet has not done.

This therefore calls for faith and patience in saints, and by this he also tries the world; so that they, in mocking manner, begin to say already, 'Where is the promise of his coming?' 2 Pe. iii. 4. But I say again, We must look and wait. If the people waited for Zacharias, and wondered that he staid so long, because he staid in the holy place somewhat longer than they expected, no marvel if the faith of the world about Christ's coming is fled and gone long ago, yea, and that the children also are put to it to wait, since a scripture 'little while' doth prove so long. For that which the apostle saith, 'yet a little while,' doth prove to some to be a very long little. Jn. xvi. 16. He. x. 37.

True, Zacharias had then to do with angels, and that made him stay so long. O but Jesus is with God, before him, in his presence, talking with him, swallowed up in him, and with his glory, and that is one cause he stays so long. He is there also pleading his blood for his tempted ones, and interceding for all his elect, and waits there till all his be fitted for, and ready to enter into glory. I say, he is there, and there must be till then; and this is another reason why he doth stay the time we count so long.

And, indeed, it is a wonder to me, that Jesus Christ our Lord should once think, now he is there, of returning hither again, considering the ill treatment he met with here before. But what will not love do? Surely he would never touch the ground again, had he not a people here that cannot be made perfect but by his coming to them. He also is made judge of quick and dead, and will get him glory in the ruin of them that hate him.

His people are as himself to him. Can a loving husband abide to be always from a beloved spouse? Besides, as I said, he is to pay the wicked off, for

all their wickedness, and that in that very plat where they have committed it. Wherefore the day appointed for this is set, and he will, and shall come quickly to do it. For however the time may seem long to us, yet, according to the reckoning of God, it is but a little while since he went into the holiest to intercede. 'A thousand years with the Lord is as one day;' and after this manner of counting, he has not been gone yet full two days into the holiest. 'The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness;' 'he will come quickly, and will not tarry.' 2 Pe. iii. He. x. 37.

LXIX. *Of the cherubims, and of their being placed over the mercy-seat in the inner Temple.*

There were also cherubims in the most holy place, which were set on high above the mercy-seat. See 1 Ki. vi. 23—28.

1. These are called by the apostles, 'the cherubims of glory shadowing the mercy-seat.' He. ix. 5.

2. These cherubims were figures of the angels of God, as in other places we have proved.

3. It is said these cherubims were made of image work, and that in such manner, as that they could, as some think, move their wings by art; wherefore it is said, 'they stretched forth their wings;' the wings of the 'cherubims spread themselves;' and that the 'cherubims spread forth *their* wings over the place of the ark, - and the staves thereof above.' 1 Ki. vi. 27. 2 Ch. iii. 13; v. 8.

4. I read also of these cherubims, that they had chariots and wheels; by which is taught us how ready and willing the angels are to fetch us when commanded, unto the paradise of God; for these chariots were types of the bosoms of the angels; and these wheels, of the quickness of their motion to come for us when sent. 'The chariots of God *are* twenty thousand, *even* thousands of angels; the Lord *is* among them, *as in* Sinai, in the holy *place*.' 1 Ch. xxviii. 18. Eze. x. 9, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20. 2 Ki. vi. 17. Ps. lxviii. 17. 2 Ki. ii. 11. Da. ix. 2.

5. What difference, if any, there is between cherubims and seraphims, into that I shall not now inquire; though I believe that there are diverse orders and degrees of angels in the heavens, as there are degrees and diverse orders among men in the world. But that these cherubims were figures of the holy angels, their being thus placed in the holy oracle doth declare; for their dwelling-place is heaven, though they, for our sakes, are conversant in the world. He. i.

6. It is said that these cherubims, in this holy place, did stand upon their feet, to show, 1. That the angels of heaven are not fallen from their station, as the other angels are. 2. To show also that they are always ready, at God's bidding, to run with swiftness to do his pleasure. 3. To show also that they shall continue in their station, being therein confirmed by Jesus Christ, 'by whom all things consist.' Col. i. 17.

7. It is said 'their faces *were* inward,' looking one to another, yet withal somewhat ascending, to show that the angels both behold and wonder at the mysteries of grace, as it is displayed to usward from off the mercy-seat. The faces of the cherubims 'shall *look* one to another; towards the mercy-seat shall the faces of the cherubims be.' Ex. xxv. 20. 2 Ch. iii. 13. 1 Pe. i. 12. Ep. iii. 10.

(1.) 'Towards the mercy-seat.' They are desirous to see it, and how from hence, I say, mercy doth look towards us.

(2.) 'They look one towards another,' to show that they agree to rejoice in the salvation of our souls. Lu. xv. 10.

(3.) They are said to stand above the mercy-seat, perhaps to show that the angels have not need of those acts of mercy and forgiveness as we have, who stand below, and are sinners. They stand above it; they are holy. I do not say they have no need that the goodness of God should be extended to them, for it is by that they have been and are preserved; but they need not to be forgiven, for they have committed no iniquity.

(4.) They stand there also with wings stretched out, to show how ready, if need be, the angels are to come from heaven to preach this gospel to the world.' Lu. ii. 9—14.

(5.) It is said in this, that thus standing, their wings did reach from wall to wall; from one side of this holy house to the other; to show that all the angels within the boundaries of the heavens, with one consent and one mind, are ready to come down to help and serve, and do for God's elect at his command.

It is said, also, that their wings are stretched on high, to show that they are only delighted in those duties which are enjoined them by the high and lofty One, and not inclined, no not to serve the saints in their sensual or fleshly designs. It may be also to show that they are willing to take their flight from one end of heaven to the other, to serve God and his church for good. Mat. xiii. 41, 49; xxiv. 31; xxv. 31. 2 Th. i. 7, 8.

LXX. *Of the figures that were upon the walls of the inner Temple.*

The wall of the inner temple, which was a type of heaven, was, as I have already told you, ceiled with cedar from the bottom to the top. Now by the vision of Ezekiel, it is said this wall was carved with cherubims and palm trees. 'So that a palm tree *was* between a cherub and a cherub, and *every* cherub had two faces; so that the face of a man *was* toward the palm tree on the one side, and the face of a young lion toward the palm tree on the

other side. *It was* made through all the house round about; from the ground unto above the door *were* cherubims and palm trees made.' Eze. xli. 18–20.

1. As to these cherubims and palm trees, I have already told you what I think them to be figures of. The cherubims are figures of the holy angels, and the palm trees of upright ones; we therefore here are to discourse only of the placing of them in the heavens.

2. Now you see the palm trees in the holiest are placed between a cherub and a cherub, round about the house, which methinks should be to signify that the saints shall not there live by faith and hope, as here, but in the immediate enjoyment of God; for to be placed between the cherubims, is to be placed where God dwells; for Holy Writ says plainly, He dwells between the cherubims, even where here it is said these palm trees, or upright ones are placed. 1 Sa. iv. 4. 2 Ki. xix. 15. 1 Ch. xiii. 6. Ps. lxxx. 1. Is. xxxvii. 16. The church on earth is called God's house, and he will dwell in it for ever; and heaven itself is called God's house, and we shall dwell in it for ever, and that between the cherubims. This is more than grace, this is grace and glory, glory indeed.

3. To dwell between the cherubims may be also to show that there we shall be equal to the angels. Mark, here is a palm tree and a cherub, a palm tree and a cherub. Here we are a little lower, but there we shall not be a whit behind the very chief of them. A palm tree and a cherub, an upright one between the cherubs, will then be round about the house; we shall be placed in the same rank; 'neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the angels.' Lu. xx. 36.

4. The palm trees thus placed, may be also to show us that the elect of God shall there take up the vacancies of the fallen angels; they for sin were cast down from the holy heavens, and we by grace shall be caught up thither, and be placed between a cherub and a cherub. When I say their places, I do not mean the fickleness of that state, that they for want of electing love did stand in while in glory; for the heavens, by the blood of Christ, is now to us become a purchased possession; wherefore, as we shall have their place in the heavenly kingdom, so, by virtue of redeeming blood, we shall there abide, and go no more out; for by that means that kingdom will stand to us unshaken. He. ix. 12; xii. 22—24, 28. Re. iii. 12.

5. These palm trees, I say, seem to take their places who for sin were cast from thence. The elect therefore take that place in possession, but a better crown for ever. Thus 'Israel possessed that of the Canaanites;' and David, Saul's kingdom; and Matthias, the place, the apostleship of Judas. Ac. i. 20—26.

6. Nor were the habitations which the fallen angels lost, excepting that which was excepted before, at all inferior to theirs that stood; for their captain and prince is called son of the morning, for he was the antitype there. Is. xiv. 12.

7. Thus, you see, they were placed from the ground up to above the door; that is, from the lowest to the highest angel there. For as there are great saints and small ones in the church on earth, so there are angels of divers degrees in heaven, some greater than some; but the smallest saint, when he gets to heaven, shall have an angel's dignity, an angel's place. From the ground you find a palm tree between a cherub and a cherub.

8. And every cherub had two faces—so here; but I read in Eze. x. 14, that they had four faces apiece. The first was the face of a cherubim; the second, the face of a man; the third, the face of a lion; and the fourth, the face of an eagle.

9. They had two faces apiece; not to show that they were of a double heart, for 'their appearances and themselves' were the same, and 'they went every one straight forward.' Eze. x 22. These two faces, then, were to show here the quickness of their apprehension, and their terribleness to execute the mind of God. The face of a man signifies them masters of reason; the face of a lion, the terribleness of their presence. 1 Co. xiii. 12. Ja. xiii. 6.

In another place I read of their wheels; yea, that themselves, 'their whole bodies, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels *were* full of eyes round about.' Eze. i. 18; x. 12. And this is to show us how knowing and quick-sighted they are in all providences and dark dispensations, and how nimble in apprehending the mischievous designs of the enemies of God's church, and so how able they are to undermine them. And forasmuch also as they have the face of a lion, we by that are showed how full of power they are to kill and to destroy, when God says, Go forth and do so. Now, with these we must dwell and cohabit, a palm tree and a cherub; a palm tree and a cherub must be from the ground to above the door, round about the house—the heavens.

'So that the face of a man *was* toward the palm tree on the one side, and the face of a young lion toward the palm tree on the other side.' By these two faces may be also showed that we in the heavens shall have glory sufficient to familiarize us to the angels. Their lion-like looks, with which they used to fright the biggest saint on earth, as you have it, Ge. xxxii. 30. Ju. xiii. 15, 22, shall then be accompanied with the familiar looks of a man. Then angels and men shall be fellows, and have to do with each as such.

Thus you see something of that little that I have found in the temple of God.

A DISCOURSE

OF

THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

That part of Palestine in which the celebrated mountains of Lebanon are situated, is the border country adjoining Syria, having Sidon for its seaport, and Land, nearly adjoining the city of Damascus, on the north. This metropolitan city of Syria, and capital of the kingdom of Damascus, was strongly fortified; and during the border conflicts it served as a cover to the Assyrian army. Bunyan, with great reason, supposes that, to keep them in check, Solomon built a tower house and palace, well furnished with munitions of war, called the house in the forest of Lebanon.

As the magnificent temple at Jerusalem was the seat of public worship appointed by God, it was considered typical of the gospel dispensation, which was intended to supersede it. All its parts and utensils, sacrifices and services, have been described, in their typical meaning, in *Solomon's Temple Spiritualized;* but as the lovely system of the gospel had, with slow and irresistible steps, to conquer the prejudices, passions, and wickedness of mankind, those who bore the brunt of this battle were considered as the church militant in the wilderness: and Bunyan has, in this treatise, endeavoured to show that this palace and fortress was typical of the churches of Christ while in a state of holy warfare, defending their Divine dispensation, and extending the line of defence by progressive spiritual conquests. While the churches are surrounded by enemies, they have inexhaustible internal comfort, strength, and consolation. Like the house in the forest of Lebanon, they are also pleasantly, nay, beautifully situated. If Mount Zion was the joy of the whole earth, the mountains of Damascus were a picture of the earthly paradise. So beautiful is the scenery, and balmy the air, that one part is called Eden, or the garden of the Lord. It is described by Arabian poets as always bearing winter far above upon his head, spring on its shoulders, and autumn in his bosom, while perpetual summer lies sleeping at his feet. It was upon this beautiful spot, called by Isaiah 'the glory of Lebanon,' that Solomon built his house in the forest.

This is the plain matter of fact which Bunyan establishes from the sacred Scriptures, but he was, as to lettered lore, an unlearned man; at all events, no man could say of him that 'much learning has made thee mad.' Bunyan's is the plain common-sense scriptural account of this building; but he differs greatly from almost all our learned commentators—they imagining that this house was near the temple of Jerusalem. The Assembly of Divines, in their valuable annotations, suggest that it was so called 'because great store of trees, *as in Lebanon*, were planted about it; and gardens, orchards, and all manner of delightful things were added thereto:' to aid this conjecture, they quote Ec. ii. 4, 6. Poole says that it was 'a house so called, either, first, because it was built in the mountain and forest of Lebanon, for recreation in summer time; but generally held to have been near Jerusalem; or rather, secondly, from some resemblance it had with Lebanon for its pleasant shades and groves.' Diodati considers it the same with Solomon's palace, but called the house of Lebanon by reason of the groves planted about it; or of the great number of cedar columns brought from Lebanon, and used in its construction. Even Bunyan's favourite translation, made at Geneva by the Puritans, while it gives two wood-cuts of 'The King's house IN the wood of Lebanon,' a marginal note is added—'For the beauty of the place, and great abundance of cedar trees that went to the building thereof, *it was compared* to Mount Lebanon.' Calmet, in his very valuable translation, accompanied by the Vulgate Latin, gives the same idea: 'Il bâtit encore le palais appellé la maison du Leban, à cause de la quantité prodigeuse de cedres qui entroient dans la structure de cet édifice.' Bishop Patrick places this house in or near to Jerusalem, 'in a cool, shady mountain, which made it resemble Mount Lebanon.' Dr. Gill was of opinion that this house was near Jerusalem; because it was a magazine of arms, and a court of judicature, and had its name from being built of the cedars of Lebanon, and among groves of trees. Josephus, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, book viii. chap. vi. s. 5, states that when the Queen of Sheba came to Judea, she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and surprised at the fineness and largeness of his royal palace; 'but she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the forest of Lebanon.' Matthew Henry

follows the opinion of Bunyan; 'I rather incline to think it was a house built in the forest of Lebanon itself, whither, though far distant from Jerusalem, Solomon having so many chariots and horses, and those dispersed into chariot cities, which probably were his stages, he might frequently retire with ease.' Express notice is taken of Lebanon, as the place of a warlike building, in 2 Ki. xix., and in Ca. vii. 4.

The tower of Lebanon is described as *looking* towards Damascus. The ruins of this house and tower, in the forest of Lebanon, are probably those seen by Benjamin of Tudela, who describes the stones of which it was built as twenty palms long, and twelve wide. Gabriel Sionita describes the tower as an hundred cubits high, and fifty broad. Maundrel saw the ruins in the mountains of Lebanon at a distance. The objections made by our commentators to the plain testimony of the Scriptures are, that Solomon would not have built this beautiful house at so great a distance from the capital—that he would not have risked so much treasure nor the munitions of war in a forest—and that he would not, on the extreme border of the kingdom of Judea, have set up a throne, or seat of judgment. The answer to these objections appears to me to be conclusive. Lebanon possessed the most commanding sites for a border fortress, and therefore an admirable depot for arms, to enable the Jewish warriors to keep out their most vigilant and dangerous enemies, the Assyrians. The wealth that was deposited in this house was calculated to excite greater vigilance to protect so important a pass, while it would divert the attention of an enemy from the still more wealthy temple and fortress at Jerusalem. A throne of justice was well placed there, to save a long journey to the capital, for the trial of offenders, and the settlement of disputes on the borders of the empire. It appears to me that common sense and the soundest evidence supports the view which Bunyan took, which was far in advance of the age in which he lived.

The way in which this building, with the purposes for which it was intended, is spiritualized, is very ingenious, and admirably carried through in the following treatise. Whether it was intended by the Holy Ghost to be typical, must be left to the judgment of the impartial reader. That Lebanon is used figuratively by the inspired writers there can be no doubt. 'Lebanon is ashamed and hewn down,' must be intended as a type of the church, when under the malice of her enemies. So also when Babylon, a type of Antichrist, fell, 'the cedars of Lebanon rejoiced;' doubtless referring to the joy of God's saints when relieved from the oppressor. Whether the fine old trees, or the splendid house built as a defence to prevent the approach of enemies to the temple, is intended as a type of the Christian warfare, is left to the impartial consideration of the reader. There is very little reason to doubt but that we shall adopt Bunyan's view; if we consider the temple to be typical, we shall consider the house in the forest of Lebanon to be typical also.

It has been said, by an author of very great repute (Addison), that had Bunyan lived in the times of the Christian fathers, he would have been as great a father as the best of them. He stands unrivalled for most extraordinary mental powers for allegory and for spiritualizing, but to compare him with the best of the fathers is faint praise indeed. He was as much their superior, as the blaze of the noon-day sun excels the glimmer of a rushlight.

In this treatise we find many very admirable illustrations of two important subjects. One is, that temporal governors have nothing to fear from the spread of vital godliness: the other is upon the nature of the strife and antipathy felt by the world against Christ and his spiritual seed. They are sweet-scented; the fragrant smell of their graces excites the enmity of Satan and his followers, who would burn these cedars, because they are pillars of, and angels for, the truth. 'Reason, history, and experience all confirm this truth; that a people, whose profession is directly in opposition to the devil, and antichrist, and to all debauchery, inhumanity, profaneness, superstition, and idolatry,' p. 529. will be hated, persecuted, and, if possible, destroyed by Satan and his adherents. The secret is, that the world cannot bear such 'living epistles, known and read of all men,' which reflect so severely by their conduct upon the vice and profligacy of the worldling. This was a stinging censure upon the profligate court of Charles II., and therefore the Nonconformists were hated and persecuted; while conformity to soul-benumbing rites and ceremonies was cherished and rewarded. To render persecution perfectly unjustifiable, Bunyan scripturally and plainly exhibits the harmlessness of the Christian character bearing with meekness the injuries heaped upon it; followers of him who, when reviled, reviled not again, but suffered patiently. It is a grievous mistake to suppose that vital godliness caused the great rebellion, and consequent beheading of King Charles I. It was frightful and most insupportable tyranny that drove a nation, headed by their parliament, to arms. The King levied severe taxes without the consent of the people's representatives; he perverted justice by the abominable decisions of the King's judges in the court of Star Chamber; and attempted to introduce Popery through the medium of the Queen and her licentious court, composed principally of the worst class of foreign Papists. And when Leighton,

Prynne, Bastwick, and some of the most virtuous and enlightened citizens, justly but firmly remonstrated, they were seized and tortured in a way that the heart sickens with the narrative. It was an attempt to reduce the whole nation to the most abject slavery of both body and soul, that roused the spirit of the people to resistance. The solemn league and covenant was taken, Cromwell appeared, and the country was, by Divine aid, saved from utter desolation. It was not a war of religious sects; the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and others, could never have coalesced; it was a war for liberty or despotism, and the principal of the warriors on both sides were attached to the religion that was by law established. It is true that many Episcopalians, in the reign of Charles II., charged the Puritans, not only as being the mainspring, but as possessing the overwhelming force in that awful struggle, forgetting that the Nonconformists were then but a handful of men, neither possessed of wealth nor influence. To attribute victory to so small a band, must refer it to the immediate interposition of the Most High, as in the case of Gideon in his victory over the Assyrians. But it was no sectarian fight, except those two great sects of freemen against despots. Bunyan fully proves that no state has anything to fear from religion: 'She moveth no sedition, she abideth in her place; let her temple-worshippers but alone, and she will be as if she were not in the world;' 'neither she nor her Jesus are for doing them any hurt.'' p. 516. 'God's armour is no burthen to the body, nor clog to the mind, and it being only spiritual, the slaughter must needs be spiritual also.' 'All her privileges are soul concerns, they make no infringement upon any man's liberties. Let but faith and holiness walk the streets without control, and you may be as happy as the world can make you.' 'Let not kings, and princes, and potentates be afraid; the saints that are such indeed, *know their places*, and are of a peaceable deportment; the earth God hath given to the children of men, and his kingdom to the sons of God.' p. 516. The Christian is a pilgrim bound to a far more glorious inheritance: with so bright and glorious a prospect, he may well apply the encouraging language of Bunyan to his own soul; 'I have a bad master, but I have only a year to serve under him, and that makes me serve him with patience. I have but a mile to go in this dirty way, and then I shall have my path pleasant and green, and this makes me tread the dirty way with patience.' p. 537.

This treatise is one of the ten 'excellent manuscripts' which Bunyan had prepared for the press, when his unexpected decease prevented his publishing them. It first appeared in the folio volume of his works, printed under the care of Charles Doe, in 1692. It has since been re-published in every edition of Bunyan's works, but with the omission of the Scripture references, and many errors. It is now accurately corrected by the first edition.

GEO. OFFOR.

THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON.

CHAP. I.

As Solomon built a house for Pharaoh's daughter, and that called the temple of the Lord; so he built a house in Lebanon, called 'the house of the forest of Lebanon.' 1 Ki. vii. 2.

Some, I perceive, have thought that this house, called 'the house of the forest of Lebanon,' was none other than that called the temple at Jerusalem, and that that was called 'the house of the forest of Lebanon,' because built of the wood that grew there. But that Solomon built another than that, even one in Lebanon, called 'the house of the forest of Lebanon,' is evident, and that from these reasons:—

First, That in the forest of Lebanon is mentioned as another, besides that called the temple of the Lord; and that too when the temple and its finishing is spoken of; yea, it is mentioned with an 'also,' as an additional house, besides the temple of the Lord.

'In the fourth year,' saith the text, 'was the foundation of the house of the Lord laid in the month Zif;[1] and in the eleventh year in the month Bul, which *is* the eighth month, was the house finished throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the fashion of it; so he was seven years in building it.' 'But Solomon was building his own house thirteen years, and he finished all his house. He built also the house of the forest of Lebanon,' &c. 1 Ki. vi. 37, 38; vii. 1, 2.

Can there now be any thing more plain? Is not here the house of the forest of Lebanon mentioned as another besides the temple? he built the temple, he built his own house, he built also the house of the forest of Lebanon.

Second. It is evident by the difference of their measures and dimensions. The length of the temple was threescore cubits; but the length of the house of the forest of Lebanon was an hundred cubits;

[1] The second month in the Hebrew calendar began April 7.—(ED.)

so that the house of the forest of Lebanon was forty cubits more than was that called Solomon's temple: The breadth of Solomon's temple was twenty cubits, but the breadth of the house of the forest of Lebanon was fifty cubits: And as there is odds between threescore and fivescore, so there is also between twenty and fifty.

As to their height, they were both alike; but equality in height can no more make them the same, than can a twenty years' age in two, make them one and the same person.

Their porches also differed greatly; the porch of the temple was in length but twenty cubits, but the length of that of the house of the forest of Lebanon was fifty cubits. So that here also is thirty odds.[1] The porch of the temple was but ten cubits broad; but the porch of the house of the forest of Lebanon thirty cubits. Now, I say, who that considereth these disproportions, can conclude that the house of the forest of Lebanon was none other than that called the temple of Jerusalem. For all this compare 1 Ki. vi. 2, 3, with vii. 2, 6.

Third. If you add to these the different makes of the houses, it will sufficiently appear that they were not one. The house of the forest of Lebanon was built upon four rows of cedar pillars; but we read of no such pillars upon which the temple stood. The windows of the house of the forest of Lebanon stood in three rows, light against light; but we read of no such thing in the temple. The temple had two pillars before the door of its porch, but we read not of them before the door of the porch of the house of the forest of Lebanon. In the sixth and seventh chapters of the first book of Kings, these two houses, as to their make, are exactly set forth; so that he that listeth may search and see, if as to this I have not said the truth.

CHAP. II.

OF WHAT THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON WAS A TYPE.

That the house of the forest of Lebanon was a house significant, I think is clear; also, if it had not, we should not have had so particular an account thereof in the holy Word of God: I read but of four buildings wherein, in a particular manner, the houses or fabrics are, as to their manner of building, distinctly handled. The tabernacle is one, the temple another; the porch which he built for his throne, his throne for judgment; and this house of the forest of Lebanon is the fourth. Now the three first, to wit, the tabernacle, the temple, the porch and throne, wise men will say are typical; and therefore so is this.

[*First.*] I will therefore take it for granted that the house of the forest of Lebanon is a significative thing, yea, a figure of the church, as the temple at Jerusalem was, though not under the same consideration. The temple was a figure of the church under the gospel, as she relateth to worship; but the house of the forest of Lebanon was a figure of that church as she is assaulted for her worship, as she is persecuted for the same. Or take it more expressly thus: I take this house of the forest of Lebanon to be a type of the church in the wilderness, or as she is in her sackcloth state.

We read, before this house was built, that there was a church in the wilderness; and also, after this house was demolished, that there would be a church in the wilderness. Ac. vii. 38. Re. xii. 14. But we now respect that wilderness state that the church of the New Testament is in, and conclude that this house of the forest of Lebanon was a type and figure of that; that is, of her wilderness state. And, methinks, the very place where this house was built does intimate such a thing; for this house was not built in a town, a city, &c., as was that called the temple of the Lord, but was built in a kind of a wood, a wilderness; it was built in the forest of Lebanon, unto which that saying seems directly to answer. 'And to the woman,' the church, 'were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness into her place.' Re. xii. 14. A wilderness state is a desolate, a tempted, an afflicted, a persecuted state. Je. ii. 6. All which is more than intimated by the witnesses wearing of, and prophesying in sackcloth, and also expressed of by that Re. xii.

Answerable to this is that of the prophet concerning this house of the forest of Lebanon, where he says, 'Open thy doors, O Lebanon! that the fire may devour thy cedars.' And again, 'Howl, fir-tree; for the cedar is fallen.' Zec. xi. 1, 2. What can be more express? The prophet here knocks at the very door of the house of the forest of Lebanon, and tells her that her cedars are designed for fire; unto which also most plainly answer the flames to which so many of the cedars of Lebanon,[2] God's saints, I mean, for many hundred years, have been delivered for their profession; and by which, as

[1] A common expression for difference.—'What's the odds between us?'—(Ed.)

[2] The churches of Christ have suffered under bitter persecution, and been in a wilderness state, from the primitive times, through Popish days, and under the relentless cruelties suffered by the Covenanters and Nonconformists from the Church of England. As the gospel spreads, it humanizes and softens the hearts even of the rebellious. The dread fire no longer consumes the cedars of Lebanon. Still there remains the contemptuous sneer, the scorn, the malice of the soul, against Christ and his spiritual seed. Not many years since the two daughters of an evangelical clergyman, a D.D., came out, from strong and irresistible conviction, and united with one of the straitest sects of Dissenters—the Plymouth Brethren. The unhappy parent could not brook the insult to his order, and died insane.—(Ed.)

another prophet has it, for many days they have fallen. Da. xi. 33. Also when the king of Assyria came up with his army against Jerusalem, this was his vaunting, 'I am come - to the sides of Lebanon, and I will cut down the tall cedars thereof.' Is. xxxvii. 24.

What was this king of Assyria but a type of the beast made mention of in the New Testament? Now, saith he, I will cut down the cedars of Lebanon; who are, in our gospel times, the tall ones of the church of God. And I say again, in that he particularly mentions Lebanon, he intends that house which Solomon built there, the which was built as a fortification to defend the religion of the temple, as the saints now in the wilderness of the people are set for the defence of the gospel. But more of this anon.

This house therefore was built to make assaults, and to be assaulted, as the church in the wilderness is; and hence the state of this house is compared to the condition of a woman in travail, struggling with her pains, as also we find the state of the church in the wilderness is—'O inhabitant of Lebanon, that makest thy nest in the cedars, how gracious shalt thou be when pangs come upon thee, the pain as of a woman in travail!' Je. xxii. 23. And again, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, That ye shall weep and lament,' and have sorrow, as a woman in travail. Jn. xvi. 20–22. Much answering her case who, in her travails, and while 'pained to be delivered,' was said even in this case to stand before the dragon, who with open mouth sought to destroy her fruit, so 'soon as it was born.' Re. xii. 1–6.

Hence, again, when Christ calls his spouse out to suffer, he calls or draws her out of his house in Lebanon, to look 'from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards,' to the things that are invisible; even as Paul said when he was in affliction, 'We look not at the things which are seen.' Ca. iv. 8. 2 Co. iv. 18. He draws them out thence, I say, as sheep appointed for the slaughter; yea, he goeth before them, and they follow him thither.

Also, when the prophet foretells the affliction of the church, he expresses it by the fall of the cedars of Lebanon, saying, The Lord shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron; a little afore called the axe and saw. And Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one. Is. x. 15, 34. And again, 'The earth mourneth *and* languisheth: Lebanon is ashamed *and* hewn down.' Is. xxxiii. 9.

Do we think that the prophet prophesieth here against trees, against the natural cedars of Lebanon? No, no, it is a prophecy touching the afflicted state of the church in the wilderness, of which Lebanon, I mean this house of the forest of Lebanon, was a figure.

When God also threateneth the enemies of his church in the wilderness with his judgments, for their cruel dealing with her in the day of her desertion, he calls those judgments the violence of Lebanon. That is, by way of comparison, such as the violence done to Lebanon was. 'The violence of Lebanon shall cover thee; and the spoil of beasts *which* made them [Lebanon] afraid, because of men's blood, and for the violence of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein.' Hab. ii. 17. This is like that, 'Reward her, even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works.' Re. xviii. 6. This the church doth by her prayers. 'The violence done to me and to my flesh *be* upon Babylon, shall the inhabitant of Zion say; and my blood upon the inhabitants of Chaldea, shall Jerusalem say.' Je. li. 35. And then shall be fulfilled that which is written, Look what they did unto Lebanon shall be done unto them. Ob. 15. Eze. xxxv. 14, 15.

God has his time to return the evil that the enemies do to his church, and he will do it when his time is come upon their own head; and this return is called the covering of them with the violence of Lebanon, or that violence showed to her in the day of her distress. It is yet further evident that this house of the forest of Lebanon was a type of the church in the wilderness:—

1. For that she is called a tower, or place of fortification and defence; the same term that is given to the church in a captivated state. Ca. vii. 4. Mi. iv. 8–10. For as the church in the wilderness is compared to a woman in travail, to show her fruitfulness to God-ward in her most afflicted condition; so she is called a tower, to show her fortitude and courage, for God and his truth, against antichrist. I say therefore, unto both these is she compared in that scripture last cited, the which you may peruse if you please. A tower is a place of receipt for the afflicted, and so is the church under the rage of antichrist; yea, and though it is the only place designed by the enemy for ruin and destruction, yet it is the only place of safety in the world.[1]

2. This tower, this house of the forest of Lebanon, it seems to be so built as to confront Damascus, the chief city of the king of Assyria; and in so doing it was a most excellent type of the spirit and design of the church in the wilderness, who is raised up, and built to confront antichrist. Hence Christ calls some of the features of his church, and compares them to this. 'Thy neck,' says he '*is* as a tower of ivory; thine eyes *like* the fish-pools in Heshbon, by the gate of Bath-rabbim;

[1] Bunyan not only experienced the richest enjoyments in jail, but it is very probable that his life was saved for a few years by his having lain in prison during the violent heat and storm of persecution which raged in the early part of the reign of Charles II. Thus God mysteriously restrains the wrath of man, and makes it to praise him. The damp unwholesome dungeon, intended for his destruction, crowned him with peculiar honour, because, as in his Patmos, he there wrote his immortal book.—(Ed.)

thy nose *is* as the tower of Lebanon which looketh toward Damascus.' Ca. vii. 4.

Thy nose, that great ornament of thy lovely countenance, is as a tower looking that way; so set, as Christ says of his, as a flint. And this is a comely feature in the church, that her nose stands like a tower, or as he says in another place, like a fenced brazen wall against Damascus, the metropolitan of her enemy: 'for the head of Syria is Damascus.' Is. vii. 8.

And as Christ thus compares his church, so she again returns, or compares the face of her Lord to the same, saying, 'His legs *are as* pillars of marble, set upon sockets of fine gold: his countenance *is* as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars.' Ca. v. 15. Thus in Lebanon, in this brave house, is found the excellency of the church, and the beauty of Christ, for that they are both as a rock, with glory and majesty, bended against the enemies of the truth. 'The face of the Lord *is* against them that do evil.' Pillars his legs are here compared to, and pillars were they that upheld this house, this tower, which thus bravely was built with its face confronting the enemy's country.

Second. That this house of the forest of Lebanon was a type of the church in affliction, yet further appears, for that at the fall of Babylon her cedars are said to rejoice in special. 'The fir-trees rejoice at thee, *and* the cedars of Lebanon, *saying*, Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us.' Is. xiv. 8. This is at the destruction of Babylon, the type of that called antichrist.

But why should Lebanon, the cedars in Lebanon, in an especial manner here, be said to rejoice at his downfall: doubtless to show that as the enemy made his inroad upon Jerusalem; so in a particular manner Lebanon, and the house there, were made to smoke for it. Is. xxxvii. 24. Je. xxii. 23. Zec. xi. 1. This answereth to that, 'Rejoice over her thou heaven; and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you of her.' Hence again, when he speaks of giving glory to his afflicted church, for all the sorrow which she hath sustained in her bearing witness for the truth against antichrist, he calls it the glory of Lebanon. That is, as I take it, the glory that belongs to her, for the afflictions which she underwent for his name. 'The glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it.' Is. xxxv. 2. And again, 'The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee.' Is. lx. 13. These are promises to the church for her suffering of affliction, and they are made unto her as she bears the name of Lebanon, who or which was her type in those havocs made in it, when the enemy, as I said, assaulted the church of old.

Thus by these few lines I have showed you that there was a similitude betwixt this house in the forest of Lebanon, and our gospel church in the wilderness. Nor need we stumble because this word house is not subjoined in every particular place, where this sorrow or joy of Lebanon is made mention of; for it is an usual thing with the Holy Ghost, when he directs his speech to a man, to speak as if he spake to a tree; and when he directs his voice to a king, to speak as if he intended the kingdom; so when he speaks of the house, to speak as to the forest of Lebanon. Instances many might be given.

CHAP. III.

OF THE LARGENESS OF THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON.

The house of the forest of Lebanon was forty cubits longer than was the temple at Jerusalem, to show that the church in the wilderness would increase more, and be far larger than she that had peace and prosperity. And as it was forty cubits longer, so it was thirty cubits wider, still showing that every way she would abound. Hence they that came out of great tribulation, when compared with others, are said to be a numberless number, or a multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues. 'These,' saith one, 'are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; therefore are they before the throne of God.' Re. vii. 14, 15.

The church, as it respected temple-worship, was confined to the land of Canaan; but our New Testament persecuted one is scattered among the nations, as a flock of sheep are scattered in a wood or wilderness. Hence they are said to be in 'the wilderness of the people,' fitly answering to this house of the forest of Lebanon. Eze. xx. 35–37.

But though the house exceeded in length and breadth the temple of Jerusalem, yet as to their height they were the same, to show that what acts that in the wilderness doth, above what they have been capable to do, that have not been in that condition; yet the nature of their grace is the same. Ro. xv. 27. 1 Pe. i. 1.

But, I say, as for length and breadth, the church in the wilderness exceeds more than the house of the forest of Lebanon did that of the temple at Jerusalem, as it is written; 'More *are* the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord.' And again: 'Thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited.' Is. liv. 1–3. This is spoken of the church in the wilderness, that was made up chiefly of the Gentiles, of which the house of the forest of Lebanon was a figure; and how she at last shall recover herself from the yoke and tyranny of antichrist. And then she shall shoulder it with her adversary, saying, 'Give place to me, that I may dwell.' Is. xlix. 20.

And I will add, it was not only thus magnificent for length and breadth, but for terror; it was compacted after the manner of a castle, or stronghold, as was said before. It was a tower built for an armoury, for Solomon put there his two hundred targets and three hundred shields of gold. 2 Ch. ix. 15, 16. This place therefore was a terror to the heathen, on that side of the church especially, because she stood with her nose so formidable against Damascus: no marvel therefore if the implacable cried out against them, Help, 'men of Israel, help!' And, 'Will ye rebel against the king?' Ac. xxi. 28. Ne. ii. 19.

For it is the terror, or majesty and fortitude, which God has put upon the church in the wilderness, that makes the Gentiles so bestir them to have her under foot. Besides, they misapprehend concerning her, as if she was for destroying kings, for subverting kingdoms, and for bringing all to desolation, and so they set themselves against her, 'crying, These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also; whom Jason hath received: and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, *one* Jesus.' Ac. xvii. 5–7. Indeed, the very name of Jesus is the very tower of the Christain church, and that by which she frights the world, but not designedly, but through their misunderstanding; for neither she, nor her Jesus, is for doing them any hurt; however, this is that which renders her yet in their eye 'terrible as *an army* with banners.' Ca. vi. 10. How then could she escape persecution for a time, for it was the policy of Jeroboam. 1 Ki. xii. 26–28. And it is yet the policy of the nations to secure themselves against this their imagined danger, and therefore to use all means, as Pharaoh did, to keep this people low enough, saying, 'Come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass that when there falleth out any war, they join also to our enemies, and fight against us, and *so* get them up out of the land.' Ex. i. 10.

But could the house of Lebanon, though a fortified place, assault Damascus? Could it remove from the place on which God had set it? It only was a place of defence for Judah, or for the worship of the temple. And had the adversary let the temple-worship and worshippers alone, the shields and targets in the house of the forest of Lebanon had not been uncovered, had not been made bare against them. The same may now be said of the church in the wilderness, she moveth no sedition, she abideth in her place; let her temple-worshippers but alone, and she will be as if she were not in the world; but if you afflict her, 'Fire proceedeth out of their mouth and devoureth their enemies; and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.' Re. xi. 5. And so die by the sword of the Spirit. But because the weapons of the church, though none of them are carnal, be so talked of in the world, the blind are yet more afraid of her than they in this manner are like to be hurt by her, and therefore they of old have peeled,[1] and polled, and endeavoured to spoil her all along, sending their servants, and saying to their bailiffs and sheriffs, 'Go - to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning, - a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled!' Is. xviii. 2. But this people shall prevail, though not by worldly force; her God will deliver her. And then, or at 'that time, shall the present be brought to the Lord of hosts of a people scattered and peeled, and from a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled, to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the Mount Zion.' Is. xviii. 7.

Now thus did the house of the forest of Lebanon provoke; it was built defensively, it had a tower, it had armour; its tower confronted the enemy's land. No marvel then, if the king of Assyria so threatened to lay his army on the sides of Lebanon and to cut down the tall cedars thereof. Is. xxxvii. 24.

The largeness, therefore, and prowess of the church, by reason of her inherent fortitude and the valorous acts that she hath done by suffering, by prayer, by faith, and a constant enduring of hardship for the truth, doth force into the world a belief, through their own guilt and clamours of conscience against them for their debaucheries, that this house of the forest of Lebanon will destroy them all when she shall be delivered from her servitude. 'Come now, therefore,' saith Balak to Balaam, and 'curse me this people,' if peradventure I may overcome them: when he might have let them pass peaceably by, and they would not have lifted up a finger against him. Wherefore, from all these things it appears that the house of the forest of Lebanon was a type of the church in the wilderness.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE MATERIALS OF WHICH THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON WAS MADE.

The foundation of the house of the forest of Lebanon was of the same great stones which were laid in the foundation of the temple of the Lord. 1 Ki. vii. 2–11. And this shows that the church in the wilderness has the same foundation and support as had the temple that was at Jerusalem, though in a state of sackcloth, tears, and afflic-

[1] Pill, to rob; poll, to exact, to extort. 'The church is pilled and polled by its own flocks.'—(South, *Ser.* 11. v. 5.)—(Ed.)

tion, the lot of the church in the wilderness; for she, while there, is to howl. Zec. xi. 2. Now since the foundation is the same, what is it but to show also that she, though in an afflicted condition, shall certainly stand; 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Mat. xvi. 18. Her confronting idolatrous nations is therefore a sign of her troubles, not any prediction of a fall. Her rock is steadfast, not like the rock of her adversaries, the enemy being judges. De. xxxii. 31.

But that which in special I take notice of is, that I find, in a manner, in this house of the forest of Lebanon, nothing but pillars, and beams, great timber, and thick beams, and of those was the house builded; pillars to hold up, and thick beams to couple together, and thus was the house finished. I read not here of any garnishing, either of the pillars, beams, doors, posts, walls, or any part of the house; all was plain, without garnish, fitly representing the state of the church in the wilderness, which was clothed with sackcloth, covered with ashes, wearing her mourning weeds, with her tears upon her cheeks, and a yoke or band about her neck. Is. lii. 1, 2; lxi. 3.

By this kind of description we may also note with what kind of members this house, this church is furnished. Here, as I said, that is, in the house of the forest of Lebanon, you find pillars, pillars, so in the church in the wilderness. O the mighty ones of which this church was compacted! they were all pillars, strong, bearing up the house against wind and weather; nothing but fire and sword could dissolve them. As therefore this house was made up of great timber, so this church in the wilderness was made up of giants in grace. These men had the faces of lions; no prince, no king, no threat, no terror, no torment, could make them yield; they loved not their lives unto the death. They have laughed their enemies in the face, they have triumphed in the flames.

They were pillars, they were pillars of cedar: the cedar is the highest tree in the world;[1] wherefore in that this house was made of cedar, it may be to denote that in the church in the wilderness, however contemned by men, was the highest perfection of goodness, as of faith, love, prayer, holy conversation, and affection for God and his truth. For indeed none ever showed the like, none ever showed higher cedars than those that were in Lebanon. None ever showed higher saints than were they in the church in the wilderness. Others talked, these have suffered; others have said, these have done; these have voluntarily taken their lives in their hands, for they loved them not to the death; and have fairly, and in cool blood, laid them down before the world, God, angels, and men, for the confirming of the truth which they have professed. Ac. xv. 26. Re. xii. 11. These are pillars, these are strong ones indeed. It is meet, therefore, that the church in the wilderness, since she was to resemble the house of the forest of Lebanon, should be furnished with these mighty ones.

Cedars! the same that the holiest of all in the temple was covered within, and that house was a figure of heaven, to show that the church of God in the wilderness, how base and low soever in the judgment of the world, is yet the only heaven that God hath among the children of men. Here are many nations, many kingdoms, many countries, and many cities, but the church in the wilderness was but one, and she was the heaven that God has here; hence she is called, '*Thou* heaven. Rejoice over her *thou* heaven.' Re. xviii. 20. And again, when the combustion for religion is in the church in the wilderness it is said to be in heaven—'And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought, and his angels.' Re. xii. 7.

The church therefore loseth not all her titles of honour, no, not when at the lowest, she is God's heaven still; though she may not be called now a crown of glory, yet she is still God's lily amongst thorns; though she may not be called the church of Jerusalem, yet she may the church in the wilderness; and though she may not be called Solomon's temple, yet she may the house of the forest of Lebanon. Cedars! cedars are tall and sweet, and so are the members of the church in the wilderness. O their smell, their scent, it hath been 'as the wine of Lebanon.' Ho. xiv. 5–7. They that have gone before have left this smell still in the nostrils of their survivors, as that both fragrant and precious.

This house of the forest of Lebanon was builded 'upon four rows of cedar pillars.' 1 Ki. vii. 2. These four rows were the bottom pillars, those upon which the whole weight of the house did bear. The Holy Ghost saith here four rows, but says not how many were in a row. But we will suppose them to allude to the twelve apostles, or to the apostles and prophets, upon whose foundation the church in the wilderness is said to be built. Ep. ii. 20. And if so, then it shows that as the house of the forest of Lebanon stood upon these four rows of pillars, as the names of the twelve tribes stood in four rows of precious stones upon Aaron's breastplate when he went into the holiest, so this house, or church in the wilderness, stands upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets. Ex. xxviii. 17; xxxix. 10. But because it only saith it stood upon four rows, not specifying any number, therefore as to this we may say nothing certain, yet I think such a conjecture

[1] Maundrel measured a cedar which was thirty-six feet six inches in girth, and one hundred and eleven feet in the spread of its boughs; the foliage is ever green, and it mounts up to an enormous height.—(Ed.)

hath some show of truth in it, however, I will leave it to wiser judgments.

'And *it was* covered with cedar above, upon the beams that *lay* on forty-five pillars, fifteen *in* a row.' 1 Ki. vii. 3. These pillars, as the others, are such upon which the house did also bear; this is clear, because the beams that lay upon the four rows of pillars afore-mentioned lay also upon these forty-five.

It seems, therefore, that these four rows of pillars were they that were the more outside ones; that is, two rows on this side of the house and two rows also on that; and that those forty-five pillars, fifteen in a row, stood in three rows more inward, and so did bear up with the other the beams that were laid upon them, much like to those inner pillars that usually stand in our parish churches. If so, then the first four rows did seem to be a guard to these, for that, as they stood more to the outsides of the house, so more to the weather, and nearer to the first approach of the enemy.

And this may show that the apostles in their doctrine are not only a foundation to the forty-five pillars, but a protection and defence; I say a protection and defence to all the pillars that ever were besides in the church in the wilderness. And it is to be considered that the four rows are mentioned as placed first, and so were those upon which the thick beams that first were for coupling of the house were laid; the which most fitly teacheth that the office and graces of the apostles were first in the church in the wilderness, according to 1 Co. xii. 18.

These forty-five pillars standing in the midst, by the others, may also be to show that in the time of the trouble of the church in her wilderness state, there will be those that will stand by and maintain her apostolical doctrine, though for so doing they bear the burthen of the whole. But I read of no chambers for ease or rest in this house, here is no room for chambering. They that were for being members in the church in the wilderness, must not look for rest until their Lord shall come. Ro. xiii. 13, 14. 2 Th. i. 5–9.

Here therefore was but hard lodging; the house of the forest of Lebanon was not made for tender skins and for those that cannot lie out of down beds, but for those that were war-like men, and that were willing to endure hardness for that religion that God had set up in his temple, and is fitly anwered by that of the apostle: 'Thou, therefore,' my son, 'endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of *this* life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier.' 2 Ti. ii. 3, 4. Forty-five pillars! It was forty-five years that the church was of old in a bewildered and warlike condition before she enjoyed her rest in Canaan. Jos. xiv. 10. Now, as there were forty-five years of trouble, so here are forty-five pillars for support, perhaps to intimate that God will have in his church in the wilderness a sufficient succession of faithful men that, like pillars, shall bear up the truth above water all the time of Antichrist's reign and rage.

The thick beams that lay over-thwart to couple this house of the forest of Lebanon together, did bear upon these forty-five pillars, to show that, by the burden-bearers that have and shall be in the church of God in the wilderness, the unity of that house is through the Spirit maintained. And indeed, had it not been for these pillars, the sufferers, these burden-bearers in the church, our house in the forest of Lebanon, or, more properly, our church in the wilderness, had before this been but in a poor condition. Thus therefore this church, which in her time is the pillar and ground of truth in the world, has been made to stand and abide it. 'When the blast of the terrible ones has been as a storm against the wall.' Is. xxv. 4. 1 Ti. iii. 15. 'Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say: many a time have they afflicted me from my youth: yet they have not prevailed against me.' Ps. cxxix. 1, 2.

Thus you see how the house of the forest of Lebanon was a type of the church in the wilderness; and you see also by this the reason why the house of the forest of Lebanon had its inward glory lying more in great pillars and thick beams than in other ornaments. And indeed, here had need be pillars and pillars and beams and beams too, since it was designed for assaults to be made upon it, since it was set for a butt for the marksman, and to be an object for furious heathens to spend their rage against its walls.

The glory therefore of the temple lay in one thing, and the glory of this house lay in another: the glory of the temple lay in that she contained the true form and modes of worship, and the glory of the house of the forest of Lebanon lay in her many pillars and thick beams, by which she was made capable, through good management, to give check to those of Damascus when they should attempt to throw down that worship.

And as I said before, these pillars were sweet-scented pillars, for that they were made of cedar; but what cared the enemy for that, they were offensive to him, for that they were placed as a fortification against him. Nor is it any allurement to Satan to favour the mighty ones in the church in the wilderness for the fragrant smell of their sweet graces, nay, both he and his angels are the more bent to oppose them because they are so sweet-scented. The cedars therefore got nothing because they were cedars at the hands of the barbarous Gentiles—for they would burn the cedars

—as the angels or pillars get nothing of favour at the hands of Antichrist because they are pillars of and angels for the truth, yea, they so much the more by her are abhorred. Well, but they are pillars for all that, yea, pillars to the church in the wilderness, as the others were in the house of the forest of Lebanon, and pillars they will abide there, dead and alive, when the enemy has done what he can.

The pillars were set in three rows, for so are forty-five when they are set fifteen in a row. And they were set in three rows to bear. This manner also of their standing thus was also doubtless significant. But again, they, these pillars, may be set, or placed thus in three rows in the house of the forest of Lebanon, to show that the three offices of Christ are the great things that the church in the wilderness must bear up before the world.

The three offices of Christ, they are his priestly, his prophetical, and his kingly offices. These are those in which God's glory and the church's salvation are most immediately concerned, and they that have been most opposed by the devil and his angels. All heresies, errors, and delusions with which Christ's church has been assaulted in all ages, have bent themselves against some one or all of these. Re. xvi. 13, 16. Christ is a priest to save, a prophet to teach, and a king to rule his church. Is. xxxiii. 22. But this Antichrist cannot bear, therefore he attempts to get up into the throne himself, and to act as if he were one above all that is called God, or that is worshipped. 2 Th. ii. 3, 4. Re. xix. 19–21. But behold! here are pillars in three rows, mighty pillars to bear up Christ in these his offices before the world and against all falsehood and deceit.

Fifteen in a row, I can say no further than I can see; what the number of fifteen should signify I know not, God is wiser than man; but yet methinks their standing thus should signify a reserve: as suppose the first three that the enemy comes at should be destroyed by their hands, there are three times fourteen behind; suppose again that they should serve the next three so, yet there is a reserve behind. When that fine one, Jezebel, had done what she could against the afflicted church in her time, yet there was left a reserve, a reserve of seven thousand that were true worshippers of God. 1 Ki. xix. 18. Ro. xi. 4.

Always when Antichrist made his inroads upon the church in the wilderness, to slay, to cut off, and to kill, yet some of the pillars stood, they were not all burnt in the fire, nor cut down. They said indeed, 'Come and let us cut them off from *being* a nation, that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.' Ps. lxxxiii. 4. But what then? there is a difference betwixt saying and doing; the bush was not therefore consumed because it was set on fire; the church shall not be consumed although she be afflicted. Ex. iii. 3. And this reason is, because God has still his fifteens; therefore if Abel falls by the hand of Cain, Seth is put in his place. Ge. iv. 25. If Moses is taken away, Joshua shall succeed him. Jos. i. 2, 3. And if the devil break the neck of Judas, Matthias is at hand to take his office. Ac. i. 16–26. God has, I say, a succession of pillars in his house; he has to himself a reserve.

Yet again, methinks that there should be forty-five pillars, and besides them four rows of pillars, and all this to bear up an invisible burden, for we read of nothing upon the pillars but the heavens and roof. It should be to show that it is impossible that a carnal heart should conceive of the weight that truth lays upon the conscience of a believer. They see, nothing, alas, nothing at all, but a beam, a truth, and, say they, are you such fools to stand groaning to bear up that, or what is contained therein? They, I say, see not the weight, the glory, the weight of glory that is in a truth of God, and therefore they laugh at them that will count it worth the while to endure so much to support it from falling to the ground.[1] Great pillars and beams, great saints and great truths, are in the church of God in the wilderness; and the beams lie upon the pillars, or the truth upon the saints.

The tabernacle and ark formerly were to be borne upon men's shoulders, even as these great beams are borne up by these pillars. And as this tabernacle and ark were to be carried hither and thither, according to the appointment of God, so were these beams to be by these pillars borne up, that therewith the house might be girt together, kept uniform, and made to stand fast, notwithstanding the wind and storm.

CHAP. V.

OF THE WINDOWS IN THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON.

The house of the forest of Lebanon had many windows in it; 'And *there were* windows *in* three rows, and light *was* against light *in* three ranks.' 1 Ki. vii. 4. Windows are to let the light in at, and the eye out at, to objects at a distance from the house, and from those that are therein.

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[1] It is one of the strongest proofs that the human mind is disordered by sin, that man is by nature senseless to the sublime truths of Christianity—the beam, the truth which saves the world from utter moral desolation. What wonders open before the eyes of the young convert, stretching far away into that heavenly and eternal felicity which had been shut out from his vision by the gloom of death! Life and immortality is brought to light. His life, and all other things, become but dross, that he may win Christ, and maintain his cause in the world.—(Ed.)

The windows here are figures of the Word of God, by which light the light of life is let into the heart; through that, the glass of these windows, the beams of the Sun of righteousness shine into the church. Hence the word is compared to glass, through which the glorious face of Christ is seen. 2 Co. iii. 18. This, therefore, this house of the forest of Lebanon had; it had windows, a figure of that Word of God, through, and by which, the church in the wilderness sees the mind of God, and so what while there she ought to believe, do, and leave undone in the world.

This house had plenty of windows—three rows of windows on both sides the house. In three rows; by these windows in three rows perhaps was prefigured how into the church in the wilderness was to shine the doctrine of the Trinity: yea, to signify that she was to be possessed with that in her most low state, and when under her greatest clouds. The doctrine of the Trinity! that is the substance, that is the ground and fundamental of all. 1 Jn. ii. 22, 23; iv. 2–4. 2 Jn. 9, 10. For by this doctrine, and by this only, the man is made a Christian; and he that has not this doctrine, his profession is not worth a button. You must know that sometimes the church in the wilderness has but little light, but the diminution of her light is not then so much in or as to substantials, as it is as to circumstantial things; she has then the substantials with her, in her darkest day, even windows in three rows.

The doctrine of the Trinity! You may ask me what that is? I answer. It is that doctrine that showeth us the love of God the Father, in giving of his Son: the love of God the Son, in giving of himself; and the love of the Lord the Spirit, in his work of regenerating of us, that we may be made able to lay hold of the love of the Father by his Son, and so enjoy eternal life by grace. This doctrine was always let in at these windows into the church in the wilderness, for to make her sound in faith, and hearty in obedience; as also meek and patient in temptation and tribulation. And as to the substance of Christianity, this doctrine is sufficient for any people, because it teaches faith, and produceth a good moral life. These therefore, if these doctrines shine upon us, through these windows of heaven, so as that we see them, and receive them, they make us fit to glorify God here, and meet to be glorified of, and with him hereafter. These lights, therefore, cause that the inhabitants of this church in the wilderness see their way through the dark pitch night of this world. For as the house of the forest of Lebanon, this church of God in the wilderness had always her lights, or windows in these three rows, to guide, to solace, and comfort her.

This house therefore, is thus discriminated and distinguished from all other houses in the world; no house, that we read of in the Bible, was thus adorned with light, or had windows in three rows, but this; and answerable hereunto, no congregation or church, but the true church of God, has the true antitype thereof. Light! windows! A sufficiency of windows was of great use to a people that dwelt in a forest, or wood, as the inhabitants of the house of the forest of Lebanon did. But how solitary had this house been, had it had no light at all! To be in a wood, and that without windows, is one of the worst of conditions. This also is the relief that the church in the wilderness had; true, she was in a wood, but had light, called in another place God's rod, or his Word, which giveth instruction. 'Feed thy people with thy rod, the flock of thine heritage, which dwell solitary *in* the wood,' &c. Mi. vii. 14.

To be, as was said, in a wood, and without light too, is a condition very desolate: the Egyptians found it so, for all they were in their houses. Ex. x. 21, 23. But how much more then is that people's case to be lamented that are under persecution, but have not light in three rows to guide them. But this is not the state of the church in the wilderness; she has her windows in three rows, to wit, the light of the face of the Father, the light of the face of the Son, and the light of the face of the Holy Ghost; all shining through the windows or glass of the Word, to her comfort and consolation, though now in the forest of Lebanon.

'And light *was* against light *in* three ranks.' This is an additional account of the windows that were in the house of the forest of Lebanon. Before he said she had windows in three rows, but now he adds that there was light against light, light opposite to light, and that also in three ranks. In that he saith they were in ranks. he either means in order, or insinuates a military posture, for in both these ways is this word taken. Nu. ii. 16, 24. 1 Ch. xii. 33, 38. Mar. vi. 40. Nor need any smile because I say the lights were set in a military posture; we read of potsherds striving with potsherds; and why may it not as well be said, 'light *was* against light.' Is. xlv. 9.

But we will pursue our design. Here is opposition insinuated; in the margin it is 'sight against sight;' wherefore the lights thus placed in the house of the forest of Lebanon give me another encouragement, to think that this house was a type of the church in the wilderness, and that she is the seat of spiritual war also. Re. xii. 7. For as this house of the forest of Lebanon was that which was the object of the rage of the king of Assyria, because it stood in his way to hinder his ruining Jerusalem; so the spirit and faithfulness of the church of God in the wilderness stands in the way, and hinders Antichrist's bringing of the truth to the ground.

And as the enemy brake into Lebanon, and did set fire to her cedars, so the boar, the Antichrist, the dragon, and his angels, got into the church in the wilderness. Ps. lxxx. 13. 2 Th. ii 4. Re. xii. 7. This being so, here must needs be war; and since the war is not carnal but spiritual, it must be made by way of controversy, contention, disputation, argument, reasonings, &c. which were the effect of opposite apprehensions, fitly set out in this house of the forest of Lebanon, for that there was 'light against light,' 'sight against sight,' in three ranks. Wherefore in that he saith 'light *was* against light *in* three ranks,' he suggesteth, to the life, how it would be in the church in the wilderness. And suppose they were the truly godly that made the first assault, can they be blamed? For who can endure a boar in a vineyard; a man of sin in a holy temple; or a dragon in heaven? What then if the church made the first assault? Who bid the boar come there? What had he to do in God's house? The church, as the house of the forest of Lebanon, would have been content with its own station; and bread and water will serve a man, that may with peace enjoy his delights in other things. But when privilege, property, life, delight, heaven, and salvation, comes to be intruded, no marvel if the woman, though but a woman, cries out, and set her light against them; had she seen the thief, and said nothing, she had been far worse.

I told you before that by the windows is meant the Word, which is compared to glass. 1 Co. xiii. 12. 2 Co. iii. 18. Ja. i. 23–25. What, then, is the Word against the Word? No, verily, it is therefore not the Word, but opposite apprehensions thereabout, that the Holy Ghost now intends; for he saith not that window was against window, respecting the true sense of the Word, but light was against light, respecting the divers notions and apprehensions that men of opposite spirits would have about the Word. Nor are we to take this word light, especially in the antitype, in a proper but in a metaphorical sense, that is, with respect to the judgment of both parties. Here is the true church, and she has the true light; here also is the boar, the man of sin, and the dragon; and they see by their way, and yet, as I said, all by the self-same windows. They that are the church do, in God's light, see light; but they that are not, do in their own way see. And let a man, and a beast, look out at the same window, the same door, the same casement, yet the one will see like a man, and the other but like a beast. No marvel then, though they have the same windows, that 'light *is* against light,' and sight against sight in this house. For there are that know nothing but what they know naturally as brutes. Ps. xcii. 6. Je. x. 8, 14, 21. Jude 10.

No marvel then if there is here a disagreement; the beast can but see as a beast, but the church is resolved not to be guided by the eye of a beast, though he pretends to have his light by that very window by which the church has hers. The beast is moon-eyed, and puts darkness for light, yea, and hates the light that is so indeed;[1] but the saints will not hear him, for they know the voice of their Lord. Is. v. 20. Jn. iii. 20. How then can it be but that light should be against light in this house, and that in a military posture? And how can it be but that here 'every battle of the warrior' should be 'with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood.' Is. ix. 5.

And in that he saith, 'light *was* against light *in* three ranks,' it shows their preparations one against another; also that they on both sides are resolved to stand *by their way*. The church is confident, the man of sin is confident; they both have the same windows to see by, and so they manage their matters; yet not so simply by the windows, as by their divers judgments they make of that which shineth in at them. Each one therefore hath the true and false profession, will be confident of his own way; he that was right, knew he was right; and he that was wrong, thought he was right, and so the battle began. 'There is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof *are* the ways of death.' Pr. xiv. 12.

Nor is it in man to help it; there has been reasoning, there has been disputing, there has blood also been spilt on both sides, through the confidence that each had of the goodness of his own way; but no reconciliation is made, the enmity is set here of God; iron and clay cannot mix. Ge. iii. 15. Da. ii. 42, 43. God will have things go on thus in the world, till his words shall be fulfilled: 'The deceived, and the deceiver, *are* his.' Job xii. 16. Things therefore must have their course in the church in the wilderness, till the mystery of God shall be fulfilled. Re. xvii. 17.

Hence it is said God will bring Gog against his people of Israel, 'as a cloud to cover the land.' Eze. xxxviii. 16. But for what cause? Why, that he may contend a while with them, and then fall by their light to the ground. Therefore he says also, that he 'will give unto Gog a place there of graves in Israel, and it shall be called the valley of Hamon-gog.' Eze. xxxix. 11.

God will get himself great glory by permitting the boar, the man of sin, and the dragon, to revel it in the church of God; for they, by setting up and contending for their darkness and calling of

[1] All men have the same Bible, but all have not sought for spiritual discernment. The Beast, whether of Rome, Greece, or England, that looks through the Word to find some plausible means of tyrannising over the soul, by preventing man from using his own eyes in seeking salvation, whether it be by church canons or acts of Parliament interfering with the exercise of private judgment, is an enemy to, and hater of, the true light.—(Ed.)

it the light, and by setting of it against that light, which is light in very deed, do not only prove the power of truth where it is, but illustrate it so much the more. For as black sets off white, and darkness light, so error sets off truth. He that calls a man a horse, doth in conclusion but fix the belief of his humanity[1] so much the more in the apprehension of all rational creatures.

'Light against light *in* three ranks.' The three ranks on the church's side signify her light in the Trinity, as was said, and in the three offices of Christ; and the ranks against these three ranks be to signify the opposite apprehensions of the enemy. They differ also about the authority of the Word, and ordinances, about the offices, officers, and executions of office, in the church, &c. There is an opposition everywhere, even round about the house; there was 'light against light *in* three ranks.' This house of the forest of Lebanon was therefore a significative thing, wisely built and fit for the purpose for which it was designed, which was to show what afterward would be the state of the church in the wilderness. Nor could anything in the temple more aptly express itself in a typical way, as to any of the things concerning New Testament matters, than doth this house of the forest of Lebanon, as to the things designed to be signified thereby. It speaks, can we but hear: it points to things, as it were with a finger, have we but eyes to see.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that we hear both parties plead so much for their authority, crying out against each other, as those that destroy religion. So doth the church, so doth the man of sin. The living child is mine, saith one; nay, but the dead child is thine, and the living child is mine, says the other. And thus they spake before the king. 1 Ki. iii. 16–22. Now this could not be, were there not different apprehensions here; light against light then is the cause of all this; and here *is* 'light against light *in* three ranks;' and so will be until the beast is dead.

The church will not give place, for she knows she has the truth; the dragon and his angels, they will not give place, but as beaten back by the power of the truth; for thus it is said of the dragon and his angels, they fought and prevailed not. Therefore there will, there must, there cannot but be a spiritual warfare here, and that until one of the two are destroyed, and their body given to the burning flame. Da. vii. 11. Re. xix. 20.

[1] Humanity, in its usual acceptation, means the inferiority of man to the divine or angelic nature, but superiority to the mere animal or brute creation. 'The nature of man, wherein he is lesse than God Almighty, and excellynge not withstandyng al other creatures in erth, is called humanitie.' —(Sir T. Eliot.) Bunyan's illustration of the word is curious.—(Ed.)

CHAP. VI.

OF THE DOORS AND POSTS, AND THEIR SQUARE, WITH THE WINDOWS OF THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON.

'And all the doors and posts *were* square, with the windows.' The doors, they were for entrance, the posts were the support of the doors, and the windows were, as was hinted before, for light. Now here they are said to be all square; square is a note of perfection; but this word square may be taken two ways. 1. Either as to the fashion of the things themselves; or, 2. With reference to the uniform order of the whole.

In the first sense was the altar of burnt-offering, the altar of incense, and the breastplate of judgment, square. Ex. xxvii. 1; xxviii. 16; xxx. 2. And so also it is said of our New Testament New Jerusalem. Re. xxi. 16. But the square in the text is not thus to be understood, but if I mistake not, as is signified under the second head, that is for an uniform order. The whole fabric, as the doors, posts, and windows, presented themselves to beholders in an exact uniform order, and so right delectable to behold. Hence we may gather that this house of the forest of Lebanon was so exactly built, and consequently so complete to view, that it was alluring to the beholders; and that the more, for that so pretty a fabric should be found in a forest or wood. A lily among thorns, a pearl on a dunghill, and beauty under a veil, will make one turn aside to look on it.

Answerable to this, the church, even in the wilderness, or under persecution, is compared not only to a woman, but to a comely and delicate woman. And who, that shall meet such a creature in a wood, unless he feared God, but would seek to ravish and defile her.

Therefore I say, that which is here said to be square, must be understood to be so, as to prospect and view, or right taking to the eye.

Thus therefore they are allured, and think to defile her in the bed of love; but coming to her, and finding of her chaste, and filled with nothing but armour, and men at arms, to maintain her chastity, *nolens volens*—their fleshly love is turned into cruel rage, and so they go to variance.

'I have likened,' says God, 'the daughter of Zion to a comely and delicate *woman*.' Je. vi. 2. But where is she? O! she is in the field, in the forest among the shepherds. But what will they do with her? Why, because she complies not with their desires, they 'prepare war against her,' saying, 'Arise, let us go up at noon. Arise, and let us go by night, and let us destroy her palaces.' Je. vi. 4, 5. Wherefore the beauty of the house of the forest of Lebanon, as well as the fortitude thereof, was a temptation to the enemy to come to take it into their possession; especially since it stood, as it were,

on the borders of Israel, and so faced the enemy's country.

Thus the church, though in her weeds of widowhood, is become the desire of the eyes of the nations; for indeed her features are such, considering who is her head, where mostly to the eye beauty lies, that whoso sees but the utmost glimpse of her, is easily ravished with her beauties. See how the prophet words it—'Many nations are gathered together against thee, that say, Let her be defiled, and let our eye look upon Zion.' Mi. iv. 11.

The church, the very name of the church of God, is beautiful in the world; and, as among women, she that has beauty has her head desired, if it might be, to stand upon another woman's shoulders; so this, and that, and every nation that beholds the beauty of the church, would fain be called by that name. The church, one would think, was but in a homely dress when she was coming out of captivity; and yet then the people of the countries desired to be one with her. 'Let us (said they to Zerubbabel, and to the fathers of the church) build with you, for we seek your God as ye *do*.' Ezr. iv. 2.

The very name of the church, as I said, is striven for of the world, but that is the church which Christ has made so; her features also remain with herself, as this comely prospect of the house of the forest of Lebanon abode with it, whoever beheld or wished for it. The beauty therefore of this house, though it stood in the forest, was admirable; even as is the beauty of the church in the wilderness, though in a bewildered state.

Hear the relation that the Holy Ghost gives of the intrinsic beauty of the church, when she was to go to be in a persecuted state; she was 'clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.' Re. xii. 1. And yet now the dragon stood by her. Re. xii. 4. But I say, Here is a woman! let who will attempt it, show such another in the world, if he can.[1]

They therefore that have any regard to morality, civility, or to ceremonial comeliness, covet to be of the church of God, or to appropriate that glorious title to themselves. And here, indeed, Antichrist came in; she took this name to herself; and though she could not come at the sun, nor moon, nor stars, to adorn herself with them, yet she has found something that makes her comely in her followers' eyes. See how the Holy Ghost sets her forth. She 'was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand,' &c. Re. xvii. 4. Hence she is called, 'The well-favoured harlot,' 'the lady of kingdoms,' &c. Na. iii. 4. Is. xlvii. 5, 7.

But because the chaste matron, the spouse of Christ, would not allow this slut to run away with this name, therefore she gets upon the back of her beast, and by him pushes this woman into the dirt; but because her faith and love to her husband remains, she turns again, and pleads by her titles, her features, and ornaments, that she, and she only, is she whose square answereth to the square of her figure, and to the characters which her Lord hath given of his own, and so the game began. For so soon as this mistress became a dame in the world, and found that she had her stout abettors, she attempts to turn all things topsy-turvy, and to set them and to make of them what she lists. And now she will have an altar like that which was Tiglath-pileser's. Now must the Lord's brazen altar be removed from its place, the borders of the basis must be cut off, and the laver removed from off them; the molten sea must also now be taken off the backs of the brazen oxen, where Solomon set it, and be set on a pavement of stone. 2 Ki. xvi. 10–17.

Solomon! alas, Solomon's nobody now; this woman is wiser in her own conceit than seven men that can render a reason. Now also the covert for the Sabbath must be turned to the use of the king of Assyria, &c. 2 Ki. xvi. 18. Thus has the beauty of God's church betrayed her into the hands of her lovers, who loved her for themselves, for the devil, and for the making of her a seat, a throne for the man of sin. And poor woman, all her struggling and striving, and crying out under the hands of these ravishers, has not, as yet, delivered her, though it has saved her life. De. xxii. 25–27.

But though thus it has been with Christ's true church, and will be as long as his enemy Antichrist reigns, yet the days will come when her God will give her her ornaments, and her bracelets, and her liberty, and her joy, that she had in the day of her espousals.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE REPETITION OF LIGHT AGAINST LIGHT IN THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON

To be sure it was not superfluously done of the Holy Ghost to make repetition of these words, 'And light *was* against light *in* three ranks,' therefore something is intended in the adding of them again that was not intended by the first mentioning of them. 1 Ki. vii. 4, 5.

I have told you what I thought was intended by the first rehearsal of them, namely, to show how Antichrist got in with his sensuality, and opposed it to the true light of the Word of God, exalting him-

[1] A common mode of picturing the virgin Mary for the devotee of Popery to worship, is a whole length beautiful woman, with rays as of the sun shooting out all round her, standing upon the moon, and upon her head a splendid crown ornamented with twelve stars. Under such a disguise, who would expect to find 'the well-favoured harlot establishing a throne for Satan?'—(Ed.)

self above God, and also above all Divine revelation; this was his light against light. But, I say, why is it repeated? For he saith, 'Light *was* against light *in* three ranks' again. Truly, I think it is repeated to show the evil effects the first antichristian opposition would have in the church of God, towards the end of her wilderness state. For, 'light against light' now, for that it is here repeated, is to show us some new thing, or, as far as wood and windows can speak, to let us understand what would be the consequence of those antichristian figments[1] that were brought into the church at first by him.

For can it be imagined but that, since so much confusion was brought into the church, some of the truly godly themselves would be much damnified thereby? The apostle says, 'Evil communication corrupts good manners.' 1 Co. xv. 33. And that 'their word will eat as doth a canker.' 1 Ti. ii. 17. Mischief therefore must needs follow this ugly deed of the man of sin. If a house be on fire, though it is not burnt down, the smell of the flame may long remain there; also we count it no wonder to see some of the effects upon the rafters, beams, and some of the principal posts thereof. The calf that was set up at Dan defiled that people until the captivity of the land. Ju. xviii. 30.

And I say again, since light against light was so early in the church in the wilderness, and has also been there so long, and again, since many in this church were both born and bred there under these oppositions of light, it is easy to conclude that something of the enemy's darkness might be also called light by the sincere that followed after. For by antichristian darkness, though they might call it light, the true light was darkened, and so the eye made dim, even the eye of the truly godly. Also the Holy Ghost did much withdraw itself from the church, so the doctrines, traditions, and rudiments of the world took more hold there, and spread themselves more formidably over the face of that whole church. For after the first angel had sounded, and the star was fallen from heaven to the earth, and had received the key of the bottomless pit, and had opened the mouth thereof, the smoke came out amain. This angel was one of the first dads of antichristianism, and this smoke was that which they call light, but it was 'light against light.' 'And he opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace, and the sun and the air were darkened, by reason of the smoke of the pit.' Re. ix. 1, 2.

The sun I take to be the gospel of God, and the air a type of the breathings of the Holy Ghost. The smoke I take to be the doctrines and traditions of Antichrist; that which was, as I said before, put for light against the true light of the Word. Now, since the sun and the air were darkened by this smoke, yea, and so darkened as that the sun, nor moon, nor stars, nor day, nor night, could shine for a third part of them; no marvel though the true worshippers here were benighted, or, at least, had but little light to walk by; yea, I have known some that have been born and bred up in smoky holes, that have been made, both in smell and sight, to carry the tokens of their so being bred about them.

And I say again, as to what is now under our consideration, no marvel if they that breathed in this church in the wilderness, after the smoke came out of this pit, sucked in the smoke with the air until it became natural to them. A house annoyed with smoke is a great offence to the eyes, whose light being thereby impaired, the judgment also, since that, as to visibles, is guided by the eye, must needs be in danger of being in part misled. And this being the effect of light against light at first, is the cause of what to this day we see in the church among the true brotherhood. For as a cause produceth an effect, so oftentimes an effect sets on foot another cause.

Now, therefore, we have light against light among the godly, as afore there was antichristian against the Christian light. Not that light against light is now godly in the all of it. It is antichristian that opposes the Christian light still. But, as before, the darkness that opposed the light was in the antichristians, now that darkness is got into the Christians, and has set them against one another. Light therefore against light now is in the Christians, truly prefigured by that which was in the house of the forest of Lebanon. Witness the jars, the oppositions, the contentions, emulations, strifes, debates, whisperings, tumults, and condemnations that, like cannon-shot, have so frequently on all sides been let fly against one another.

Shall I need to mention particularly contests many years past, and presented to us in print? Words and papers now in print, as also the many petty divisions and names amongst us, sufficiently make this manifest. Wherefore light against light in this last place, or where it is thus repeated, cannot, I think, be more fitly applied than to that now under our consideration; that is to say, than to the opposite persuasions, different apprehensions, and thwart conclusions, that are constantly drawn from the same texts to maintain a diverse practice. Though we are to acknowledge with thankfulness that this opposition lies not so much in fundamentals as in things of a lesser import.

The godly all hold the head, for there Antichrist could never divide them; their divisions therefore

[1] Inventions, fictions, fables.—(Ed.)

are, as I said, only about smaller things. I do not say that the antichristian darkness has done nothing in the church as to the hurting it in the great things of God. But, I say, it has not been able to do that which could sever their Head from them, otherwise there appears even too much of the effect of his doings there. For even, as to the offices of our Lord, some will have his authority more large, some more strait. Some confine his rules to themselves and to their more outward qualification, and some believe they are extended further. Some will have his power in his church purely spiritual, others again would have it mixed. Some count his Word perfect and sufficient to guide in all religious matters, others again hold that an addition of something human is necessary. Some are for confining of his benefits, in the saving effects of them, only to the elect, others are for a stretching of them further. I might here multiply things, but that light against light is now among the godly as light against light was in the house of the forest of Lebanon, is not at all to be questioned.

This therefore may stand for another argument to prove that the house of the forest of Lebanon was a type of the church in the wilderness. As to the number here, that is to say, in three ranks, it is also, as I think, to show that, though, as was said afore, this darkness could not sever the true church from her Head, yet it has eclipsed the glory of things. By two lights a man cannot see this or that thing so exactly as by one single light; no, they both make all confused though they make not all invisible. Mat. vi. 22, 23.

As, for instance, sun-light and moon-light together, fire-light and sun-light together, candle-light and moon-light together, make things more obscure than to look on them by a single light. The Word reflecting upon the understanding, without the interposing of man's traditions, makes the mind of God to a man more clear than when attended with the other. How much more then when light shall be against light in three ranks? Christ in his offices, blessed be God, is to this day known in his church, notwithstanding there is yet with us light against light in three ranks. But in these things he is not so distinctly, fully, and completely known, as he was before the church went into the wilderness. No, that knowledge is lost to a 'third part' of it, as was also showed before. Re. viii. 12.

Things therefore will never be well in the church of God so long as there is thus light against light therein. When there is but one Lord among us and his name One, and when divisions, by the consent of the whole, are banished, I mean, not persecuted, but abandoned in all by a joint consent, and when every man shall submit his own single opinion to those truths, that by their being retained are for the health of all, then look for good days, and not until then. For this house of the forest of Lebanon, in which, as you see, there is 'light against light *in* three ranks,' was not built to prefigure the church in her primitive state, but to show us how we should be while standing before the face of the dragon, and while shifting for ourselves in the wilderness.

And although by her pillars, and beauty, and tower, aye, and by her facing the very metropolitan of her enemies, she showeth that the true grace of God is in her, and a strength and courage that is invincible, yet for that she has also affixed to her station 'Light against light *in* three ranks.' It is evident her eye is not so single, and consequently that her body is not so full of light, as she will be when her sackcloth is put off, and as when she has put on her beautiful garments. For then it is that her moon is to shine as the sun, and that the light of her sun is to be sevenfold, even as the light of seven days, then, I say, 'When the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound.' Is. xxx. 26.

You know that a kingdom flourishes not so long as it is the seat of war, but when that is over peace and prosperity flourishes. This house, as has been hinted, was a type of the church in a wood, a forest, a wilderness.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE SHIELDS AND TARGETS THAT WERE IN THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON.

As this house of the forest of Lebanon was that which, in the general, prefigured the state of the church in the wilderness, so it was accoutered with such military materials as suited her in such a condition, that is to say, with shields and targets; consequently with other warlike things. 'And king Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten gold, six hundred *shekels* of gold went to one target, and *he made* three hundred shields *of* beaten gold; [three pound] or three hundred shekels of gold went to one shield. And the king put them in the house of the forest of Lebanon.' 1 Ki. x. 16, 17. 2 Ch. ix. 15, 16.

This supposes that the house of the forest of Lebanon would be attacked by the enemy. And good reason there was for such a supposition, since it was built for defence of that worship that was set up in the church. Hence it is said, when the enemy used to come with his chariots and horsemen against them, that they 'did look in that day to the armour of the house of the forest.' Is. xxii. 7, 8. That was, to see how they were prepared at Lebanon, to make resistance against their foes, and to secure themselves and their religion from that destruction that by the enemy was designed should

be made upon both. And thus again, or in this thing, the house of the forest of Lebanon shows that it was a figure of the church of the wilderness; for she also is furnished with such weapons as were counted by the wisdom of God necessary for the security of the soul, and Christian religion, to wit, 'the weapons of our warfare,' 'the whole armour of God.' 2 Co. x. 4.

For though this house of the forest of Lebanon was a place of defence, yet her armour is described and directed too, both as to matter and to measure. It was armour made of gold, such armour, and so much of it. And it was made by direction of Solomon, who was a type of Christ, by the power of whose grace and working our armour is also provided for us, as in the texts afore-mentioned may appear. By this description, therefore, of the armour of the house of the forest of Lebanon we are confined, that being a type to the armour of God, in the antitype thereto for the defence of the Christian religion. We then may make use of none but the armour of God for defence of our souls, and the worship of God; this alone is the golden armour provided by our Solomon, and put in the house of the forest of Lebanon, or rather in the church in the wilderness, for her to resist the enemy withal.

Two hundred targets. There is but little mention made of targets in the Bible, nor at all expressly how they were used, but once; and that was when Goliah came to defy Israel, he came, as with other warlike furniture, so 'with a target of brass between his shoulders.' 1 Sa. xvii. 6. A target, that is, saith the margin, a gorget. A gorget is a thing wore about the neck, and it serveth in that place instead of a shield. Wherefore in some of your old Bibles, that which in one place is called a target, in another is called a shield.[1] A shield for that part. This piece of armour, I suppose, was worn in old time by them that used spears, and it was to guard the upper part of the back and shoulders from the arrows of their enemies, that were shot into the air, to the intent they might fall upon the upper part of the body.

The shields were for them which drew bows, and they were to catch or beat off those arrows that were levelled at them by the enemy before. 'Asa had' at one time 'an army *of men* that bare targets and spears, out of Judah three hundred thousand, and out of Benjamin that bare shields, and drew bows, two hundred and fourscore thousand.' 2 Ch. xiv. 8.

I cannot tell what the target should signify here, unless it was to show that those in the type were more weak and faint-hearted than those in the antitype: for in that this gorget was prepared for some back part of the body, it supposed the wearers subject to run away, to flee. But in the description of the Christian armour, we have no provision for the back; so our men in the church in the wilderness are supposed to be more stout. Their face is made strong against the face of their enemies, and their foreheads strong against their foreheads. Eze. iii. 8, 9. The shield was a type of the Christian faith, and so the apostle applies it. The which he also counteth a principal piece of our Christian armour when he saith, 'Above all taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.' Ep. vi. 16. These targets and shields were made of gold, to show the excellent worth of this armour of God; to wit, that it is not carnal but spiritual, not human but divine; nor common or mean, but of an infinite value. Wherefore James, alluding to this, saith, 'Hearken, my beloved brethren, Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith,' (hath he not given them this golden shield) and made them 'heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?' Ja. ii. 5.

Faith! Peter saith, faith, in the very trial of it, is much more precious than is gold that perisheth. If so, then what is that worth, or value, that is in the grace itself? 1 Pe. i. 7. This also is that which Christ intends when he says, 'buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich.' Re. iii. 18.

And methinks the apostles and the Lord Jesus Christ do in all these places allude to the shields, the shields of gold, that Solomon made, and put in the house of the forest of Lebanon; which house, as I have showed, was that which indeed prefigured the state of the church in the wilderness; and these shields a type of faith.

Obj. But here is mention made of nothing but shields and targets.

Answ. True, and that perhaps to show us that the war that the church makes with Antichrist is rather defensive than offensive. Shields and targets are weapons defensive, weapons provided for self-preservation, not to hurt others with. A Christian also, if he can but defend his soul in the sincere profession of the true religion, doth what by duty, as to this, he is bound. Wherefore though the New Testament admits him to put on the whole armour of God, yet the whole and every part thereof is spiritual, and only defensive. True, there is mention made of the sword, but that sword 'is the Word of God.' Ep. vi. 17. A weapon that hurteth none, none at all but the devil and sin, and those that love it. Indeed it was made for Christians to defend themselves, and their religion with, against hell and the angels of darkness. These two pieces

[1] The Hebrew words, וְכִידוֹן נְחֹשֶׁת translated in the authorized version of the Bible, 'And a target' or gorget 'of brass,' are rendered, in all the earlier versions, 'And a shield of brass.' Perhaps a cuirass; it was evidently defensive brass armour, worn between the shoulders.—(Ed.)

of armour then that Solomon the king did put into the house of the forest of Lebanon, were types of the spiritual armour that the church in the wilderness should make use of. And as we read of no more that was put there, at least to be typical, so we read of, and must use no more than we are bid to put on by the apostle, for the defence of true religion.

Obj. But he that shall use none other than this, must look to come off a loser.

Answ. In the judgment of the world this is true; but not in the judgment of them that have skill, and a heart to use it. For this armour is not Saul's, which David refused, but God's, by which the lives of all those have been secured that put it on, and handled it well. You read of some of David's mighty men of valour, that their 'faces *were like* the faces of lions, and' that they '*were* as swift' of foot 'as the roes upon the mountains.' 1 Ch. xii. 8. Being expert in handling spear and shield.

Why, God's armour makes a man's face look thus, also it makes him that useth it more lively and active than before. God's armour is no burden to the body, nor clog to the mind, but rather a natural, instead of an artificial, fortification.

But this armour comes not to any but out of the king's hand; Solomon put these targets and shields into the house of the forest of Lebanon. So Christ distributeth his armour to his church. Hence it is said it is given to his to suffer for him. It is given to his by himself, and on his behalf. Phi. i. 29.

That is, that they might with it fight those battles which he shall manage against Antichrist. Hence they are called the armies in heaven, and are said to follow their Lord 'upon white horses clothed in fine linen, white and clean.' But, as I said, still their war was but defensive. For a little further do but observe, and you shall find the beast fall upon him. 'And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together, to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.' Re. xix. 14, 19. It is they that fall on, it is they that pick the quarrel, and give the onset. Besides, the armour, as I said, is only spiritual; wherefore the slaughter must needs be spiritual also. Hence as here it is said the Lamb did slay his enemies, by the sword, spirit, or breath of his mouth; so his army also slays them by the fire that proceedeth out of his mouth. Re. i. 16; xix. 21.

Here is therefore no man's person in danger by this war. And I say again, so far as any man's person is in danger, it is by wrong managing of this war. True, the persons of the Christians are in danger, but that is because of the bloody disposition of an antichristian enemy. But we speak now with reference to the Lamb and the army that follows him; and as to them, no man's person is in danger simply as such. Wherefore, it is not men but sin; not men, but the man of sin, that wicked one, that the Son of God makes war against, in and by his church. 2 Th. ii. 8. He. xii. 4.

Let us therefore state the matter right; no man needs be afraid to let Jesus Christ be chief in the world, he envies nobody, he designs the hurt of none: his kingdom is not of this world, nor doth he covet temporal matters; let but his wife, his church alone, to enjoy her purchased privileges, and all shall be well. Which privileges of hers, since they are soul concerns, make no infringement upon any man's liberties. Let but faith and holiness walk the streets without control, and you may be as happy as the world can make you. I speak now to them that contend with him.

But if seasonable counsel will not go down, if hardness of heart and blindness of mind, and so perishing from the way, shall overtake you, it is but what you of old have been cautioned of. 'Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish *from* the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed *are* all they that put their trust in him.' Ps. ii. 10–12.

Now let this also that has been said upon this head, be another argument to prove that the house of the forest of Lebanon was a type of the church in the wilderness.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE VESSELS WHICH SOLOMON PUT IN THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON.

Solomon did also put vessels into the house of the forest of Lebanon. 'And all king Solomon's drinking-vessels *were of* gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon *were of*' gold, 'pure gold, none *were of* silver; it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon.' 1 Ki. x. 21. 2 Ch. ix. 20.

Since it is not expressed what those vessels of pure gold were which Solomon put in the house of the forest of Lebanon, therefore, as to the affirmative, no man can be absolute; vessels of gold, vessels of pure gold, the Holy Ghost says they were, and so leaves it to the prudent to make their conjectures; and although I may not put myself among the number of those prudent ones, yet let me take leave to say what I think in the case.

First then, negatively, they were not vessels ordained for Divine worship, for as that was confined to the temple, so the vessels and materials and circumstances for worship were there. I say, the whole uniform worship of the Jews now was

confined to the temple. 1 Ch. ii. 4; vii. 12, 15, 16. Wherefore the vessels here mentioned could not be such as was in order to set up worship here, for to Jerusalem they were to bring their sacrifices; true, they had synagogues where ordinary service was done, there the law was read, and there the priests taught the people how they should serve the Lord; but for that which stood in carnal ordinances, as sacrificings, washings, and using vessels for that purpose, that was performed at Jerusalem.

This house, therefore, to wit, the house of the forest of Lebanon, was not built to slay or to offer burnt-offerings or sacrifices in, but as that altar was which the two tribes and an half, built by Jordan, when they went each to their inheritance, namely, to be a witness of the people's resolutions to preserve true religion in the church, to themselves, and to their posterity. Jos. xxii. 21–29. Since this house therefore was designed for defensive war, it was not requisite that the formalities of worship should be there.[1]

The church in the wilderness also, so far as she is concerned in contention, so far she is not taken up in the practical parts of religion, 1 Th. ii. 2; for religion is not to be practised in the church in the moments of contention. Let us practise then our religion in peace, and in all peaceable ways, and vindicate it by way of contention, that is, when asked or required by opposites to render a reason thereof. Phi. i. 7, 17. Ac. xxii. 1. But my contention must be, not in pragmatic languages or in striving about words to no profit, but by words of truth and soberness, with all meekness and fear. Ac. xxvi. 24, 25. Tit. iii. 1, 2. 1 Pe. iii. 15.

To practise and defend a practice you know are two things; I practise religion in my closet, in my family, in the congregation, but I defend this practice before the magistrate, the king, and the judge. Now the temple was prepared for the practice of religion, and the house of the forest of Lebanon for defence of the same. Re xi. 1. So far then as the church in the wilderness worships, so far she is compared to the temple, and so far as she defends that worship, so far she is called an army. Re. xix. 14. An army terrible with banners. Ca. vi. 4. For God has given a banner to them that fear him, that it may be displayed because of the truth. Ps. lx. 4. Hence she says to God, 'We will rejoice in thy salvation, and in the name of *our* God, we will set up *our* banners.' Ps. xx. 5. But here is in all this no hurt to the world, the kingdom, the worship, the war is spiritual, even as the armour is.[2] I have spoken this to distinguish worship from contending for worship, and to make way for what is yet to be said.

If the vessels of the forest of Lebanon, or those put in that house, were not such as related to worship, to worship simply as such, then it should seem—

These vessels therefore were for some other use than for formal worship in the house of the forest of Lebanon. The best way then, that I know of, to find out what they were is first to consider to what they are joined in the mention of them. Now I find them joined in the mention of them with Solomon's drinking vessels, and since as they were made of fine or pure gold, I take them also to be vessels of the same kind, namely, vessels to drink in. Now if we join to this the state of the church in the wilderness, of which, as we have said, this house of the forest of Lebanon was a type, then we must understand that by these vessels were prefigured such draughts as the church has, when in a bewildered or persecuted state; and they are of two sorts, either, *First*, Such as are exceeding bitter; or, *Second*, Such as are exceeding sweet; for both these attend a state of war.

First. Such as are exceeding bitter. These are called cups of red wine, signifying blood; also, the cup of the Lord's fury, the cup of trembling, the cup of astonishment, &c. Ps. lxxv. 8. Is. li. 17, 22. Je. xxv. 15. Eze. xxiii. 33.

Nor is there anything more natural to the church, while in a wilderness condition, than such cups and draughts as these. Hence she, as there, is said to be clothed, as was said afore, in sackcloth, to mourn, to weep, to cry out, and to be in pain, as is a woman in travail. See the Lamentations and you will find all this verified. See also Re. xi. 3; xii. 2.

And whoso considers what has already been said as to what the house of the forest of Lebanon met with, will find that what is here inferred is not foreign but natural. For, can it be imagined, that when the king of Assyria laid down his army by the sides of Lebanon, and when the fire was to devour

[1] No formal service such as that of the temple. While the churches are in the wilderness, suffering under the fangs of Antichrist, religious services must be adapted to their circumstances. At times fervent silent prayer, unheard on earth, but recorded in heaven; at other times in an upper chamber or a forest, afraid to sing, lest it should bring the enemy upon them. How ought we to bless God for giving us the full enjoyment of public worship, even while in the wilderness.—(Ed.)

[2] One of the popular delusions of our day is, that all sects have been intolerant and persecutors when they had the opportunity. This is a gross falsehood. Who can charge the Waldenses, Albigenses, or Lollards with that spirit of Antichrist? Who dares charge the Quakers with a persecuting spirit? They had the full opportunity when governing Pennsylvania. Who can accuse the Baptists with injuring those who differed from them when Roger Williams and his Baptist brethren obtained the charter of Rhode Island, with full power to rule themselves by any form of government they preferred? His magna charta concludes with these words, 'And let the saints of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation, in the name of Jehovah their God, for ever and ever.' And it has never been violated. Persecution has never sullied its annals. Freedom to worship God was the desire of its founder—for himself and for all; and he nobly endured till it was accomplished.—Ed.

her cedars, also when Lebanon was to be cut down and languish, that these vessels, these cups, were not then put into her hand. And I say again, since the church in the wilderness, Lebanon's antitype, has been so persecuted, so distressed, so oppressed, and made the seat of so much war, so much blood, of so many murders of her children within her, &c., can it be imagined that she drank of none of these cups? Yes, yes, she has drank the red wine at the Lord's hand, even the cup of blood, of fury, of trembling, and of astonishment; witness her own cries, sighs, tears, and tremblings, with the cries of widows, children, and orphans within her. La. i., ii., iv., v.

But what do I cite particular texts, since reason, histories, experience, anything that is intelligible, will confirm this for a truth; namely, that a people whose profession is directly in opposition to the devil and Antichrist, and to all debauchery, inhumanity, profaneness, superstition, and idolatry, when suffered to be invaded by the dragon, the beast, the false prophet, and whore, must needs taste of these cups, and drink thereof, to their astonishment.

But all these are of pure gold. They are of God's ordaining, appointing, filling, timing, and also sanctified by him for good to those of his that drink them. Hence Moses chose rather to drink a brimmer of these, 'than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.' He. xi. 25. The sourness, bitterness, and wormwood of them, therefore, is only to the flesh that loveth neither God, nor Christ, nor grace. Ps. lxxv. 8. Phi. i. 28.

The afflictions, therefore, that the church in the wilderness hath met with, these cups of gold, are of more worth than are all the treasures of Egypt; they are needful and profitable, and praiseworthy also, and tend to the augmenting of our glory when the next world is come. 1 Th. iii. 3. Re. ii. 10. 1 Pe. i. 6. Besides they are signs, tokens, and golden marks of love, and jewels that set off the beauty of the church in the sight of God the more. Ga vi. 17. Re. iii. 19. He. xii. 6. They are also a means by which men are proved sound, honest, faithful, and true lovers of God, as also such whose graces are not counterfeit, feigned, or unsound, but true, and such as will be found to praise, and honour, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ. Is. xxvii. 9. He. xii. 7–10. 1 Pe. ii. 19. 2 Co. iv. 17, 18. 2 Th. i. 5.

And this has been the cause that the men of our church in the wilderness have gloried in tribulation, taking pleasure in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, and in distresses for Christ's sake. Ro. v. 3. 2 Co. xii. 9, 10. Yea, this is the reason why they have bidden one another rejoice when they fell into divers temptations, saying, Happy is the man that endureth temptations, and behold we count them happy that endure. Ja. i. 2, 12; v. 11. And again, 'if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy *are ye*.' 1 Pe. iv. 14.

These therefore are vessels of pure gold, though they contain such bitter draughts, and though such as at which we make so many wry faces before we can get their liquor down.

Do you think that a Christian, having even this cup in his hand to drink it, would change it for a draught of that which is in the hand of the woman that sits on the back of the scarlet-coloured beast? Re. xvii. 3, 4. No, verily, for he knows that her sweet is poison, and that his bitter is to purge his soul, body, life, and religion, of death. 2 Ti. ii. 11, 12.

God sends his love tokens to his church two ways, sometimes by her friends, sometimes by her enemies. When they come by the hand of a friend, as by a minister, a brother, or by the Holy Ghost, then they come smoothly, sweetly, and are taken, and go down like honey. But when these love tokens come to them by the hand of an enemy, then they are handed to them roughly; Pharaoh handed love tokens to them roughly; the king of Babylon handed these love tokens to them roughly. They bring them of malice, God sends them of love; they bring them and give them to us, hoping they will be our death; they give us them therefore with many a foul curse, but God blesses them still. Did not Haman lead Mordecai in his state by the hand of anger?

Nor is this cup so bitter but that our Lord himself drank deep of it before it was handed to his church; he did as loving mothers do, drink thereof himself to show us it is not poison, also to encourage us to drink it for his sake and for our endless health. Mat. xx. 22; xxvi. 39, 42.

And, as I told you before, I think I do not vary from the sense of the text in calling them cups; because, though there they have no name, they are joined with king Solomon's drinking vessels, and because as so joined in the type, so they are also joined here; therefore the cup here is called Christ's cup. 'Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of?' 'Ye shall drink indeed of my cup.' Mat. xx. 22, 23. Here you see they are joined in a communion in this cup of affliction, as the cups in one and the same breath are joined with those king Solomon drank in, which he put in the house of the forest of Lebanon.

[*Second. Such as are exceeding sweet.*]

But these are not all the cups that belong to the house of the forest of Lebanon, or rather to the church in the wilderness; there is also a cup, out of which, at times, is drunk what is exceeding sweet. It is called the cup of consolation, the cup of salvation; a cup in the which God himself is. Ps. cxvi. 13. Je. xvi. 7. As he said, the Lord is the portion of my cup. Or rather, 'the Lord *is* the portion of mine inheritance, and my cup.' Ps. xvi. 5. This cup,

they that are in the church in the wilderness have usually for an after-draught to that bitter one that went before. Thus, as tender mothers give their children plumbs or sugar, to sweeten their palate after they have drank a bitter potion, so God gives his the cups of salvation and consolation, after they have suffered awhile. 'For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ.' 2 Co. i. 5.

Hence the apostle assureth himself concerning the affliction of them at Corinth; yea, and also promiseth them, that as they were partakers of the sufferings, so should they be of the consolation. 2 Co. i. 7. Some of these cups are filled until they run over, as David said his did, when the valley of the shadow of death was before him. 'Thou preparest a table before me,' said he, 'in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.' Ps. xxiii. 5. This is that which the apostle calls exceeding; that is, that which is beyond measure. 'I am,' says he, 'filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation.' 2 Co. vii. 4.

Now he has one answering the other. Thou hast made summer and winter. Thou hast made the warm beams of thy sun answerable to the cold of the dark night. This may be also yet signified by the building of this house, this type of the church in the wilderness, in so pleasant a place as the forest of Lebanon was. Ca. iv. 8. Lebanon! Lebanon was one of the sweetest places in all the land of Canaan. Therefore we read of the fruit of Lebanon, of the streams from Lebanon; the scent, the smell, the glory of Lebanon; and also of the wine and flowers of Lebanon. Ps. lxxii. 16. Hos. xiv. 6, 7. Is. xxxv. 2; lx. 13. Na. i. 4.

Lebanon! That was one thing that wrought with Moses to desire that he might go over Jordan; namely, that he might see that goodly mountain, and Lebanon. The glory and excellent beauty of the church, Christ also setteth forth, by comparing of her to Lebanon. 'Thy lips, O *my* spouse,' says he, 'drop *as* the honey-comb: honey and milk *are* under thy tongue, and the smell of thy garments *is* like the smell of Lebanon.' Ca. iv. 11, 15. This house, therefore, being placed here, might be to show how blessed a state God could make the state of his church by his blessed grace and presence, even while she is in a wilderness condition.

We will add to this, for further demonstration, that letter of that godly man, Pomponius Algerius, an Italian martyr; some of the words of which are these:—

'Let,' saith he, 'the miserable worldly man answer me; what remedy or safe refuge can there be unto him if he lack God, who is the life and medicine of all men: and how can he be said to fly from death, when he himself is already dead in sin. If Christ be the way, verity, and life, how can there be any life then without Christ?

'The sooly[1] heat of the prison to me is coldness; the cold winter to me is a fresh spring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of weather? Or what careth he for the pinching frost, which burneth with the love of the Lord?

'The place is sharp and tedious to them that be guilty; but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here droppeth the delectable dew; here floweth the pleasant nectar; here runneth the sweet milk; here is plenty of all good things. And although the place itself be desert and barren, yet to me it seemeth a large walk, and a valley of pleasure; here to me is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miserable worldling say, and confess, if there be any plot, pasture, or meadow, so delightful to the mind of man, as here. Here I see kings, princes, cities, and people; here I see wars, where some be overthrown, some be victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is Mount Sion; here I am already in heaven itself. Here standeth first Christ Jesus in the front; about him stand the old fathers, prophets, and evangelists, apostles, and all the servants of God; of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort me, some open the sacraments unto me, some comfort me, other some are singing about me: and how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many, and such as these be, the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example. For here I see some crucified, some slain, some stoned, some cut asunder, and some quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot caldrons, some having their eyes bored through, some their tongues cut out, some their skin plucked over their heads, some their hands and feet chopped off, some put in kilns and furnaces, some cast down headlong, and given to the beasts and fowls of the air to feed upon. It would,' said he, 'ask a long time, if I should recite all.

'To be short, divers I see with divers and sundry torments excruciate; yet notwithstanding, all living and all safe. One plaster, one salve cureth all their wounds, which also giveth to me strength and life; so that I sustain all these transitory anguishes and small afflictions with a quiet mind, having a greater hope laid up in heaven. Neither do I fear mine adversaries which here persecute me and oppress me, for he that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall deride them. I fear

[1] This word was used by Fox in translating the letter of Algerius; I cannot find it in any dictionary. It probably refers to this poor prisoner for Christ being confined in a 'soler,' or room, close under the roof of his prison, in which an Italian sun must have rendered the heat intense. The word 'sooly' may be derived from the Anglo-Saxon 'swool,' sultry; the Dutch use *swoel*, *zoel*, and *zoelheid*, for heat and sultry heat. —(Ed.)

not thousands of people which compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me, my hope, my supporter, my comforter, who exalteth up my head. He shall smite all them that stand up against me without cause; and shall dash the teeth and jaws of sinners asunder, for he only is all blessedness and majesty.

'The rebukes for Christ's cause make us jocund; for so it is written: if ye be rebuked and scorned for the name of Christ, happy be you; for the glory and spirit of God resteth upon you. 1 Pe. iv. Be ye therefore certified (said he, by this his letter to his friends) that our rebukes, which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no mansion firm to me; and therefore I will travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in heaven, and which offereth itself to me, without paying any fine or income. Behold I have entered already in my journey, where my house standeth for me prepared, and where I shall have riches, kinsfolks, delights, honours, never-failing.

'As for these earthly things here present, they are transitory shadows, vanishing vapours, and ruinous walls. Briefly all is but very vanity of vanities, whereas hope, and the substance of eternity to come, are wanting; which the merciful goodness of the Lord hath given, as companions to accompany me, and to comfort me; and now do the same begin to work, and to bring forth fruits in me. I have travelled hitherto, laboured and sweat early and late, watching day and night, and now my travails begin to come to effect. Days and hours have I bestowed upon my studies. Behold the true countenance of God is sealed upon me, the Lord hath given mirth in my heart: and therefore in the same will I lay me down in peace and rest. Ps. iv. And who then shall dare to blame this our age consumed; or say that our years be cut off? What man can now cavil that these our labours are lost, which have followed, and found out the Lord and maker of the world, and which have changed death with life? My portion is the Lord, saith my soul, and therefore I will seek and wait for him.

'Now then, if to die in the Lord be not to die but live most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly rebel, which blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? O how delectable is this death to me! to taste the Lord's cup, which is an assured pledge of true salvation; for so hath the Lord himself forewarned us, saying, the same that they have done to me, they will also do unto you. Wherefore let the doltish world, with his blind worldlings (who in the bright sunshine, yet go stumbling in darkness, being as blind as beetles), cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they count it. To whom, thus, we answer again, with the holy apostle, that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ; we are slain all the day long; we are made like sheep ordained to the shambles. Ro. viii.

'Thus,' saith he, 'do we resemble Christ our Head, which said that the disciple cannot be above his master, nor the servant above his Lord. The same Lord hath also commanded that every one shall take up his cross and follow him. Lu. ix. Rejoice, rejoice, my dear brethren and fellow-servants, and be of good comfort, when ye fall into sundry temptations; let your patience be perfect in all parts. For so it is foreshowed us before, and is written, that they which shall kill you shall think to do God good service. Therefore, afflictions and death be as tokens and sacraments of our election and life to come. Let us then be glad and sing unto the Lord, when as we, being clear from all just accusations, are persecuted and given to death; for better it is that we in doing well do suffer, if it so be the will of God, than doing evil. 1 Pe. iii. We have for our example Christ and the prophets which spake in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquity did quell[1] and murder. And now we bless and magnify them that then suffered. Let us be glad and joyous in our innocency and uprightness; the Lord shall reward them that persecute us; let us refer all revengement to him.

'I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and do not rid myself out of these troubles, when with one word I may. O the blindness of man, which seeth not the sun shining, neither remembereth the Lord's words. Consider therefore what he saith, you are the light of the world. A city built on the hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine, and give light to them in the house. And in another place he saith you shall be led before kings and rulers. Fear ye not them which kill the body, but him which killeth both body and soul. Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven; and he that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father.

'Wherefore, seeing the words of the Lord be so plain, how, or by what authority, will this wise counsellor then approve this his counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should relinquish the commandments of God and follow the counsels of men. For it is written, Blessed is the man that hath not gone in the way of sinners, and hath not stood in the counsels of the ungodly, and hath not sit in the chair of pestilence. Ps. i.[2] God for-

[1] The obsolete verb, to kill.—(Ed.)

[2] This is a curious mode of expressing the awful gradation of a sinner. 1. To go in the way of sinners. 2. To enter

bid that I should deny Christ where I ought to confess him; I will not set more by my life than by my soul, neither will I exchange the life to come for this world here present. O how foolishly speaketh he which argueth me of foolishness!'

And a little farther he saith, 'And now let this carnal politic counsellor, and disputer of this world, tell wherein have they to blame me. If in mine examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me, seeing it is not ourselves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us, as he himself doth fore-witness, saying, When you shall be brought before rulers and magistrates, it is not you yourselves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that shall be in you. Mat. x. Wherefore, if the Lord be true and faithful of his word, as it is most certain, then there is no blame in me; for he gave the words that I did speak, and who was I that could resist his will?

'If any man shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me; and if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein to be accused, which did that I purposed not, and that I fore-thought not of. The things that there I did utter and express [he means when he was before the magistrates], if they were otherwise than well, let them show it, and then will I say that they were my words, and not the Lord's. But if they were good and approved, and such as cannot justly be accused, then must it needs be granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord; and then who be they that shall accuse me—people of prudence? Or who shall condemn me—just judges? And though they so do, yet, nevertheless, the word shall not be frustrate, neither shall the gospel be foolish or therefore decay, but rather the kingdom of God shall the more prosper and flourish unto the Israelites, and shall pass the sooner unto the elect of Christ Jesus, and they which shall so do shall prove the grievous judgment of God. Neither shall they escape without punishment that be persecutors and murderers of the just.

'My well-beloved,' saith he, 'lift up your eyes and consider the counsels of God. He showed unto us a late an image of his plague, which was to our correction; and if we shall not receive him he will draw out his sword and strike with sword, pestilence, and famine, the nation that shall rise against Christ.'

This, as I said, is part of a letter writ by Pomponius Algerius, an Italian martyr, who, when he wrote it, was in prison, in, as he calls it, his delectable orchard, the prison of Leonine, 12 calend. August, anno 1555. As is to be seen in the second volume of the book of martyrs.[1]

This man was, when he wrote this letter, in the house of the forest of Lebanon, in the church in the wilderness, in the place and way of contending for the truth of God, and he drank of both these bitter cups of which I spake before, to wit, of that which was exceeding bitter, and of that which was exceeding sweet, and the reason why he complained not of the bitter was because the sweet had overcome it—as his afflictions abounded for Christ, so did his consolations by him. So, did I say? they abounded much more.

But was not this man, think you, a giant, a pillar in this house? Had he not also now hold of the shield of faith? Yea, was he not now in the combat? And did he not behave himself valiantly? Was not his mind elevated a thousand degrees beyond sense, carnal reasons, fleshly love, self-concerns, and the desires of embracing temporal things? This man had got that by the end that pleased him; neither could all the flatteries, promises, threats, or reproaches, make him once listen to or desire to inquire after what the world or the glory of it could afford. His mind was captivated with delights invisible; he coveted to show his love to his Lord by laying down his life for his sake; he longed to be there where there shall be no more pain, nor sorrow, nor sighing, nor tears, nor troubles; he was a man of a thousand. Ec. vii. 28.

But to return again to our text. You know we are now upon the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon, which, I have told you, could not be vessels for worship, for that worship that was ordained to be performed at the temple was also confined to that, and to the vessels that were there. Therefore they must be, in all probability, the vessels that I have mentioned, the which you see how we have expounded and applied. If I am out I know it not; if others can give me better light here about for it I will be thankful.

There was also added to this house of the forest of Lebanon, store-cities, chariot-cities, and cities of horsemen, unto which king Jotham added castles and towers. 2 Ch. viii. 4–6; xxvii. 3, 4.

These might be to signify by what ways and

into their counsels. 3. To sit in the scorner's seat, here called 'the chair of pestilence.' This is from the vulgate Latin, which renders מושב לצים *pestilentiæ*.—(Ed.)

[1] Pomponius Algerius, born in Capua, a young man of great learning, was student in the University of Padua, where he, not being able to conceal the verity of Christ's gospel which he learned by the heavenly teaching of God's grace, ceased not, both by doctrine and example of life, to inform as many as he could in the same doctrine, and to bring them to Christ; for which he was accused of heresy, and brought to Rome, where he was buried alive. He wrote this letter while in prison at Venice.—See Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, edit. 1631. vol. ii. p. 181.

Mr. Southey thought that this letter gave Bunyan some germ of his *Pilgrim's Progress!!* He takes it from the words, 'In this world there is no mansion firm for me, and therefore I will travel up to the New Jerusalem, which is in heaven.'—*Life of Bunyan*, p. xc.—(Ed.)

means God would at times revenge the quarrel of his church, even in this world, upon them that, without cause, should, for their faith and worship, set themselves against them. For here is a face of threatening revenge, they were store-houses, chariot-cities, cities of horsemen, with castles and towers. And they stood on the same ground that this house was builded upon, even in the forest of Lebanon. We know that in Israel God stirred up kings who at times suppressed idolatry there, and plagued the persecutors too, as Jehu, Hezekiah, Josiah, &c. And he has promised that, even in gospel times, kings 'shall hate the whore, - make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire.' Re. xvii. 12, 16.

Here now are the store-houses, chariot-cities, cities of horsemen, with towers and castles, for the help to the house of the forest of Lebanon, for the help of the church in the wilderness, or, as you have it in another place, as the serpent cast floods of water out of his mouth after the woman, 'that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.' Re. xii. 15, 16. Thus the Medes and Persians helped to deliver the church from the clutches and strong hand of the king of Babylon.

This Lebanon, therefore, was a place considerable and a figure of great things; the countenance of the Lord Jesus is compared to it, and so is the face of his spouse, and also the smell of her garment. Ca. iv. 11; v. 15; vii. 4.

CHAP. X.

OF THE PORCH OF THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON.

Solomon also made a porch to this house of the forest of Lebanon. He made several porches, as one for the temple, one for the house which he dwelt in, one for the throne of the kingdom, and this that was for the house of the forest of Lebanon, of all which this last is that mentioned.

'And he made a porch of pillars, the length thereof *was* fifty cubits, and the breadth thereof thirty cubits; and the porch *was* before them, and the *other* pillars, and the thick beam *were* before them.' 1 Ki. vii. 6. This porch was famous both for length, and breadth, and strength, it was able to contain a thousand men. It was like that of the tower of David, otherwise called the stronghold, the castle of Zion, which is the city of David. 2 Sa. v. 7. 1 Ch. xi. 5. Mi. iv. 8.

This tower of David was built for an armoury, whereon there hanged a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men. It was fifty cubits long and thirty broad, a spacious place, a large receptacle for any that liked to take shelter there. It was made of pillars, even as the house within was, or it stood upon pillars. The pillars, you know, I told you before, were to show us what mighty men, or what men of mighty grace, God would have in his church in the wilderness furnished with. And it is worth your observing here also we have pillars, pillars. And he made the porch of pillars, that is, of pillars of cedar, as the rest of the pillars of the house were.

'And the porch was before them.' That is, as I take it, an entering porch, less than the space within, so that the pillars, neither as to number nor bigness, could be seen without, until at least they that had a mind to see entered the mouth of the porch. And by this was fitly prefigured how unseen the strength of the church under persecution is of all that are without her. Alas! they think that she will be run down with a push, or, as they said, 'What do these feeble Jews? Will they fortify themselves? Will they sacrifice? Will they make an end in a day? Will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burnt?' Alas! 'if a fox go up he shall even break down their stone wall.' Ne. iv. 2, 3.

But do you think these men saw the strength of the Jews now? No, no, their pillars were within, and so were shadowed from their eyes. David himself could not tell what judgment to make of the way of the world against the people of God, until he went into the sanctuary of God. Ps. lxxiii. 16, 17.

How then can the world judge of the condition of the saints? Alas, had they known the church's strength, surely they would not, as they have, so furiously assaulted the same. But what have they got by all they have done, either against the head or body of the same? She yet has being in the world, and will have, shall have, though all the nations on earth should gather themselves together against it. Nor is it the cutting off of many that will make her cease to flourish. Alas, were she not sometimes pruned and trimmed her boughs would stand too thick. Those therefore that are taken away with God's pruning-hooks are removed, that the under branches may grow the better.[1] But, I say, to extinguish her it is in vain for any to hope for that. She stands upon pillars, on rocks, on the munition of rocks; stand therefore she must, whether the world believes it or no.

'And the other pillars - were before them, or, as the margin has it, 'according to them.' The other pillars, that is, they more inward, those that

[1] Thus the blood of the martyrs was the seedtime of the church, and it produced an abundant harvest. That God suffered the choicest of his saints to pass through such dreadful sufferings in their way to glory, is a proof that God's ways are not our ways, but they are infinite in wisdom and mercy.—(Ed.)

were in the body of the house. Christ doth not, as the poor world doth, that is, set the best leg before; the pillars that were more inward in the house were as good as those in the front. It is true some are appointed to death to show to the world the strength of grace, not that he can help nobody to that strength but they. The most feeble of his flock, when Christ shall stand by and strengthen them, are able to do and bear what the strong have underwent. For so he saith.

And 'the *other* pillars and the thick beams *were*' according to them; nay, 'before them.' Indeed, they that are left seem weak and feeble if compared to them that have already been tried with fire and sword and all the tortures of men. But that grace by which they were helped that have done such mighty acts already, can help those who seem more weak yet to go beyond them. God strengtheneth 'the spoiled against the strong, so that the spoiled shall come against the fortress.' Am. v. 9. Or, as another scripture has it, 'The lame take the prey.' Is. xxxiii. 23. So that you see here is all substance. All here are pillars and thick beams, both in the house and in the porch.

The conclusion therefore is:—The true members of the church in the wilderness are strong, mighty, being made able by the grace of God for their standing, and being also coupled and compacted together with the biggest bands or thickest beams that the Holy Ghost puts forth to bind and hold this church together. And there is reason for it. The church is God's tower or battery by which he beateth down Antichrist, or if you will have it in the words of the prophet, 'Thou *art* my battle-axe *and* weapons of war; *for* with thee (saith God) will I break in pieces,' &c. Je. li. 19, 20. Wherefore, since the church is set for defence of religion, and to be as a battery to beat down Antichrist, it is requisite that she should be made up of pillars of strong and staunch materials.[1]

The largeness of the porch was commodious; it was the next shelter, or the place whereunto they of the house of the forest of Lebanon, when pursued, might resort or retreat with the less difficulty. Thus the church in the wilderness has her porch, her place, her bosom, whereunto her discouraged may continually resort, and take up and be refreshed. As Abiathar thrust in to David and his men in the wilderness, in the day when Saul had slain his father, and of his brethren, even 'fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod.' 1 Sa. xxii. 17–23.

When the apostles were persecuted 'they went to their own company,' because the Lord was there. Ac. iv. 23. There we find the pillars, and have both solace and example. There, as Pomponius said of his person, stands Christ Jesus in the front as Captain of the Lord's host, and round about him the old fathers, prophets, apostles, and martyrs. This porch, therefore, I take to be a figure of those cordial and large affections which the church in the wilderness has to all, and for all them that love the truth, and that suffer and are afflicted for the sincere profession thereof.

This porch was bigger than that which belonged to the temple by much, to show that those that are made the objects of the enemies' rage most are usually most prepared with affection for them that are in the same condition. Fellow-feeling is a great matter. It is said of the poor afflicted people that were in Macedonia 'in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality;[2] for to *their* power, - yea, and beyond *their* power,' they showed their charity to the destroyed church of Jerusalem. 2 Co. viii. 1–4.

And a porch in a forest, or a bosom in a wilderness, is seasonable to them that in the wilderness are faint and weary. Nabal shut up his doors against David, and therefore he died like a beast. Poor David! thou wast bewildered, but this churl had no compassion for thee. 1 Sa. xxv. 5–13, 25–39. Blest Obadiah, thou hadst a bosom, and bread, and hiding-places for the church, when rent and torn by the fury of Jezebel, and thou hast for it thy reward in heaven. 1 Ki. xviii. 3, 4. Mat. x. 42. Ebed-melech, because he had compassion on Jeremiah when he was in the dungeon, God did not only give him his life for a prey, but promised him the effects of putting his trust in the Lord. Je. xxxviii. 7–11; xxxix. 15–18.

And he made a porch of pillars. The porch is but the entrance of the house, whither many go that yet step not into the house, but make their retreat from thence; but it is because they are non-residents, they only come to see; or else, if they pretended more, it was not from the heart. 'They went out from us,' said John, 'but they were not of us; for if they had been of us they would, *no doubt*, have continued with us; but *they went out* that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us.' 1 Jn. ii. 19.

And forasmuch as this porch was fifty cubits long, men may take many a step straight forward

[1] Consult Bunyan's admirable treatise, *Of Antichrist and his Ruin*.—Vol. ii., p. 41.

[2] How easily is this riddle resolved by those who visit the afflicted. The Christian poor beat the rich out and out in charity. The poor mother rises long before her usual time, and having fitted her own children for school, runs to her sick neighbour to do the same for her little ones, frequently sharing with them her own children's food; and then, like an angel of mercy, watches over and comforts her sick neighbour. Such is the unostentatious Christian charity found among the Christian poor. O that it may more and more abound.—(Ed.)

therein and be but in the porch yet.[1] Even as we have seen men go, as one would think, till they are out of view in the porch of this church in the wilderness, but presently you have them without the door again.

True, this porch was made of pillars, and so to every one, at first entrance, it showed the power of the place; the church in the wilderness also is so builded that men may see it is ordained for defence. Men also, at their first offer to step over the threshold there, with mouth profess that they will dwell as soldiers there. But words are but wind; when they see the storm a-coming they will take care to shift for themselves. This house, or church in the wilderness, must see to itself for all them.

As the house therefore is a figure of the church in the wilderness, so, so great a porch belonging to it may be also to show that numbers may there be entertained that, if need be, will quickly whip out again. Although therefore the porch was made of pillars, yet every one that walked there were not such. The pillars was to show them, not what they were, but what they should be that entered into this house.

The church also in the wilderness, even in her porch or first entrance into it, is full of pillars, apostles, prophets, and martyrs of Jesus. There also hang up the shields that the old warriors have used, and are plastered upon the walls the brave achievements which they have done. There are also such encouragements there for those that stand, that one would think none that came thither with pretence to serve there would, for very shame, attempt to go back again; and yet, not to their credit be it spoken, they will forsake the place without blushing, yea, and plead for this their so doing. But I have done with the explicatory part, and conclude that from these ten particulars thus handled in this book, the house of the forest of Lebanon was a type, or figure, of the church in the wilderness.

Nor do I know, if this be denied, how so fitly to apply some of these texts which speak to the church, to support her under her troubles, of the comforts that afterwards she shall enjoy, since they are presented to her under such metaphors as clearly denote she was once in a wilderness, for instance,

1. 'Sing, O ye heavens; for the Lord hath done *it* (that is, redeemed his servant Jacob from his sins and from the hand of the enemy): shout, ye lower parts of the earth (or church once trampled under feet): break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein (here is comfort for the church under the name of a forest, that in which the house we have been speaking of was built): for the Lord hath redeemed Jacob, and glorified himself in Israel.' Is. xliv. 23. To what, I say, can this text more fitly be applied, than to the church in the wilderness, put here under the name of a forest as well as under the title of heaven? Yea, methinks it is cried here to her, 'O forest,' on purpose to intimate to us that the house in the forest of Lebanon was the figure of the church in this condition.

2. Again, '*Is* it not yet a very little while, and Lebanon shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field shall be esteemed as a forest? And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness. The meek also shall increase *their* joy in the Lord, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the holy One of Israel. For the terrible one is brought to nought, and the scorner is consumed, and all that watch for iniquity are cut off.' Is. xxix. 17-20. Lebanon was a forest but now she must be a fruitful field. What means he here by Lebanon but the church under persecution, and the fruitful field? Mistress Babylon shall become as a forest, that is, as the church under distress. But when shall this be? Why, when the terrible one is brought low and the scorner is consumed, &c.

What can be more plain than this to prove that Lebanon, even the house in the forest of Lebanon, for that is here intended, was a figure of the church in the wilderness, or in a tempted and persecuted state. For to be turned into a fruitful field signifies the recovering of the afflicted church into a state most quiet and fruitful; fruitful fields are quiet because they are fenced, and so shall the church be in that day.

3. 'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.' Is. xxxv. 1.

What are we to understand by these words if they be not a prophecy of the flourishing state of Christ's kingdom, who, in the days of her persecution, is compared to a wilderness, to a desert, and to solitary places. And she 'shall be glad for them;' for what? for that she is rid of the dragons, wild beasts, satyrs, screech owls, great owl, and vulture, types of the beasts and unclean birds of Antichrist. Is. xxxiv. 13—15.

She shall be glad for them that they are taken away from her and placed far away, for then no lion shall be there nor any ravenous beast; yea, it is the habitation of dragons, where each lay, shall be grass, with reeds and rushes, as it is, Is. xxxv. And now 'the lame *man* shall leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing; for in the

[1] These home-thrusts at conscience, so constantly met with in Bunyan's works, should have the effect of exciting us to solemn self-examination. May we never be contented with the porch, but enter and enjoy the riches of Divine grace. —(Ed.)

wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert.' Read the whole chapter.

For that the desert and wilderness is thus mentioned, and that to express the state of the church in trouble by, it is clear that Lebanon is not excluded, nor the thing that is signified thereby, which, I say, is the church in her low estate, in her forest, or wilderness condition.

4. 'I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle, and the oil-tree; I will set in the desert the fir-tree, *and* the pine, and the box-tree together.' Is. xli. 19.

Can any think that trees are the things taken care of here? They are the men that Antichrist has murdered in his heat and rage against Christ, the which God will restore again to his church, when Antichrist is dead and buried in the sides of the pit's mouth. And that you may the better understand he meaneth so, he expresseth again the state of the church as like to a wilderness condition, and promiseth that in that very church, now so like a wilderness, to plant it again with Christians, flourishing with variety of gifts and graces, signified by the various nature and name of the trees spoken of here.

5. 'Behold, I will do a new thing; now it shall spring forth; shall ye not know it? I will even make a way in the wilderness, *and* rivers in the desert. The beast of the field shall honour me, the dragons and the owls: because I give waters in the wilderness, *and* rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people, my chosen.' Is. xliii. 19, 20. Here God alludes to the condition of the children of Israel in the wilderness of old, and implies they shall be in a wilderness again; and as then he gave them water, and delivered them from serpents, cockatrices, vipers, dragons, so he will do now, now to his people, his chosen.

6. 'The Lord shall comfort Zion: he will comfort all her waste places; and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody.' Is. li. 3.

See here are Zion's waste places, Zion's wilderness, forest, or Lebanon. Next here is a promise that he will comfort her; and what doth this suppose but that she was in her wilderness state, uncomfortable at least as to her outward peace, her liberty, and gospel privileges and beauties? Then here is the comparison, by which he illustrates his promise as to what degree and pitch he will comfort her. 'He will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord.' The effects of all which will be she will have joy and gladness; she will be thankful, and be melodious in her voice, in her soul to the Lord. This, I say, will follow upon her deliverance from her desert, her wilderness, her desolate, and comfortless state: all which is more fully expressed by her repeated hallelujahs. Re. xix. 1—6. Which hallelujahs there are the effect of her deliverance from the rage of the beast and great whore, of whose greatness and ruin you read in the two foregoing chapters. Now, I say, since the church was to be in a wilderness condition under the gospel; and since we have this house of the forest of Lebanon so particularly set forth in the Scriptures; and also since this house, its furniture, its troubles, and state, do so paint out this church in this wilderness state, I take it to be for that very thing designed, that is to say, to prefigure this church in this her so solitary and wilderness state.

[Conclusion.]

We will now therefore here make a brief conclusion of all.

First. This may inform us of the reason of the deplorable state of a professing people. It is allotted to them in this world to be so. The world, and men of the world, must have their tranquillity here, and must be possest of all; this was foreshown in Esau, who had of his sons many that were dukes and kings before there was any king in Israel. Ge. xxxvi. 31. God so disposing of things that all may give place when his Son shall come to reign in Mount Zion, and before his ancients gloriously, which coming of his will be at the resurrection, and end of this world, and then shall his saints reign with him; 'when Christ, *who is* our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.' Col. iii. 4.

Let not therefore kings, and princes, and potentates be afraid; the saints that are such indeed, know their places, and are of a peaceable deportment; 'the earth God hath given to the children of men,' and his kingdom to the sons of God. Ps. cxv. 16. Mat. xxv. 34. Lu. xii. 32.

I know there are extravagant opinions in the world about the kingdom of Christ, as if it consisted in temporal glory in part, and as if he would take it to him by carnal weapons, and so maintain it in its greatness and grandeur; but I confess myself an alien to these notions, and believe and profess the quite contrary, and look for the coming of Christ to judgment personally, and betwixt this and that, for his coming in Spirit, and in the power of his word to destroy Antichrist, to inform kings, and so give quietness to his church on earth; which shall assuredly be accomplished,[1] when the reign of the

[1] The gradual spread of the gospel, like the leaven, must eventually leaven the whole. How astonishing has been its progress since Bunyan entered the celestial city. If his happy spirit hovers as a guardian angel about the saints at Bedford, how must he rejoice in the change. The iron hand of despotic oppression laid low; his old prison swept away; the meetings in dells, and woods, and barns, exchanged for large and commodious places of worship. How he must wonder at our want of gratitude, and love, and zeal, in return for such mercies.—(Ed.)

beast, the whore, the false prophet, and of the man of sin is out. 2 Thes. ii. 8. Is. xlix. 23; lii. 15; lx. 3, 10, 11, 16; lxii. 2. Re. xxi. 24.

Second. Let this teach men not to think that the church is cursed of God, because she is put in a wilderness state. Alas, that is but to train her up in a way of solitariness, to make her Canaan the more welcome to her. Rest is sweet to the labouring man. Yea, this condition is the first step to heaven; yea, it is a preparation to that kingdom. God's ways are not as man's. 'I have chosen thee,' saith he, 'in the furnace of affliction.' When Israel came out of Egypt, they were led of God into the wilderness; but why? That he might have them to a land, that he had espied for them, that he might bring them to a city of habitation. Ezc. xx. 6. Ps. cvii. 1–7.

The world know not the way of the Lord, nor the judgment of our God. Do you think that saints that dwell in the world, and that have more of the mind of God than the world, would, could so rejoice in God, in the cross, in tribulations and distresses, were they not assured that through many tribulations is the very roadway to heaven. Ac. xiv. 22.

Let this then encourage the saints to hope, and to rejoice in hope of the glory of God, notwithstanding present tribulations. This is our seed-time, our winter; afflictions are to try us of what mettle we are made: yea, and to shake off worm-eaten fruit, and such as are rotten at core. Troubles for Christ's sake are but like the prick of an awl in the tip of the ear, in order to hang a jewel there.

Let this also put the saints upon patience: when we know that a trial will have an end, we are by that knowledge encouraged to exercise patience. I have a bad master, but I have but a year to serve under him, and that makes me serve him with patience; I have but a mile to go in this dirty way, and then I shall have my path pleasant and green, and this makes me tread the dirty way with patience. I am now in my rags, but by that a quarter of a year is come and gone, two hundred a year comes into my hand, wherefore I will wait, and exercise patience. Thus might I multiply comparisons. Be patient then, my brethren; but how long? to the coming of the Lord. But when will that be? the coming of the Lord draws nigh.

'Be patient,' my brethren, be long patient, even 'unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain. Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.' Ja. v. 7, 8.

THE WATER OF LIFE;

OR,

A DISCOURSE SHOWING THE RICHNESS AND GLORY

OF THE

GRACE AND SPIRIT OF THE GOSPEL,

AS SET FORTH IN SCRIPTURE BY THIS TERM, THE WATER OF LIFE.

By JOHN BUNYAN.

'*And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.*'—Rev. xxii. 17.

London: Printed for Nathanael Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1688.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

Often, and in every age, the children of God have dared to doubt the sufficiency of Divine grace; whether it was vast enough to reach their condition—to cleanse them from the guilt of all their sins—and to fit their souls to dwell with infinite holiness in the mansions of the blessed. To solve these doubts—to answer these anxious inquiries, Bunyan wrote many of his works; for although he was a Boanerges, or son of thunder, to awaken the impenitent, he was eminently a Barnabas—a son of consolation—an evangelist to direct the trembling inquirer to Christ the way, the truth, and the life. He proclaims first, from his own experience, that there is 'Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners;' then he proclaims 'Good News for the Vilest of Men, the Jerusalem Sinner is Saved'—'Christ is an Advocate'—'Christ is a complete Saviour.' Every one is invited with a 'Come and welcome to Jesus Christ.' There is 'Justification by his Righteousness'—'Salvation by his Grace.' 'He is a Throne of Grace' to which all are freely invited. Even 'The Broken Heart is an acceptable sacrifice.' There is 'The Holy City, New Jerusalem,' to receive such at the end of their pilgrimage, and directions amply given to the pilgrim to guide him in his progress to the celestial city; and he now introduces us to a majestic overflowing river, 'The Water of Life,' sufficient for the refreshment and solace of the myriads of God's saints who have lived from the creation, and will live until the final consummation of all things, when the prophet in holy vision saw 'a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, stand before the throne, and before the Lamb.' This work was the result of the author's mature experience, being published by him during the last year of his eventful life. In it he refers to one of those ten excellent manuscripts left by him at his decease, prepared for the press, and afterwards published by Mr. Doe. It is called, *The Saint's Privilege and Profit.* The way in which he alludes to this, as if it had been printed, shows that he had fully determined to publish it shortly, and this, if it was needed, would confirm our confidence in those treatises. He thus refers to it: 'Because I have spoken of this thing, more particularly upon that text, "Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace," I shall therefore here say no more.'

Two things are rather extraordinary with regard to this valuable treatise on the Water of Life. One is, that although inserted in every list of our author's works, both published by himself and by his friends after his decease, it escaped the researches of Doe, Wilson, Chandler, Whitfield, and others who collected and published Bunyan's works, excepting only the edition with Mason's notes, printed for A. Hogg about 1785. The other singular circumstance is, that although the separate treatises of Bunyan were all most wretchedly and inaccurately printed, the Water of Life has in this respect suffered more than any other of his works. A modern edition of this book, published at Derby by Thomas Richardson, is, without exception, the most erroneously printed of all books that have come under my notice. The Scriptures are misquoted—words are altered so as to pervert the sense—whole sentences and paragraphs, and even whole pages in three or four places, and, in one instance, four consecutive pages, are left out!!! I should be grieved if more penal enactments were added to our statutes, but surely there should be some punishment for such a crime as this. The other editions are more reputable, but very incorrect. One of them bears the imprint of 'London, for James Bunyan, 1760.' Another has 'London, sold by Baxter, Doolittle, & Burkit,' evidently fictitious names, adopted from those three great

authors. The *Pilgrim's Progress* was twice published by D. Bunyan, in Fleet Street, 1763 and 1768; and the *Heavenly Footman*, 'London, sold by J. Bunyan, above the Monument.' All these are wretchedly printed, and with cuts that would disgrace an old Christmas carol. Thus the public have been imposed upon, and thus the revered name of Bunyan has been sacrificed to the cupidity of unprincipled men. Had his works been respectably printed they would have all been very popular and useful, and his memory have been still more venerated.

To attract his readers to come personally, and partake the blessings imparted by the water of life, Bunyan shows that, as a medicine, it alone is the specific to cure the sin-sick soul—all other applications must fail most fatally—'all other remedies come from and return to the Dead Sea'—while the water of life issues from, and leads the soul to, the throne of God. It cleanseth from the old leaven. The Divine Physician is ever ready to administer to the wearied soul. Be not misled by worldly-wisemen to take advice of the doctor's boy, but go direct to Jesus; he is ready—he is willing to cure and save to the uttermost. His medicine may be sharp, but merely so as to effect the cure 'where bad humours are tough and churlish.' 'It revives where life is, and gives life where it is not. Take man from this river, and nothing can make him live: let him have this water and nothing can make him die.' The river of water of life allegorically represents the Spirit and grace of God; thus the truth is mercifully set before us, for 'what is more free than water, and what more beneficial and more desirable than life?' Vast and majestic rivers convey but a faint idea of the immensity of Divine grace; in comparison with which 'the most mighty mountain dwindles into the least ant's egg or atom in the world.' p. 553. A stream of grace issued from the same source during the patriarchal dispensation, and then mankind were directed to it by immediate revelation, or by the tradition of their fathers. It extended under the Jewish or Levitical law, in its course passing through the temple, issuing from under the threshold of God's house, revealed by types, and shadows, and an earthly priesthood, and then 'grace ran but slowly because Jesus was not glorified.' p. 516. Now it flows like a majestic river from the throne of God, open to all, without limit of family or nation, revealed to every creature by the volume of inspiration. This water admits no mixture—it is pure and perfect as its origin—free as the air we breathe to sustain life. 'There is no grudge, or a piece of an upbraiding speech heard therein.' Any attempt to mix with it human merits destroys all its efficacy. In it, and in it only, spiritual life, exciting to works of mercy, and giving sure hopes of immortal bliss, is to be found. God's children can no more live separated from this river than fish can live out of water. As a fish, by natural instinct, avoids foul and unwholesome water, so a Christian has spiritual powers to judge of the purity of doctrine. Like the manna from heaven, and our daily bread, it must be supplied day by day. No church cistern of works of supererogation can supply this pure water. All such pretended supplies are poisonous. It must come direct from heaven without human interference. Those only who spiritually thirst will seek it. Some prefer wine that perisheth in the using, while this water, once received, becomes a well-spring of living waters, springing up into everlasting life. How marvellous that river which swallows up all the impurities of the myriads of the redeemed, so that they are seen no more for ever. These are the truths pressed upon our attention in this treatise. Well may our venerated Bunyan say, while richly enjoying the blessings of this river of grace, just before he waded through the black river which absorbs our earthly bodies—'O grace! O happy church of God! all things that happen to thee are, for Christ's sake, turned into grace!' p. 550. It is a river that so reflects the splendour of God, that the first sight of it was to Paul above the brightness of the sun; a light that did, by the glory of it, make dark to him all the things in the world.

Reader, may your soul and mine be abundantly refreshed from this inexhaustible river, the streams whereof make glad the city of God.

GEO. OFFOR.

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

COURTEOUS READER,

I HAVE now presented thee with something of a discourse of the water of life and its virtues; therefore, thou mayest, if thou wilt, call this book Bunyan's Bill of his Master's Water of Life. True, I have not set forth at large the excellent nature and quality thereof, nor can that so be done by the pen or tongue of men or angels. Yet this I have said, and so saying, said truly, that whosoever shall drink of this water shall find it in him a well of water; and not only so, but a well springing up in him to everlasting life, let his disease be what it will. And as men, in their bills for conviction to readers, do give an account to the country of the persons cured, and the diseases that have been removed by

liquors and preparations, they have made for that end, so could I, were it not already* done by an infallible pen to my hand, give you accounts of numberless numbers that have not only been made to live, *but to live for ever*, by drinking of this water, this pure water of life. Many of them indeed are removed from hence, and live where they cannot be spoken with as yet; but abundance of them do still remain here, and have their abode yet with men.

* By Holy Writ.

Only, if thou wouldst drink it, *drink it by itself*, and that thou mayest not be deceived by that which is counterfeit, know it is as it comes from the hand of our Lord, *without mixture, pure and clear as crystal*. I know there are many mountebanks in the world, and every of them pretend they have this water to sell; but my advice is, that thou go directly to the throne thyself, Re. iv. 16; or as thou art bidden *come to the waters*, Is. lv. 1; and there thou shalt be sure to have that which is right and good, and that which will certainly make thee well, let thy disease, or trouble, or pain, or malady, be what it will. For the price, care not for that, it is cheap enough, this is to be had without money or price. 'I will give,' saith God and the Lamb, 'unto him that is athirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely.' Re. xxi. 6. Hence he says again, 'Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.' Re. xxii. 17. So that thou hast no ground to keep back because of thy poverty; nay, for the poor it is prepared and set open, to the poor it is offered, the poor and needy may have it of free cost.[1] Is. xli. 17, 18.

But let it not be slighted because it is offered to thee upon terms so full, so free. For thou art sick, and sick unto death, if thou drinkest not of it, nor is there any other than this that can heal thee, and make thee well. Farewell. The Lord be thy physician! So prays thy friend,

JOHN BUNYAN.

THE WATER OF LIFE.

'AND HE SHOWED ME A PURE RIVER OF WATER OF LIFE, CLEAR AS CRYSTAL, PROCEEDING OUT OF THE THRONE OF GOD AND OF THE LAMB.' RE. XXII. 1.

THESE words are part of that description that one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, gave unto John of the New Jerusalem, or of the state of that gospel church, that shall be in the latter days. Re. xxi. 9. Wherefore he saith, 'And he showed me; HE, the angel, showed me it.

In the text we have these things to consider of,

FIRST. The matter, the subject matter of the text, and that is the water of life. 'He showed me the water of life.' SECOND. We have also here the quantity of this water showed to him, and that is under the notion of a river: 'He showed me a river of water of life.' THIRD. He shows him also the head, or well-spring, from whence this river of water of life proceeds, and that is, 'the throne of God and of the Lamb.' 'He showed me a river of water of life, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb.' FOURTH. We have also here the nature and quality of this water; it is pure, it is clear as crystal: 'And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.

[THE WATER OF LIFE.]

[FIRST.] We will begin with the first of these, to wit, with the matter, the subject matter of the text, which is, THE WATER OF LIFE. These words, water of life, are metaphorical, or words by which a thing most excellent is presented to and amplified before our faces; and that thing is the Spirit of grace, the Spirit and grace of God. And the words, water of life, are words most apt to present it to us by; for what is more free than water, and what more beneficial and more desirable than life? Therefore I say it is compared to, or called, the water of life. He showed me the water of life.

That it is the Spirit of grace, or the Spirit and grace of God, that is here intended: consider, FIRST, the Spirit of grace is in other places compared to water: and, SECOND, it is also called the Spirit of life. Just as here it is presented unto us, 'He showed me the water of life.'

FIRST. The spirit of grace is compared to water. 'Whosoever,' saith the Lamb, 'drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.' Jn. iv. 14. What can here by water be intended, but the Spirit of grace that this poor harlot, the woman of Samaria, wanted, although she was ignorant of her want, as also of the excellency thereof? Which water also is here said to be such as will spring

[1] As God gave us existence, so, in his munificence and royal bounty, he gives us his rich grace. We have nothing to give in return but grateful love. He redeems us from the captivity of sin, and death, and hell. 'Every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills: the world is mine, saith the Almighty, with the fulness thereof.' O to grace how great a debtor; freely bestowed to the poor and needy.—(ED.)

up, in them that have it, as a well into everlasting life.

Again, 'In the last day, that great *day* of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.' But of what? Why of his rivers of living waters. But what are they? Why he answers, 'This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive.' Jn. vii. 37–39.

Yes, the prophets and servants of God in the Old Testament, did take this water of life for the Spirit of grace that should in the latter days be poured out into the church. Hence, Isaiah calls water God's Spirit and blessing, and Zechariah, the Spirit of grace. 'I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring.' Is. xliv. 3. And Zechariah saith, 'I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplication, - and they shall mourn,' &c. Zec. xii. 10. Behold, in all these places the Spirit of grace is intended, and for our better understanding it is compared to water, to a well of water, to springs of water, and to floods of water.

SECOND. It is also called the Spirit of life, [either] more closely, [or] more openly.

More closely, where it is called 'living water,' 'that living water,' and 'water springing up into everlasting life.' Jn. iv. 10, 11, 14; vii. 38.

Then *more openly* or expressly it is called 'the Spirit of life.' 'And after three days and an half, the Spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet.' Re. xi. 11.

From hence, therefore, I conclude, that by these terms, water of life, is meant the Spirit of grace, or the Spirit and grace of the gospel. And the terms are such as are most apt to set forth the Spirit and grace of the gospel by: for,

[*First. The term* WATER.]

1. By this term, WATER, an opposition to sin is presented unto us. Sin is compared to water, to deadly waters, and man is said to drink it, as one that drinketh waters. 'How much more abominable and filthy *is* man, which drinketh iniquity like water?' Job xv. 16. So, then, that grace and the Spirit of grace is compared to water, it is to show what an antidote grace is against sin; it is, as I may call it, counter poison to it. It is that ONLY thing by the virtue of which sin can be forgiven, vanquished, and overcome.

2. By this term WATER, you have an opposition also to the curse, that is due to sin, presented unto you. The curse, is compared to water; the remedy is compared to water. Let the curse come into the bowels of the damned, saith the psalmist, like water, Ps. cix. 18. The grace of God also, as you see, is compared to water. The curse is burning; water is cooling: the curse doth burn with hell-fire; cooling is by the grace of the holy gospel: but they that overstand the day of grace, shall not obtain to cool their tongues so much of this water as will hang on the tip of one's finger.[1] Lu. xvi. 24, 25.

3. Water is also of a spreading nature, and so is sin: wherefore sin may for this also be compared to water. It overspreads the whole man, and infects every member; it covereth all as doth water. Grace for this cause may be also compared to water; for that it is of a spreading nature, and can, if God will, cover the face of the whole earth; of body and soul.

4. Sin is of a fouling, defiling nature; and grace is of a washing, cleansing nature; therefore grace, and the Spirit of grace, is compared to water. 'I will,' saith God, 'sprinkle clean water upon you, (my Spirit, ver. 27) and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you.' Eze. xxxvi. 25.

5. Water; the element of water naturally descends to and abides in low places, in valleys and places which are undermost; and the grace of God and the Spirit of grace is of that nature also; the hills and lofty mountains have not the rivers running over the tops of them; no, though they may run 'among them.' But they run among the valleys: and 'God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble,' 'to the lowly.' Ja. iv. 6. 1 Pe. v. 5. Pr. iii. 34.

6. The grace of God is compared to water, for that it is it which causeth fruitfulness; water causeth fruitfulness, want of water is the cause of barrenness; and this is the reason why the whole world is so empty of fruit to Godward, even because so few of the children of men have the Spirit of grace in their hearts. But,

[*Second. The term* LIFE.]

As there is a great special signification in this term WATER, so there is in this term LIFE, water of life. 'He showed me the water of life.' In that, therefore, there is added to this word water, that of life, it is, in the general, to show what excellent virtue and operation there is in this water. It is *aquæ vitæ*, water of life, or water that hath a health and life in it. And this term shows us,

1. That the world of graceless men are dead; dead in trespasses and sins. Jn. v. 21, 25. Ep. ii. 1. Col. ii. 13. Dead, that is, without life and motion Godward, in the way of the testament of his Son.

2. It also shows us that there is not any thing

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[1] Water is a curse, as in the dropsy, but essential to life with our food. Oil is valuable, properly taken, but an irritating oil to consume the bones is destructive. How awful the case of the rich man when refused a drop of water to cool that fire which he had created while living, and into which he had irretrievably plunged himself.—(ED.)

in the world, or in the doctrine of the world, the law, that can make them live. Life is only in this water, death is in all other things.[1] The law, I say, which is that that would, if anything in the whole world, give life unto the world, but that yet killeth, condemneth, and was added that the offence might abound; wherefore there is no life either in the world or in the doctrine of the world. It is only in this water, in this grace of God, which is here called the water of life, or God's *aquæ vitæ*.[2]

3. It is also called the water of life to show that by the grace of God men may live, how dead soever their sins have made them. When God will say to a sinner, 'live,' though he be dead in his sins, 'he shall live.' '*When thou wast* in thy blood, I said unto thee, Live; yea, *when thou wast* in thy blood, I said, Live.' Eze. xvi. 6. And again, 'The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live.' Jn. v. 25. That is, when he speaks words of grace, and mixeth those words with the Spirit and grace of the gospel, then men shall live; for such words so attended, and such words only, are spirit and life. 'The words that I speak unto you,' saith Christ, '*they* are spirit, and *they* are life.' Jn. vi. 63.

4. In that this grace of God is here presented unto us under the terms of water of life, it is to show that some are sick of that disease that nothing can cure but that. There are many diseases in the world, and there are also remedies for those diseases; but there is a disease that nothing will, can, or shall cure, but a dram of this bottle, a draught of this *aquæ vitæ*, this water of life. This is intimated by the invitation, 'let him take the water of life freely.' Re. xxii. 17. And again, 'I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.' Re. xxi. 6. This is spoken to the sick, to them that are sick of the disease that only Christ, as a physician, with his water of life, can cure. Mar. ii. 17. But few are sick of this disease, but few know what it is to be made sick of this disease.[3] There is nothing can make sick of this disease but the law and sin, and nothing can cure but the grace of God by the gospel, called here the water of life.

[1] Reliance upon an imperfect obedience to God's holy law, united with a hope, through Christ or some other means, of forgiveness for not having kept some parts of that law, is 'the doctrine of the world,' and of devils. It is a refuge of lies, which death will fearfully sweep away. We must rely wholly upon Christ, or perish.—(Ed.)

[2] *Aquæ Vitæ* was a cordial-water well known in Bunyan's time, and much used in compounding medicines, but now almost forgotten. It was distilled from brewed beer, strongly hopped, and well fermented. The French have an intoxicating liquour called *eau de vie;* this is distilled from the refuse of the grapes after the wine is made.—(Ed.)

[3] Although all mankind are fatally diseased, they only feel it that are made sick of sin; this is the law work, and when it takes place, then comes the new birth and salvation by the efficacy of this water of life.—(Ed.)

[THE GREATNESS AND ABUNDANCE OF THE WATER OF LIFE.]

[SECOND.] We come now to discourse of the second thing with which we are presented by the text, and that is, the quantity that there is of this water of life. It is a RIVER—'He showed me a river of water of life.' Waters that are cordial, and that have in them a faculty to give life to them that want it, and to maintain life where it is, are rare and scarce, and to be found only in close places and little quantities; but here you see there is abundance, a great deal, a RIVER, a river of water of life. In my handling of this point I will show you,

FIRST. What a river of water of life this is. SECOND. And then draw some inferences therefrom.

FIRST. *What a river this is, this river of water of life.*[4]

First. It is a deep river. It is a river that is not shallow, but deep, with an 'O the depth!' Ro. xi. 33. 'I will make their waters deep, saith God.' Eze. xxxii. 14. And again, they 'have drunk of the deep waters.' Eze. xxxiv. 18. A river of water of life is much, but a deep river is more. Why, soul-sick sinner, sin-sick sinner, thou that art sick of that disease that nothing can cure but a potion of this river of the water of life, here is a river for thee, a deep river for thee. Those that at first are coming to God by Christ for life, are of nothing so inquisitive as of whether there is grace enough in him to save them. But, for their comfort, here is abundance, abundance of grace, a river, a deep river of the water of life, for them to drink of.

Second. As this river is deep, so it is wide and broad. Ep. iii. 18. Job. xi. 9. Wherefore, as thou art to know the depth, that is, that it is deep, so thou art to know its breadth, that is, that it is broad; it is broader than the sea, a river that cannot be passed over. Eze. xlvii. 5. Never did man yet go from one side of this river to the other when the waters indeed were risen; and now they are risen, even now they proceed out of the throne of God and of the Lamb too. Hence this grace is called 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.' Ep. iii. 8. Sinner, sick sinner, what sayest thou to this? Wouldst thou wade? wouldst thou swim? here thou mayest swim, it is deep, yet fordable at first entrance. And when thou thinkest that thou hast gone through and through it, yet turn again and try

[4] A RIVER inexhaustible, to supply the pure and unmixed joys of heaven to all the myriads of happy glorified souls, and applied by the Spirit of grace to quench the thirst of the soul on earth. This grace is fixed and permanent, 'springing up into everlasting life.' Blessed Jesus, 'give me this water, that I thirst not ever.'—(Ed.)

once more, and thou shalt find it deeper than hell, and a river that cannot be passed over. If thou canst swim, here thou mayest roll up and down as the fishes do in the sea.[1] Nor needest thou fear drowning in this river, it will bear thee up, and carry thee over the highest hills, as Noah's waters did carry the ark. But,

Third. As this river of water of life is deep and large, so it is a river that is full of waters. A river may be deep and not full. A river may be broad and not deep. Aye, but here is a river deep and broad, and full too. 'Thou waterest it; thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, *which* is full of water.' Ps. lxv. 9. Full of grace and truth. Fill the water-pots, saith Christ, up to the brim. The waters of a full cup the wicked shall have; and a river full of the water of life is provided for those who indeed have a desire thereto.

Fourth. As this river is deep, broad, and full, so it still aboundeth with water. The waters, says the prophet, 'were risen.' Eze. xlvii. 4. Hence, the Holy Ghost saith, God causeth the waters to flow. Ps. cxlvii. 18. And again, 'And it shall come to pass in that day (the day of the gospel) *that* the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the rivers of Judah shall flow with waters, and a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim.' Joel iii. 18. When a river overflows it has more water than its banks can bound: it has water. 'Behold, he smote the rock, that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed.' Ps. lxxviii. 20. This river of water of life, which is also signified by these waters, is a river that abounds and that overflows its banks in an infinite and unspeakable manner. Thus much for the river, to wit, what a river of water of life it is. It is a river deep, broad, full, and abounding with this water, with this Spirit and grace of the gospel.

[*Inferences to be drawn from this term* RIVER.]

SECOND. Now I shall come to draw some inferences from it, that is, from this term, a river. A river of water of life.

First. Then, a river is water that is common, common in the streams, though otherwise in the head. This river proceeds out of the throne, and so, as to its rise, it is special; it is also called the water of life, and as it is such, it is special; but as it is a river it is common, and of common use, and for common good. Hence the grace of God is called the common salvation, Jude 3, for that by the word there is no restraint, no denial to or forbidding of any that will, from receiving thereof.

And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely. Re. xxii. 17. What can more fully declare the commonness of a thing? Yea, this river is called, at the very head of it, an 'open fountain,' a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Zec. xiii. 1. And by David or Judah and Jerusalem is comprehended every soul that would drink of the water of life or living water. And hence it is that this river is said to 'go down into the desert and go into the sea,' where all kinds of fishes are. Eze. xlvii. 8. By sea is meant the world, and by fish the people, and thither shall run this river of water of life. But,

Second. Though a river, in the streams of it, is common, yet a river, as it passes through a country or province, will choose its own way, it will run in the valleys, in the plains, not over steeples[2] and hills. It will also fetch its compasses and circuits; it will go about and reach hither and thither, and according to its courses it will miss by its turnings what places and people it lists, yet it is common, for that it lies open, yet it is common for all the beasts of the field. There is, therefore, a difference to be put betwixt the commonness of a thing and its presence. A thing may be common, yet far enough off of thee. Epsom, Tunbridge waters, and the Bath, may be common, but yet a great way off of some that have need thereof. The same may be said of this river, it is common in the streams, but it runs its own circuit, and keeps its own water-courses. 'He sendeth the springs into the valleys *which* run among the hills.' Ps. civ. 10. Indeed, he openeth his river in high places, in his throne, and of the Lamb, but still they run in the midst of the valleys to water the humble and the lowly. Wherefore, they that thirst and would drink are bid to come down to the waters—'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy,' &c. Is. lv. 1. And again, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.' Jn. vii. 37. The waters are common, but you must come to them, to them where they are, or you will be nothing the better for them. 'Come ye to the waters.'

Third. This water of life is called a river, to intimate to you by what store of the same it is supplied. All rivers have the sea for their original: 'All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea *is* not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come,

[1] This water of life is as essential to the spiritual-mindedness of the soul, as natural water is to the life of a fish. The grace of God is the element in which only the renewed soul can live and enjoy a little of that heaven into which, as an ocean of bliss, this river carries him.—(ED.)

[2] This is not intended as a reflection upon those who worshipped God in meeting-houses with steeples, and which are erroneously called churches. The word is used because steeples were the most elevated objects with which his hearers were familiar.—(ED.)

thither they return again.'[1] Ec. i. 7. And so this river of water of life is said to proceed out of the throne, as out of a place where it breaketh out, but the original is the sea, the ocean of grace, which is an infinite Deity. 'Thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea, into the depth of the sea of thy grace.' Mic. vii. 19. Rivers, when they are broken up, do with their gliding streams carry away a great deal of the filth, which from all parts of the countries through which they run, is conveyed into them; and they carry it away into the sea, where it is everlastingly swallowed up.[2] And, O! the filth that is cast into this river of God! and, O! how many dirty sinners are washed white therein, for by its continual gliding away, it carrieth that filth into the midst of the sea.

A river will take away the very stink of a dead dog: nor doth all the soil and draught that is cast into the rivers, cause that those that can should be afraid to make use thereof: all that have need do betake themselves to this river notwithstanding. But how much more virtue is there in this sweet river of grace that is designed, yea, opened on purpose, to wash away sin and uncleanness in, to carry away all our filth, and to remain as virtuous still!

Fourth. It is called a river, to show that it yields a continual supply, as I may call it, of new and fresh grace. Rivers yield continually fresh and new water. For though the channel or watercourse in which the water runs is the same, yet the waters themselves are always new. That water that but one minute since stood in this place or that of the river, is now gone, and new and fresh is come in its place. And thus it is with the river of God, which is full of water; it yieldeth continually fresh supplies, fresh and new supplies of grace to those that have business in those waters. And this is the reason that when sin is pardoned, it seems as if it were carried away. Those waters have, with their continual streams, carried away the filth of the sinner from before his face. It is not so with ponds, pools, and cisterns; they will be foul and stink, if they be not often emptied, and filled again with fresh water. We must then put a difference between the grace that dwelleth in us, and this river of water of life. We are but as ponds, pools, and cisterns, that can hold but little, and shall also soon stink, notwithstanding the grace of God is in us, if we be not often emptied from vessel to vessel, and filled with fresh grace from this river. Je. xlviii. 11. But the river is always sweet, nor can all the filth that is washed out of the world make it stink, or infect it: its water runs with a continual gliding stream, and so carries away all annoyance, as was said, into the depth of the sea.

Fifth. The grace of God is called a river, to show that it is only suited to those who are capable of living therein. Water, though it is that which every creature desireth, yet it is not an element in which every creature can live. Who is it that would not have the benefit of grace, of a throne of grace? But who is it that can live by grace? Even none, but those whose temper and constitution is suited to grace. Hence, as the grace of God is compared to a RIVER, so those that live by grace are compared to FISH: for that as water is that element in which the fish liveth, so grace is that which is the life of the saint. 'And there shall be a very great multitude of fish, because these waters shall come thither; for they shall be healed, and everything shall live whither the river cometh.' Eze. xlvii. 9. Art thou a fish, O man, art thou a fish? Canst thou live in the water; canst thou live always, and nowhere else, but in the water? Is grace thy proper element? The fish dieth if she be taken out of the water, unless she be timely put in again; the saint dieth if he be not in this river. Take him from this river, and nothing can make him live; let him have water, water of life enough, and nothing can make him die.

I know that there are some things besides fish, that can make a shift to live in the water; but the water is not their proper, their *only* proper element. The frog can live in the water, but not in the water only; the otter can live in the water, but not in the water only. Give some men grace and the world, grace and sin; admit them to make use of their lusts for pleasure, and of grace to remove their guilt, and they will make a pretty good shift, as we say; they will finally scrabble on in a profession; but hold them to grace only, confine their life to grace, put them into the river, and let them have nothing but river, and they die; the word, and way, and nature of grace, is to them as light bread,[3] and their soul can do no other but loath it, for they are not suited and tempered for that element. They are fish, not frogs, that can live in the river, as in their *only* proper element. Wherefore, the grace of God, and Spirit of grace, is compared to a river, to show that none but those can live thereby whose souls and spirits are suited and fitted thereto.

Sixth. The grace, and Spirit of grace of God, is

[1] The rain is taken from the sea by water-spouts or in vapour; it is wonderfully distilled, and descends upon the earth in fertilizing showers which supply the rivers. In proportion to the rain or melting of the snow, is the quantity of water in the rivers. Bunyan was taught all this phenomena of nature, by a single verse in the inspired volume which he quotes. How wonderful is that Book!—(ED.)

[2] This is a most astonishing natural phenomenon: that such a river as the Thames, receiving constantly all the filth of a vast metropolis, containing more that two millions of inhabitants, burics it all, and yet purificth itself.—(ED.)

[3] Light bread is an allusion to Nu. xxi. 5: 'our soul loatheth this light bread.' The heavenly manna, like Christ, is despised and rejected of man.—(ED.)

called or compared to a river, to answer those unsatiable desires, and to wash away those mountainous doubts that attend those that indeed do thirst for that drink. The man that thirsteth with spiritual thirst, fears nothing more than that there is not enough to quench his thirst. All the promises and sayings of God's ministers to such a man seem but as thimbles instead of bowls. Ps. lxiii. 1; cxliii. 6. I mean so long as his thirst and doubts walk hand in hand together. There is not enough in this promise; I find not enough in that promise to quench the drought of my thirsting soul. He that thirsteth aright, nothing but God can quench his thirst. 'My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God.' Ps. xlii. 2; lxiii. 1; cxliii. 6. Well, what shall be done for this man? Will his God humour him, and answer his desires? Mark what follows: '*When* the poor and needy seek water, and *there is* none,' (and they can find none, when all the promises seem to be dry, and like clouds that return after the rain), '*and* their tongue faileth for thirst, I, the Lord, will hear them.' Aye, but Lord, what wilt thou do to quench their thirst? 'I will open rivers,' saith he, 'in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys. I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water.' Is. xli. 17, 18. Behold! here are rivers and fountains, a pool, and springs, and all to quench the thirst of them that thirst for God.

Wherefore, as I said, such provision for the thirsty intimates their fears of want and the craving appetite of their souls after God. Right spiritual thirst is not to be satisfied without abundance of grace. And 'they shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house, and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures.' Ps. xxxvi. 8.

Seventh. The grace of God is compared to a river, to show the greatness of the family of God. He has a family, a great family, and, therefore, it is not a little that must be provided for them. When Israel went out of Egypt, and thirsted by the way, God provided for them a river; he made it gush out of the rock; for, alas! what less than a river could quench the thirst of more than six hundred thousand men, besides women and children? Ps. lxxviii. 20.

I say, what less than a river could do it? When the people lusted for flesh, Moses said, 'Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to suffice them?' Nu. xi. 22. Even so could not less than a river sustain and suffice that great people. Now his people in gospel days are not to be diminished, but increased; and if then they had need of a river, surely now of a sea; but the river is deep and broad, full, and abounds, or rises with water, so it will suffice.

Eighth. The grace of God is compared to a river, perhaps to show of what a low esteem it is with the rich and the full. The destitute indeed embrace the rock instead of a shelter, and the poor and needy, they seek water: but they that can drink wine in bowls, that can solace themselves with, as they think, better things, they come not to this river to drink; they never say they shall die if they drink not of this water. It is, therefore, for the poor and needy, God will lead THEM to his 'living fountains of waters,' and will 'wipe away all tears from THEIR eyes.' Re. vii. 17. And thus I pass the second and come to the third particular, and that is, to show the head and spring from whence this river proceeds, or springs.

[THE HEAD OR WELL-SPRING OF THE WATER OF LIFE.]

[THIRD.] Rivers have their heads from whence they rise, out of which they spring, and so, accordingly, we read this river has; wherefore he saith, 'He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.'

[GOD.] God is here to be taken for the whole Godhead, Father, Son, and Spirit, for that grace proceeds from them all; the grace of the Father, the grace of the Son, and the grace of the Spirit is here included. Hence, as the Father is called 'the God of grace:' 1 Pe. v. 10; so the Son is said to be full of grace, grace to be communicated, Jn. i. 14-16, and the Holy Ghost is called 'the Spirit of grace.' He. x. 29. So then by this we perceive whence grace comes. Were all the world gracious, if God were not gracious, what was man the better? If the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Ghost, are gracious, if they were not all gracious, what would it profit? But now God is gracious, the three persons in the Godhead are gracious, and so long they that seek grace are provided for; for that, there proceeds from them a river, or grace like a flowing stream; indeed the original of grace to sinners is the good will of God; none can imagine how loving God is to sinful man. A little of it is seen, but they that see most, see but a little.

[THE LAMB.] But there is added, 'and of the Lamb.' The Lamb is, Jesus as sacrificed, Jesus as man, and suffering. Hence you have the Lamb, at the first vision of the throne, set forth unto us, that is, as slain. 'And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain.' Re. v. 6. Wherefore, by this word Lamb, we are to understand who, or by what means, grace doth now run from the throne of God, like a river, to the world. It is because of, or through the Lamb. We are 'justified freely by the grace of God through the redemption that

is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth *to be* a propitiation, through faith in his blood.' Ro. iii. 24. And again, 'We have redemption through his blood,' even 'the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of God's grace.' Ep. i. 7.

Nor doth the Lamb of God, by becoming a means, through death, of the conveyance of grace to us, at all darken the nature or glory of grace, but rather doth set it off the more. For wherein can grace or love more appear than in his laying down his life for us? I speak now of the grace of the Son. And wherein could the nature and glory of grace of the Father more appear than in giving his Son to death for us, that grace might, in a way of justice as well as mercy, be bestowed upon the world? Wherefore, as he saith here, that the river of water of life proceedeth from God, so he adds that the Lamb, because he would have us while we are entangled and overcome with this river of God's pleasure, not forget what it cost the Lamb of God that this grace might come unto us.

For the riches of grace and of wisdom are, that grace comes to us not only in a way of mercy and compassion, but in a way of justice and equity; but that could be by no other means but by redeeming blood. Which redeeming blood came not from us, nor yet through our contrivance or advice; wherefore, whatever it is to the Lamb, still all is of grace to us. Yea, the higher, the greater, the richer is grace, by how much the more it cost the Father and the Lamb, that we might enjoy it. When a man shall not only design me a purse of gold, but shall venture his life to bring it to me, this is grace indeed. But, alas! what are a thousand such short comparisons to the unsearchable love of Christ.

The Lamb, then, is he from whom, by, or through whom the grace of God doth come to us. It proceeds from the throne of God and of the Lamb. And it proceeds from him now as a donator: from him, not only as a means of conveyance, but as one that has power to give grace; power, as he is the Son of Man. For as the Son of Man he is the Lamb, and as he is the Lamb it cometh from him. 'The Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins.' Mat. ix. 6. And that before he had actually paid to God the price of our redemption. But how much more now? Wherefore Paul, in his prayer for grace and peace for saints, supplicates both God and the Lamb—'Grace be to you, from God our Father, and *from* the Lord Jesus Christ.' Ep. i. 2. 1 Co. i. 3. 2 Co. i. 2. Ga. i. 3.

'Proceeding out of the throne.' Formerly this river of water is said to come from under the threshold of the house of the Lord. Eze. xlvii. 1. And it is, said again, they 'shall go out from Jerusalem,' that is, the church or house of God still. Zec. xiv. 8. In that they are said to come out from under the threshold, it may be to intimate that they ran but low formerly, if compared to what they do now. Which might also be signified by this, that they 'issued out,' that that issues out ordinarily comes forth but slowly. Also the prophet saith, the first time he went through the waters, they were but up to the ancles. Eze. xlvii. 3, 4. But what is ancle-deep to that which followeth after? It is said also to come out from Jerusalem, where, I perceive, were no great rivers, to intimate, that as long as the first priesthood, first temple, and type, were in their splendour, only the shadow of heavenly things were in use, and that then grace ran but slowly, nor would run much faster, because Jesus was not yet glorified. For the Spirit and abundance of grace was to be given not before but after his ascension.

Wherefore, now Jesus is ascended, now he is glorified, now grace proceeds from the throne, not from the threshold of the house. 'He shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb.'

The Throne. That of which the mercy-seat was a type, that which is called the throne of grace. Ex. xxv. 17. He. iv. 16. And it is called the throne of grace, even, therefore, because it is that from or out of which proceeds this river of water of life, this overflowing grace of God. Now, it may be asked what is the throne of grace? and I shall answer it is the humanity of Christ. He is the throne, he is the Jacob in which God sitteth. Is. xxii. 22, 23. And he shall be for a glorious throne to his Father's house. Re. iii. 7. The fulness of the Godhead dwells in him bodily; and God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, nor can grace come to men but by Christ, nor can God rest as to our salvation but in him. But because I have spoken of this thing more particularly upon that text, 'Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace,' &c., I shall, therefore, here say no more.

Only, methinks, it is a glorious title that the Holy Ghost has given to the humanity of Christ, in that he calls it the throne of God; and methinks he gives it the highest preference in that he saith, out thence proceeds a pure river of water of life: we will a little, therefore, speak something to this word—the throne, the throne of God.

First. A throne is the seat of majesty and greatness; it is not for things of an inferior quality to ascend or assume a throne. Now, then, since this river of water of life proceeds from the throne, it intimates, that in grace and mercy there is great majesty; for grace, as it proceeds, has a voice from the throne. And, indeed, there is nothing in heaven or earth that can so AWE the heart as the grace of God. He. iii. 5. It is that which makes a man fear, it is that which makes a man tremble, it is that which makes a man bow and bend, and

break to pieces. Je. xxxii. 9. Nothing has that majesty and commanding greatness in and upon the hearts of the sons of men as has the grace of God. So that, I say, when he saith that this river of grace proceeds out of the throne of God, it is to show us what a majesty, what a commanding greatness, there is in grace. The love of Christ constraineth us.

When Moses went up to the mount the first time to receive the law, he did exceedingly fear and quake. Why? because of the fire and smoke, thick darkness and thunder, &c. But when he went up the second time thither, 'he made haste and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped.' But why? because it was before proclaimed that 'the Lord was merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin,' &c. Ex. xxxiv. 6-9.

There is nothing overmastereth the heart like grace, and so obligeth to sincere and unfeigned obedience as that. 'Examine me, O Lord,' said David, 'and prove me; try my reins and my heart. For thy loving kindness *is* before mine eyes: and I have walked in thy truth.' Ps. xxvi. 2, 3. Therefore, he saith again, O Lord our God, 'how excellent *is* thy loving kindness' in all the earth! and that loving kindness is marvellous; for it has that majesty and that excellent glory in it as to command the heart and subdue sin. And, therefore, grace has given to it the title of sovereignty, or of one that reigns. The throne is called 'the throne of grace,' He. iv. 16, that on which it sits and reigns, as well as that from whence it proceeds: 'Grace reigns through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord.' Ro. v. 21.

Second. As a throne is a seat of majesty and greatness, and so can awe, so it is the seat of authority and legislative power, and so will awe; this is confirmed from what was said but now, 'grace reigns.' Wherefore it is expected that they that hear the word of God's grace should submit thereto, and that at their peril. 'He that believes not shall be damned,' is a word of power, of law, and of authority, and the contemner shall find it so. Grace proceeds from the throne, from the throne of God and of the Lamb. Wherefore, sinner, here is laid a necessity upon thee, one of the two must be thy lot; either thou must accept of God's grace, and be content to be saved freely thereby, notwithstanding all thy undeservings and unworthiness, or else thou must be damned for thy rebellion and for thy rejecting of this grace. Wherefore, consider with thyself and think what is best to be done. Is it better that thou submit to the grace and mercy of God, and that thou acceptest of grace to reign for thee, in thee, and over thee, than that thou shouldst run the hazard of eternal damnation because thou wouldst not be saved by grace? Consider of this, I say, for grace is now in authority, it reigns and proceeds from the THRONE. Now, you know, it is dangerous opposing, rejecting, despising, or disowning of them in authority; better speak against twenty than against one that is in authority. If 'the wrath of a king *is as* messengers of death,' Pr. xvi. 14, if the wrath of the king '*is* as the roaring of a lion,' what is the wrath of God? Pr. xix. 12. And you know, to despise grace, to refuse pardon, to be unwilling to be saved from the guilt and punishment due to treasons, the king's way, since that also is the best way, how will that provoke? how hot will that make wrath? But to accept of grace, especially when it is free grace, grace that reigns, grace from the throne, how sweet is it? 'His favour *is* as dew upon the grass.'

This, therefore, calls for thy most grave and sedate thoughts. Thou art in a strait, wilt thou fly before Moses, or with David fall into the hands of the Lord? wilt thou go to hell for sin, or to life by grace? One of the two, as was said before, must be thy lot: for grace is king, is upon the throne, and will admit of no other way to glory. In and by it thou must stand, if thou hast any hope, or canst at all 'rejoice in hope of the glory of God.' Ro. v. 2.

Third. As the throne is the seat of majesty and authority, so it is the highest seat of authority. There is none above the throne, there is no appeal from the throne. There are inferior courts of judicature, there are under-governors, and they may sometimes, perhaps, be faulty; wherefore in some cases an appeal from such may be lawful or permitted; but from the throne none can appeal. Now grace is upon the throne, reigns upon the throne, proceeds from the throne. A man may appeal from the law to the throne, from Moses to Christ, from him that spake on earth to him that speaks from heaven; but from heaven to earth, from Christ to Moses, none can appeal, Moses himself has forbid it. For 'Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren like, unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass, *that* every soul, which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people.' Ac. iii. 22, 23.

See here, this NEW prophet judges in the highest court; he is master of grace, the throne by which grace reigns; and even Moses admits that from himself an appeal may be made to this prophet; yea, he allows that men may flee from himself to this prophet for refuge; but there must be no appeal from him. Thou must hear him or die. How shall we escape, 'if we turn away from him that *speaketh* from heaven?' He. xii. 25.

This, therefore, is to be duly weighed and deeply considered by us. It is not a saint, nor a minister, nor a prophet, nor an angel that speaks, for all these are but servants, but inferiors; no, it is a voice from the throne, from authority, from the highest authority; it is the Lord from heaven. This grace proceeds from the throne, and, therefore, men must stand and fall by what shall come from hence. He that comes not hither to drink shall die for thirst. He that refuses this water now, shall not have so much as will hang upon the tip of his finger, if it would save his soul, hereafter. 'How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation.' He. ii. 3.

Apostates will, therefore, from hence find griping pangs and burning coals, for they have turned themselves away from this throne, and from the grace that proceeds therefrom; nor is it to any purpose whatever they plead for themselves. They are fallen from grace, and what can help them? Christ is become of none effect unto such, whosoever is, that is, seeks to be, justified by the law; they 'are fallen from grace.' Ga. v. 4.

Fourth. The throne is the seat of glory, 'When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him; then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory.' Mat. xxv. 31. And if the throne of judgment is the seat of glory, much more the throne of grace. We will venture then to say that the throne of grace is the throne of God's glory, as the throne of judgment will be the throne of Christ's glory, and that grace proceedeth from his throne, that both it and he might have glory; glory in a way of mercy.

1. That it might have glory; therefore has he designed that grace shall be effectual in, and to the salvation of some, even 'to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in his Beloved.' Ep. i. 6. He has designed, not the glory of man's works, but the glory of his own grace; and, therefore, has put man's works, as to justification before God, under his feet, and counts them as filthy rags; but has set his grace up above, has made it a king, given it authority to reign, has provided for it a throne, and called that throne the throne of grace, from whence it also proceeds to its own praise and glory, in and by the effectual salvation of those that receive it, and receive it not in vain.

2. As grace is exalted, and made to proceed out of the throne, to its own praise, to its own glory; so is it also thus exalted and made flow to us like a river, that we should be the praise of the glory of him that hath exalted it. We that receive it, and submit unto the throne whence it proceeds, have thereby 'obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, that we should be to the praise of his glory.' Ep. i. 11, 12. So that this throne is a throne of glory. 'A glorious high throne, from the beginning *is* the place of our sanctuary.' Je. xvii. 12. Now what follows from this, but that they that accept of this grace give glory to God, to his grace, and to the word of his grace; such, I say, 'glorify God for *his* mercy.' Ro. xv. 9. 'They glorify God for your professed subjection to the gospel of Christ.' 2 Co. ix. 13, which is the gospel or good tidings 'of the grace of God.' Ac. xx. 24. They, with Abraham, believe, and give glory to God. Ro. iv. 20. And with the Gentiles they glorify the word of the Lord. Ac. xiii. 48.

But to slight grace, to do despite to the Spirit of grace, to prefer our own works to the derogating from grace, what is it but to contemn God? to contemn him when he is on the throne, when he is on the throne of his glory? I say, it is to spit in his face, even then when he commands thee to bow before him, to subject unto him, and to glorify the grace of his glory, that proceeds from the throne of his glory. If men in old time were damned because they glorified him not as God, shall not they be more than damned, if more than damned can be, who glorify him not for his grace? And, to be sure, none glorify him for his grace but those that close in therewith, and submit themselves thereto. Talkers of grace are but mockers of God, but flatterers of God. Those that only talk highly of grace, and submit not themselves unto it, are but like to those that praise a look, or flatter him in his own conceits. Grace God has exalted, has set it upon the throne, and so made it a king, and given it authority to reign; and thou goest by, and hearest thereof, but wilt not submit thyself thereto, neither thy soul nor thy life; why, what is this more than to flatter God with thy lips, and than to lie unto him with thy tongue? what is this but to count him less wise than thyself? while he seeks glory by that by which thou wilt not glorify him; while he displays his grace before thee in the world from the throne, and as thou goest by, with a nod thou callest it a fine thing, but followest that which leadeth therefrom? Tremble, tremble, ye sinners, that have despised the richness of his goodness; the day is coming when ye shall behold, and wonder, and perish, if grace prevaileth not with you to be content to be saved by it to the praise of its glory, and to the glory of him who hath set it upon the throne. Ac. xiii. 38–41.

Fifth. The throne is the seat of wisdom. Hence, he is called 'the Ancient of Days,' that sits on this throne, the throne of God. Da. vii. 9. Infinite in wisdom, whose garments were white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool. By Ancient of Days, and in that it is said the hair of his head is like the pure wool, his wisdom is set forth unto us.

Wherefore, when we read that out of the throne proceeds a river of grace; when we read this proceedeth out of the throne of God, it is as much as to say the wise God, who most perfectly knoweth all ways, counteth, in his wisdom, that to save men by grace is the best, most safe, and sure way: 'Therefore *it is* of faith, that *it might be* by grace, to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed.' Ro. iv. 16. And, again, forgiveness is according to the riches of his grace, wherein he hath abounded toward us in all wisdom and prudence. Ep. i. 7, 8.—Wherefore, to set grace upon the throne, to let grace proceed out of the throne as a river, is by the wise God, the only wise God, counted the best way, the safest way, the way that doth best suit the condition of a sinful man, and that tends most to the utter disappointment of the devil, and death, and hell. Grace can justify freely, *when* it will, *who* it will, from *what* it will. Grace can continue to pardon, favour, and save from falls, in falls, out of falls. Grace can comfort, relieve, and help those that have hurt themselves. And grace can bring the unworthy to glory. This the law cannot do, this man cannot do, this angels cannot do, this God cannot do, but only by the riches of his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. Wherefore, seeing God has set grace on the throne, and ordered that it should proceed from this throne to the world; yea, seeing he has made it king, and granted to it, to it only, the authority and sovereignty of saving souls, he has magnified not only his love, but his wisdom and his prudence before the sons of men. This, then, is his great device, the master-piece of all his witty inventions; and, therefore, it is said, as was hinted before, in this thing he hath proceeded towards us in ALL wisdom and prudence. 2 Sa. xiv. 14. Pr. viii. 11, 12.

So then, he that comes to, and drinks of this water, glorifies God for his wisdom, praises God for his wisdom. Such an one saith that God is only wise, and, bowing his head, saith again, 'to God only wise, be glory both now and for ever. Amen.' But he that shall contemn this grace, confronts the highest wisdom, even wisdom upon the throne; he saith to himself, I am wiser than Daniel, than the judgment of God. I could have found out a more safe way to heaven myself; and had I been of God's council, I would have told him so. All this, so horrible blasphemy, naturally proceeds from him that liketh not that grace should be king on the throne, and should proceed out of the throne to the world; but 'shall he that contendeth with the Almighty instruct *him?*' He that reproveth God, let him answer it. Job xl. 2.

The text says,[1] that this very doctrine to the Greeks, to the wise, is foolishness, and the preaching of it a foolish thing to them; but it will appear even then, when the conclusion of all things is come, and when these wise ones, by their wisdom, have fooled themselves to hell, that this 'foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.' 1 Co. i. 21-25.

Christ Jesus, because he was low in the world, is trampled upon by some, but he is a glorious throne to his Father's house: for since his humility was the lowest of all, now he is exalted to be the throne of God, yea, is made the fountain whence grace continually flows, like the rivers, and comes down to us like a mighty stream. Wherefore, I will conclude this with both comfort and caution: with comfort, and that because of the security that they are under that indeed have submitted themselves to grace; 'sin shall not have dominion over you; for ye are not under the law, but under grace.' And let it be a caution to those that despise. Take heed, it is dangerous affronting of the wisdom of God. Now here is the wisdom of God, even wisdom upon the throne. It pleased God, for the glory of his wisdom, to make this the way: to wit, to set up grace to reign. I have often thought, and sometimes said, if God will be pleased with any way, surely he will be pleased with his own. Now this is the way of his own devising, the fruit and effect of his own wisdom; wherefore, sinner, please him, please him in that wherein he is well pleased. Come to the waters, cast thyself into them, and fear not drowning; let God alone to cause them to carry thee into his paradise, that thou mayest see his throne.

Sixth. The throne is the seat of faithfulness, the place of performing of engagements and promises. 'When I shall receive the congregation,' saith Christ, 'I will judge uprightly,' that is faithfully. Ps. lxxv. 2. And now he has received it, and is made head over all things to it. Ep. i. 22, 23. And for this cause is he upon the throne, yea, is the throne, from whence proceeds all this grace, that like a river doth flow, and glide from heaven into the world. This river, then, is nothing else but the fulfilling of promises; the *faithful* fulfilling of promises. 'If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.' Jn. xvi. 7. 'This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh,' &c. Ac. ii. 16-18. Now this river is the Spirit, the Spirit and grace of God, which was promised by the Father and the Son, and now it comes running from the throne of God and of the Lamb. For 'being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear.' Ac. ii. 33.

[1] By 'the text,' in this and other places, is meant the text of sacred Scripture; not the particular passage, or text, on which this treatise is founded.—(Ed.)

Behold, then, how mindful, how careful, how faithful our Father and the Lamb of God is! It is not exaltation, nor glory, nor a crown, nor a kingdom, nor a throne, that shall make him neglect his poor ones on earth. Yea, therefore, even because he is exalted and on the throne, therefore it is that such a river, with its golden streams, proceeds from the throne to come unto us. And it shall proceed to be far higher than ever was the swellings of Jordan. True, it runs not so high now as in former days, because of the curse of God upon Antichrist, by whose means the land of God's people is full of briers and thorns. Is. xxxii. 13–17. But when the tide is at the lowest, then it is nearest the rising; and this river will rise, and in little time be no more so low as but ancle-deep; it will be up to the knees, to the loins, and be a broad river to swim in. Eze. xlvii. For 'there the glorious Lord *will be* unto us a place of broad rivers *and* streams.' Is. xxxiii. 21. 'And there shall be no more curse' in the church, 'but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and his servants shall serve him' without molestation. Re. xxii. 3–6.

'These sayings *are* faithful and true,' and in faithfulness shall they, from the throne of God and of the Lamb, be performed to the church. Faithfulness in him that rules, is that which makes Sion rejoice; because thereby the promises yield milk and honey. For now the faithful God, that keepeth covenant, performs to his church that which he told her he would. Wherefore, our rivers shall run, and our brooks yield honey and butter. Job xx. 17. Let this teach all God's people to expect, to look, and wait for good things from the throne. But, O! methinks this throne, out of which good comes like a river! who would not be a subject to it? who would not but worship before it? But,

Seventh. A throne is 'the seat of justice.' 'Justice and judgment *are* the habitation of thy throne.' Ps. lxxxix. 14. And it is also from justice that this river of grace flows to us: justice to Christ, and justice to those that are found in him. Ro. iii. 24. God declares that he can justly justify, and justly forgive. 1 Jn. i. 9. Now, if he can justly justify and justly forgive, then can he give grace, and cause that it should proceed to, yea, flow after us as a river. 1 Co. x. 4. The river that gushed out of the rock in the wilderness ran after the people there, wherefore they wandered therein. They drank of the rock that followed them; the rock was not removed out of his place, but the flood followed them whither they went. 'He opened the rock and the waters gushed out; they ran in the dry places *like* a river.' Ps. cv. 41. This rock, saith he, was Christ, that is, figuratively: and this throne is Christ really: and the water gushing out of the rock, and following of them in the wilderness, was to show how, when Christ became a throne, grace and goodness should follow us in the wilderness from thence so long as here we abide. Wherefore David, considering this, said, 'Surely goodness and mercy shall FOLLOW me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.' Ps. xxiii. 6.

But whence must this come? The text says from the throne; from the throne, the seat of justice; for from thence, by reason of what HE hath found in Christ for us, he, in a way of righteousness and justice, lets out to us rivers of his pleasures; whose original is that great and wide sea of mercy that flows in his infinite heart beyond thought.

All is paid for both US and grace. Jn. vii. 39. We are bought with a price. 1 Co. vi. 20. He has obtained eternal redemption for us. He. ix. 12. Yea, and as we are made his, and heaven made ours thus, so this river of grace has been also obtained by him for us. Jn. vii. 38. Wherefore, all comes to us in a way of justice and righteousness. Hence we are said to obtain 'faith through the righteousness of God,' 2 Pe. i. 1; that is, through the justice of God, and of Jesus our Lord. Mark, here is the justice of God, and the justice of Jesus our Lord; and we have our faith from the justice of God, because of the righteousness of Jesus our Lord; that is, Jesus answered with works of justice the demands of justice; and therefore, in a way of justice, grace reigns, and comes to us like a river, as is signified, for that it is said to come to us out of the throne.

Again, grace is said 'to reign through righteousness unto eternal life.' Ro. v. 21. Through what righteousness? the righteousness or justice of God by Jesus Christ our Lord. By Jesus Christ, or for his sake. For for his sake, as I said, we are forgiven; and for his sake have all things pertaining to life and godliness. Which *all things* come to us, through, or down, the stream of this river in a way of justice; and, therefore, it is said to come from the throne.

Eighth. This throne is the seat of grace and mercy; and, therefore, it is called the mercy-seat and throne of grace. This throne turns all into grace, all into mercy. This throne makes all things work together for good. It is said of Saul's sons, they were not buried after they were hanged, until water dropped upon them out of heaven. 2 Sa. xxi. 10, 14. And it may be said of us there is nothing suffered to come near us, until it is washed in that water that proceeds from the throne of grace. Hence afflictions flow from grace, Ps. cxix. 67; persecutions flow from grace; poverty, sickness, yea, death itself is now made ours by the grace of God through Christ. 1 Co. iii. 22; Re. iii. 19; He. xii. 5–7. O grace, O happy church of God! all things that happen to thee are, for Christ's sake, turned into grace. They talk of the philosopher's stone, and

how, if one had it, it would turn all things into gold. O! but can it turn all things into grace? can it make all things work together for good? No, no, this quality, virtue, excellency, what shall I call it, nothing has in it, but the grace that reigns on the throne of grace, the river that proceeds from the throne of God. This, this turns majesty, authority, the highest authority, glory, wisdom, faithfulness, justice, and all into grace. Here is a throne! God let us see it. John had the honour to see it, and to see the streams proceeding from it. O sweet sight! O heart-ravishing sight! 'He showed me a pure river of water of life proceeding out of the throne of God.'

Indeed, as was hinted before, in the days of the reign of Antichrist there are not those visions of this throne, nor of the river that proceedeth therefrom. Now he holdeth back the face of his throne, and spreadeth a cloud upon it; but the preserving, saving benefits thereof we have, as also have all the saints, in the most cloudy and dark day. And since we can see so little, we must believe the more; and by believing, give glory to God. We must also labour for more clear Scripture knowledge of this throne; for the holy Word of God is the perspective glass by which we may, and the magnifying glass that will cause us to behold, 'with open face, the glory of the Lord.' 2 Co. iii. 18.

But, methinks, I have yet said nothing of this throne, which is indeed none other but the spotless and glorified humanity of the Son of God. This throne is the Lord Jesus, this grace comes from the Divine Majesty, as dwelling bodily in the Lord Jesus. Wherefore let us fall down before the throne, and cast our crowns at the foot of the throne, and give thanks to him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever. O how should Jesus be esteemed of! The throne of the king is a royal seat: it is said of Solomon's, 'there was not the like made in any kingdom.' 1 Ki. x. 20. But of this it may be said there is not its like in heaven and earth. At the setting up of this throne, the angels flocked round about it, and the beasts and the elders gathered together to see it. Re. iv. When this throne was set in heaven, there was silence, all the heavenly host had no leisure to talk; they were surprised with sight and wonder. When this throne was set in heaven, what talk there was! it was as the music of the trumpet.[1]

'And behold,' says John, 'a door *was* opened in heaven; and the first voice which I heard *was*, as it were, of a trumpet talking with me, which said, Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter. And immediately I was in the Spirit, and behold a THRONE WAS SET IN HEAVEN, and *one* sat upon the throne.'

This throne was Jesus Christ exalted, SET, that is, lifted up, not as upon the cross to the contempt and scorn of his person, but, as I said, to the wonderment of the four beasts, and the elders, and all the angels in heaven. 'A throne was set in heaven, and *one* sat upon the throne;' that is, God. And this intimates his desirable rest for ever; for to sit is to rest, and Christ is his rest for ever. Was it not, therefore, well worth the seeing? Yea, if John had taken the pains to go up thither upon his hands and knees, I say, to see the Lord Jesus as a throne set in heaven, and the glory of God resting and abiding upon him, and giving out by him all things, not only his Word, but all his dispensations and providences, to the end of the world; and this blessed thing among the rest, even 'a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal,' [how richly would he have been rewarded for his pains.]

[THE NATURE AND QUALITY OF THIS WATER.]

[FOURTH.] But I leave this, and proceed to the fourth and last thing, namely, to the nature and quality of this water. It is said to be pure and clear; pure and clear as crystal. 'And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal.' I know that there is a two-fold quality in a thing, one with respect to its nature, and the other with respect to its operation. The first of these is inherent, and remaineth in the subject being as such, and so for the most part useless. The other is put forth then when it meeteth with fit matter on which it may freely work. As to instance *aquæ vitæ*, the very metaphor here made use of, hath a quality inherent in it, but keep it stopped up in a bottle, and then who will may faint notwithstanding; but apply it, apply it fitly, and to such as have need thereof, and then you may see its quality by the operation. This water, or river of grace, is called, I say, the water of life, and so, consequently, has a most blessed inherent quality; but its operation is seen by its working, the which it doth only then when it is administered and received for those ends for which it is administered. For then it revives where life is, and gives life where it is not. And thus far, in the general, have we spoken to it already. We will, therefore, in this place more particularly, though briefly, speak a few words unto it.

[*The operative quality of this water.*]

FIRST. Then this water of life is the very ground-

[1] The solemn silence, and the sound of the trumpet, took place in quick succession when the medium of prayer and praise, from fallen man, was first exhibited in heaven. When Christ was revealed to John, as the throne upon which God received the prayers of all his saints, awe, and wonder, and silence, was felt in heaven for the space of half an hour; then came the sound of the trumpet with dire events to those who had refused to pray in the name of Christ.—(ED.)

work of life in us, though not the groundwork of life for us. The groundwork of life *for* us is the passion and merits of Christ, this is that for the sake of which grace is given unto us, as it is intimated by the text; it proceeds from the throne of God, who is Christ. Christ then having obtained grace for us, must needs be precedent, as to his merit, to that grace he hath so obtained. Besides, it is clear that the Spirit and grace come from God through him; therefore, as to the communications of grace to us, it is the fruit of his merit and purchase. But, I say, in us grace is the groundwork of life; for though we may be said before to live virtually in the person of Christ before God, yet we are dead in ourselves, and so must be until the Spirit be poured upon us from on high; for the Spirit is life, and its graces are life, and when that is infused by God from the throne, then we live, and not till then. And hence it is called, as before, living water, the water of life springing up in us to everlasting life. The Spirit, then, and graces of the Spirit, which is the river here spoken of, is that, and that only, which can cause us to live; that being life to the soul, as the soul is life to the body. All men, therefore, as was said before, though elect, though purchased by the blood of Christ, are dead, and must be dead, until the Spirit of life from God and his throne shall enter into them; until they shall drink it in by vehement thirst, as the parched ground drinks in the rain.[1]

Now when this living water is received, it takes up its seat in the heart, whence it spreads itself to the awakening of all the powers of the soul. For, as in the first creation, the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, in order to putting of that creature into that excellent fashion and harmony which now we behold with our eyes; even so the new creation, to wit, the making of us new to God, is done by the overspreading of the same Spirit also. For the Spirit, as I may so say, sitteth and broodeth upon the powers of the soul, as the hen doth on cold eggs, till they wax warm and receive life. The Spirit, then, warmeth us, and bringeth the dead and benumbed soul—for so it is before conversion—to a godly sense and understanding of states, of states both natural and spiritual; and this is the beginning of the work of the Spirit, by which the soul is made capable of understanding what God and himself is.

And this drinking in of the Spirit is rather as the ground drinks in rain, than as a rational soul does through sense of the want thereof.

The Spirit also garnisheth the soul with such things as are proper for it, to the making of it live that life that by the Word of God is called for.

It implanteth light, repentance, faith, fear, love, desires after God, hope, sincerity, and what else is necessary for the making the man a saint; these things, I say, are the fruits and effects of this Spirit which, as a river of water of life, proceedeth forth of the throne of God and of the Lamb. Hence the Spirit is called the Spirit of faith, the Spirit of love, and the Spirit of a sound mind; for that the Spirit is the root and original of all these things, by his operations in, and upon, the face of the soul. 2 Co. iv. 13. Ga. v. 22. 2 Ti. i. 7.

But, again, as this living water, this Spirit and the grace thereof, doth thus, so it also maintains these things once planted in the soul, by its continual waterings of them in the soul. Hence he saith, 'I will water it every moment;' water IT—his vineyard, the soul of the church, the graces of the church; and so the soul and graces of every godly man. Is. xxvii. 3.

And because it so happeneth sometimes, that some of those things wherewith the Holy Ghost has beautified the soul may languish to a being, if not quite dead, yet 'ready to die,' Re. iii. 2, therefore he doth not only refresh and water our souls, but renews the face thereof, by either quickening to life that which remains, or by supplying of us with that which is new, to our godly perseverance and everlasting life. Thus 'thou visitest the earth, and waterest it; thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God.' Ps. lxv. 9.

For this must be remembered, that as the herb that is planted, or seed sown, needs watering with continual showers of the mountains, so our graces, implanted in us by the Spirit of grace, must also be watered by the rain of heaven. 'Thou waterest the ridges thereof abundantly: thou settlest the furrows thereof: thou makest it soft with showers: thou blessest the springing thereof.' Ps. lxv. 10. Hence he says that our graces shall grow. But how? 'I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon. His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon. They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive *as* the corn, and grow as the vine: the scent thereof *shall be* as the wine of Lebanon.' Ho. xiv. 5–7. Or, as he saith in another place, 'The Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden,

[1] Thus the Spirit of God in regeneration produces light out of darkness, makes the barren heart fruitful, and from confusion, discord, and enmity, brings order, harmony, and tranquillity. The renewed man is actuated by new hopes and fears; his judgment is enlightened, his will rectified, and his heart transformed; his eyes being divinely opened he sees into eternity; he has a hope full of immortality; spiritual appetites are excited in his soul; his affections are raised to God and heaven; his soul thirsteth for God, for the living God! Thus the Spirit giveth life to the dead, eyes to the blind, speech to the dumb, feet to the lame, and the hand of faith to lay hold on Christ for complete salvation.—(Mason.)

and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.' Is. lviii. 11.

There is, besides this, another blessing that comes to us by this living water, and that is, the blessing of communion. All the warmth that we have in our communion, it is the warmth of the Spirit: when a company of saints are gathered together in the name of Christ, to perform any spiritual exercise, and their souls be edified, warmed, and made glad therein, it is because this water, this river of water of life, has, in some of the streams thereof, run into that assembly. Je. xxxi. 12, 13. Then are Christians like those that drink wine in bowls, merry and glad; for that they have drank into the Spirit, and had their souls refreshed with the sweet gales and strong wine thereof. This is the feast that Isaiah speaks of, when he saith, 'In this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.' Is. xxv. 6. This is called in another place, 'the communion of the Holy Ghost.' 2 Co. xiii. 14. Now he warmeth spirits, uniteth spirits, enlighteneth spirits; revives, cherisheth, quickeneth, strengtheneth graces; renews assurances, brings old comforts to mind, weakens lusts, emboldeneth and raiseth a spirit of faith, of love, of hope, of prayer, and makes the Word a blessing, conference a blessing, meditation a blessing, and duty very delightful to the soul. Without this water of life, communion is weak, flat, cold, dead, fruitless, lifeless; there is nothing seen, felt, heard, or understood in a spiritual and heart-quickening way. Now ordinances are burdensome, sins strong, faith weak, hearts hard, and the faces of our souls dry, like the dry and parched ground.

This drink also revives us when tempted, when sick, when persecuted, when in the dark, and when we faint for thirst. The life of religion is this water of life: where that runs, where that is received, and where things are done in this spirit, there all things are well; the church thrifty, the soul thrifty, graces thrifty, and all is well. And this hint I thought convenient to be given of this precious water of life, that is, with reference to the operative quality of it.

[*The other qualities of this water.*]

SECOND. I shall come, in the next place, to speak of it, as to the other descriptions which John doth give us of it. He says it is, *First*, pure; *Second*, clear; *Third*, clear to a comparison: 'And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal.'

[*First. The purity of this water.*]

1. You read here that this water of life is PURE, that is, alone without mixture, for so sometimes that word PURE is to be understood. As where it saith, pure, '*pure* olive oil.' Ex. xxvii. 20. 'Pure frankincense.' Ex. xxx. 34. 'Pure gold.' Ex. xxv. 11, 17. 'Pure blood of the grape,' De. xxxii. 14; and the like. So then, when he saith, 'he showed me a pure river of water of life,' it is as if he had said he showed me a river of water that was all living, all life, and had nothing in it but life. There was no death, or deadness, or flatness in it; or, as he saith a little after, 'and there shall be no more curse.' A pure river. There is not so much as a grudge, or a piece of an upbraiding speech found therein. There is in it nothing but heart, nothing but love, nothing but grace, nothing but life. 'The gifts and calling of God *are* without repentance.' Ro. xi. 29.

2. PURE is sometimes set in opposition to show or appearance; as where he says, 'the stars are not pure.' Job xxv. 5. That is, not so without mixture of darkness, as they seem to be: so again, 'If thou *wert* pure and upright,' Job viii. 6: that is, as thou seemest to be, or as thou wouldst have us believe thou art.

Now, take pure in this sense here, and then the meaning is, it is grace without deceit, without guile; its show and its substance are the same; it has nothing but substance in it; it is indeed what it seems to be in bulk; it is a river in show and a river indeed. It comes from God and from his throne in appearance, and really it comes from his very heart.

The great fear of the tempted is, that there is not so much grace in God, and that he is not so free of it as some scriptures seem to import. But this word PURE is levelled against such objections and objectors, for the destroying of their doubts, and the relieving of their souls. There is no fraud, nor guile, nor fable in the business; for though God is pleased to present us with his grace under the notion of a river, it is not to delude our fancies thereby; but to give us some small illustration of the exceeding riches of his grace, which as far, for quantity, outstrips the biggest rivers, as the most mighty mountain doth the least ant's egg or atom in the world.

3. But, again, this word PURE is set in opposition to that which is hurtful and destructive: 'I *am* pure from the blood of all *men*,' that is, I have hurt nobody. Ac. xx. 26. 'The wisdom that is from above is first pure,' it is not hurtful. Ja. iii. 17. Do you count them pure with the wicked balances? how can that be, since they are hurtful? Mi. vi. 11.

Now take PURE in this sense here, and then it intimates, that the grace of God, and the doctrine of grace, is not a hurtful thing. It is not as wine of an intoxicating nature. If a man be filled with it, it will do him no harm. Ep. v. 18. The best of the things that are of this world are some way hurtful. Honey is hurtful. Pr. xxv. 16, 27. Wine is

hurtful. Pr. xx. 1. Silver and gold are hurtful, but grace is not hurtful. 1 Tim. vi. 10. Never did man yet catch harm by the enjoyment and fulness of the grace of God. There is no fear of excess or of surfeiting here. Grace makes no man proud, no man wanton, no man haughty, no man careless or negligent as to his duty that is incumbent upon him, either from God or man: no, grace keeps a man low in his own eyes, humble, self-denying, penitent, watchful, savoury in good things, charitable, and makes him kindly affectionated to the brethren, pitiful and courteous to all men.

True, there are men in the world that abuse the grace of God, as some are said to turn it into wantonness and into lasciviousness. Jude 4. But this is, not because grace has any such tendency, or for that it worketh any such effect; but because such men are themselves empty of grace, and have only done as death and hell hath done with wisdom, 'heard the fame thereof with their ears.' Job xxviii. 22. It is a dangerous thing for a man to have the notions of grace, while his heart is void of the spirit and holy principles of grace; for such a man can do no other than abuse the grace of God. Alas, what can be expected of him that has nothing in him to teach him to manage that knowledge of grace which he has, but his flesh, his lusts, and lustful passions? Can these teach him to manage his knowledge well? Will they not rather put him upon all tricks, evasions, irreligious consequences and conclusions, such as will serve to cherish sin? What Judas did with Christ, that a graceless man will do with grace, even make it a stalking horse to his fleshly and vile designs; and rather than fail betray both it, and the profession of it, to the greatest enemies it has in the world.

And here I may say, though grace is pure, and not hurtful at all, yet one altogether carnal, sinful, and graceless, having to do with the doctrine of it, by the force of his lusts which tamper with it, he will unavoidably bring himself into the highest ruin thereby. An unwary man may destroy himself by the best of things, not because there is in such things an aptness to destroy, but because of the abuse and misuse of them. Some know the way of life, the water of life, by knowledge that is naked and speculative only; and it had been better for such if they had not known, than to know and turn from what they know; than to know, and make that knowledge subservient to their lusts. 2 Pe. ii. 20–22. Some receive the rain of God, and the droppings of his clouds, because they continually sit under the means of his grace. But, alas! they receive it as stones receive showers, or as dunghills receive the rain; they either abide as hard stones still, or else return nothing to heaven for his mercy, but as the dunghills do, a company of stinking fumes. These are they that drink in the rain that comes often upon them, and that instead of bringing forth herbs meet for the dresser, bring forth briers and thorns; and these are they who are nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned. He. vi. 7, 8.

By this word PURE I understand sometimes the chiefest good, the highest good. There are many things that may be called good, but none of them are good as grace is good. All things indeed are pure, that is, all creatures in themselves are good and serviceable to man, but they are not so good as grace. Ro. xiv. 20. Ge. i. 31. '*There is* a generation *that are* pure,' that are good in their own eyes. Pr. xxx. 12. There are good men, good consciences, good works, good days, good angels, &c., but none so good as grace, for it is grace that has made them so. Grace, this water of life, therefore is good, superlatively good, good in the highest degree, for that it makes all things good, and preserveth them good. And whatever it be that this water of life washeth not, it is soil, and given to the curse, as the prophet intimates where he saith, 'But the miry places thereof, and the marshes thereof, shall not be healed; they shall be given to salt.' Eze. xlvii. 1.

But who understands this, who believes it? Its goodness is kept close from the fowls of the air. Men, most men, are ignorant of the goodness of it, nor do they care to inquire after the enjoyment of this pure, this good water of life. The reason is, because though it is good in itself, good in the highest degree, and that which makes all things good, yet it is not such a good as is suited to a carnal appetite. There is good; and there is suitable good. Now suitable good is of two sorts: either such as is spiritual, or such as is temporal. That which is spiritual, is desired only of them that are spiritual; for temporal good will satisfy a carnal mind. Now grace is a spiritual good; this river of grace is the goodness of spiritual good. It is the original life of all the grace in our souls. No marvel, then, if it be so little set by of those that are carnally minded. They will serve a horse, and mire will serve a sow; so things of this life suit best with the men of this world; for their appetite is gross and carnal, and they savour not the things that be of the Spirit of God. 'The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God,' the things that be of this river of God; 'for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know *them*, because they are spiritually discerned.' 1 Co. ii. 14. This is the river of OIL which the prophet speaks of, the river of SPIRIT. Were it a river of gold and silver, there would be old fishing on the banks thereof. But it is a river that runs 'like oil, saith the Lord God.' Eze. xxxii. 14. This rock pours us out 'rivers of oil,' Job xxix. 6—'fresh oil,' Ps. xcii. 10—'soft oil,' Ps. lv. 21—'the oil of joy,'

Is. lxi. 3—'the oil of gladness,' Ps. xlv. 7—oil to anoint the head withal, Ec. ix. 8—oil to make the face to shine, Ps. civ. 15—oil by which thou wilt be made able to honour both God and man in some good measure as becomes thee. Ju. ix. 9.

I might have enlarged upon this head, and have showed you many more particulars wherein this term of pure might serve for the better setting forth of the excellency of this water of life, but I shall proceed no further upon this, but will come to that which remains.

[*Second. The clearness of this water of life.*]

As this river of water of life is said to be pure, so it is said to be CLEAR. 'He shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear.' This term has also its particular signification, and, therefore, ought to be heeded.

1. CLEAR is set in opposition to dark; therefore some are said to be 'clear as the sun.' Ca. vi. 10. And again, 'the light shall not be clear *nor* dark.' Zec. xiv. 6. In both these places, clear is to be taken for light, daylight, sunlight; for, indeed, it is never day nor sunshine with the soul, until the streams of this river of water of life come gliding to our doors, into our houses, into our hearts. Hence the beginning of conversion is called illumination. He. x. 32. Yea, the coming of this river of water of life unto us is called the day-spring from on high, through the tender mercy of our God. Lu. i. 78. It is also called the dawning of the day. 2 Pe. i. 19. And hence, again, these men unto whom this river of water of life comes not, are said to be dark, darkness. 'Ye were sometimes darkness, but now *are ye* light in the Lord.' Ep. v. 8. Wherefore, this water is like Jonathan's honey; it hath a faculty to open the eyes, to make them that sit in darkness see a great light. 1 Sa. xiv. 27. Mat. iv. 16. The light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the faith of Jesus Christ; 'God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts to *give* the light;' the Spirit that enlighteneth and giveth the light, 'of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.' 2 Co. iv. 6. This river casteth beams where it goes, like the beams of the sun; it shines, it casts out rays of glory unto those that drink thereof. The streams of this grace were they that overtook Saul when he was going to Damascus; they were the waters of this flood that compassed him round about. And if you will believe him, he saith this light from heaven was a great light, a light above the brightness of the sun, a light that did by the glory of it make dark to him all the things in the world. Ac. ix. 3; xxii. 6; xxvi. 13.

2. CLEAR is set in opposition to that which is not pleasing. For to be clear is to be pleasant. Hence it is said, 'truly the light *is* sweet, and a pleasant *thing it is* for the eyes to behold the sun.' Ec. xi. 7. I read of rivers that looked red as blood, that stank like the blood of a dead man, but this is no such river. Ex. vii. 19, 20. 2 Ki. iii. 22, 23. I read of rivers whose streams are like streams of brimstone, fiery streams, streams of burning pitch, but this is none of them. Is. xxx. 27—33. Da. vii. 9—11. Is. xxxiv. 9. '*There is* a river' besides all these, clear and pleasant, 'the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God.' Ps. xlvi. 4.

There are the waters that the doves love to sit by, because by the clearness of these streams they can see their pretty selves, as in a glass. Ca. v. 12.

These are the streams where the doves wash their eyes, and by which they solace themselves, and take great content. These streams are instead, as I said, of a looking-glass; their clearness presents us with an opportunity of seeing our own features. As in fair waters a man may see the body of the sun, and of the moon, and of the stars, and the very body of heaven; so he that stands upon the bank of this river, and that washeth his eyes with this water, may see the Son of God, the stars of God, the glory of God, and the habitation that God has prepared for his people. And are not these pleasant sights? is not this excellent water? has not this river pleasant streams?

3. CLEAR is set in opposition to dirty water and muddiness. I read of some waters that are fouled with the feet of beasts, and with the feet of men, yea, and deep waters too. Yea, saith God to some, ye 'have drunk of the deep waters,' and have fouled 'the residue with your feet;' and again, '*As for* my flock, they eat that which ye have trodden with your feet, and they drink that which ye have fouled with your feet.' Eze. xxxiv. 18, 19. These waters are doctrines contained in the text, muddied and dirtied by the false glosses and sluttish opinions of erroneous judgments, of which the poor sheep have been made to drink. And, verily, this is apparent enough by the very colour and hue of those poor souls; for though the truth of God was in them, yet the very stain of tradition and superstition might be also seen in their scales. For as the fish of the river receive, by being there, the changeable colours of the waters, so professors, what doctrine they hear and drink, do look like that. If their doctrines are muddy, their notions are muddy; if their doctrines are bloody, their notions and tempers are bloody: but if their doctrines are clear, so are their notions, for their doctrine has given them a clear understanding of things.[1]

[1] This is an excellent commentary upon that part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* which describes Christiana and her company at the foot of the hill Difficulty. Greatheart points out the spring at which Christian was refreshed before he began the arduous ascent which led him, in defiance of a persecuting world, to join in church fellowship, allegorically represented by the house Beautiful—'When Christian drank it was clear

Now, here we have a river of water of life that is clear—clear without dirt and mud—clear without the human inventions and muddy conceptions of unsanctified and uninstructed judgments; yea, here you have a river the streams whereof lie open to all in the church, so that they need not those instruments of conveyance that are foul, and that use to make water stink, if they receive it to bring it to them that have need.

4. By clear we sometimes understand purgation; or that a thing has purged itself, or is purged from those soils and imputations of evil wherewith sometimes they have been charged. 'Then thou shalt be clear from this my oath;' or, 'How shall we clear ourselves?' Ge. xxiv. 8–14; xliv. 16. Something of this sense may be in the text; for if men are not afraid to charge God with folly, which is intimated by 'that thou mightest be clear when thou judgest,' Ps. li. 4. will they, think you, be afraid to impute evil to his Word, and grace, and Spirit? No, verily; they are bold enough at this work. Nay, more than this, even from the foundation of the world, men have cast slanders upon, and imputed base things unto the blessed grace of the gospel. But not to look so far back. Paul was one of the pipes through which God conveyed this grace to the world; and what was he counted for his so doing, but '*a* pestilent *fellow*, and a mover of sedition - throughout the world.' Ac. xxiv. 5, 6. But, behold, no imputation can stick on the grace of God—not stick long; for that, like honey, will purge itself of what filth is put upon it, and of all bad imputations of evil men's springs, and rivers are of a self-purging quality, Now, here we have to do with a river—a river of water of life; but a river more slandered than ever did Naaman the Syrian slander the waters of Israel in preferring those of Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, beyond them. 2 Ki. v. 10–12. But behold now, at last, when all the world have done what they can, and cast what reproaches and slanders upon it they are able, it is a river pure and clear. It has purged itself before kings—it has purged itself before princes and judges, and all the Naamans in the world; it is still a river—a river of water of life—a river of water of life CLEAR.

5. By clear we sometimes understand purity manifest, or innocency and goodness made known. 'In all *things* ye have approved yourselves to be CLEAR in this matter.' 2 Co. vii. 11. That is, you have made it appear, and stand upon your justification, and are willing to be searched and sounded to the bottom by those that have a desire to undertake that work. So this river of water of life in the fountain, and in the streams thereof, offer themselves to the consideration and conscience of all men. To this end how often doth God, the head of this river, and he out of whose throne it proceeds, call upon men to challenge him, if they can, with any evil or misdoing towards them, either by presence or doctrine; hence he says, 'Put me in remembrance; let us plead together; declare thou,' if thou canst, 'that thou mayest be justified,' and I condemned. Is. xliii. 26. So again: 'What iniquity have your fathers found in me, that they are gone far from me, and have walked after vanity, and are become vain?' Je. ii. 5. So Christ: 'Which of you convinceth me of sin?' Jn. viii. 46. And 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.' Jn. xviii. 23. So Paul: We 'have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the Word of God deceitfully; but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.' 2 Co. iv. 2. All these sentences are chiefly to be applied to doctrine, and so are, as it were, an offer to any, if they can, to find a speck, or a spot, or a wrinkle, or any such thing in this river of water of life.

Some men fly from it as from a bear; and some are afraid to drink of it, for fear it should be poison unto them. Some, again, dare not take it because it is not mixed, and as they, poor souls, imagine, qualified and made toothsome by a little of that which is called the wisdom of this world. Thus one shucks,[1] another shrinks, and another will none of God. Meanwhile, whoso shall please to look into this river shall find it harmless and clear; yea, offering itself to the consciences of all men to make trial if it be not the only chief good, the only necessary waters, the only profitable, for the health of the soul, of all the things that are in the world, and as clear of mischief as is the sun of spots.

[*Third.—This river is clear to the most perfect comparison.*]

As John saw this river pure and clear, so he saw it clear to a comparison. Clear to the best of comparisons, clear as crystal. Crystal is a very clear stone, as clear as the clearest glass, if not clearer; one may see far into it, yea, through it; it is without those spots, and streaks, and smirches that are in other precious stones. Wherefore, when he saith that this river is clear as crystal, it is as if God should say, Look, sinners, look to the bottom of these my crystal streams. I have heard

and good, but now it is dirty; and with the feet of some that are not desirous that pilgrims should here quench their thirst.' After the writing of the first part, and before that of the second, the Act of Uniformity had spread its baleful influence over England. To use Bunyan's words—'The Romish beasts have corrupted the doctrine by treading it down with their feet, and have muddied this water with their own dirt and filthiness.'—(See *Holy City.*)—ED.

[1] 'Shuck,' to shake; obsolete as a verb, but retained as a noun to designate the pea-shell, after the peas have been shook out.—ED.

of some seas that are so pure and clear, that a man may see to the bottom though they may be forty feet deep. I know this river of water of life is a deep river; but though it is said to be deep, it is not said we can see no bottom. Indeed, as to the wideness of it, it is said to be such as that it cannot be passed over; but I say, it is nowhere said that we cannot see to the bottom; nay, the comparison implies that a man with good eyes may see to the bottom. It is clear, as clear as crystal. So, then, we will a little look down to the bottom, and see, through these crystal streams, what is at the bottom of all.

1. Then the bottom of all is, 'that we might be saved.' Jn. v. 34. 'These things I say,' saith Christ, 'that ye might be saved;' and, again, 'I am come that you might have life, and that you might have it more abundantly.' Jn. x. 10. This is the bottom of this great river of water of life, and of its proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb: it is that we might be saved; it is that we might live. What a good bottom is here! what a sound bottom is here! But few deep rivers have a good bottom. Mud is at the bottom of most waters in the world; even the sea itself, when it worketh, casts up mire and dirt, and so do the hearts of sinners; but the bottom of this grace of God, and of the Spirit and Word thereof, is that we might be saved, consequently a very good bottom.

2. As the bottom of all is, 'that we may be saved,' so that we may be saved by grace, and this is a bottom sounder and sounder. Our salvation might have been laid upon a more difficult bottom than this. It might have been laid on our works. God might have laid it there, and have been just, or he might have left us to have laid it where we would; and then, to be sure, we had laid it there, and so had made but a muddy bottom to have gone upon to life. But now, this river of water of life, it has a better bottom; the water of life is as clear as crystal, look down to the bottom and see, we are 'justified freely by his grace.' Ro. iii. 24. 'By grace ye are saved,' there is the bottom. Ep. ii. 5, 8.

Now, grace, as I have showed you, is a firm bottom to stand on; it is of grace that life might be sure. Ro. iv. 16. Surely David was not here, or surely this was not the river that he spake of when he said, 'I sink in deep mire, where *there is* no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. Deliver me out of the mire, and let me not sink.' Ps. lxix. 2, 14. I say, to be sure this could not be the river. No, David was now straggled out of the way, was tumbled into some pit, or into some muddy and dirty hole; for as for this river it has a good bottom, a bottom of salvation by grace, and a man needs not cry out when he is here that he sinks, or that he is in danger of being drowned in mud or mire.

3. The bottom of all is, as I said, that we might be saved, saved by grace, and I will add, 'through the redemption that is in Christ.' This is still better and better. We read that, when Israel came over Jordan, the feet of the priests that did bear the ark stood on firm ground in the bottom, and that they set up great stones for a memorial thereof. Jos. iii. 17; iv. 1—3. But had Jordan so good a bottom as has this most blessed river of water of life, or were the stones that Israel took out thence like this 'tried stone,' this 'sure foundation?' Is. xxviii. 16. O the throne! this river comes out of the throne, and we are saved by grace through the redemption that is in him. We read that there is a city that has foundations; grace is one, Christ another, and the truth of all the prophets and apostles, as to their true doctrine, another, &c. He. xi. 10. And again, all these are the very bottom of this goodly river of the water of life. Ep. ii. 19, 20.

4. There is another thing to be seen at the bottom of this holy river, and that is, the glory of God; we are saved, saved by grace, saved by grace through the redemption that is in Christ to the praise and glory of God. And what a good bottom is here. Grace will not fail, Christ has been sufficiently tried, and God will not lose his glory. Therefore they that drink of this river shall doubtless be saved; to wit, they that drink of it of a spiritual appetite to it. And thus much for the explication of the text.

[THE APPLICATION OF THE WHOLE.]

I now come to make some use of the whole.

You know our discourse has been at this time of the water of life, of its quantity, head-spring, and quality; and I have showed you that its nature is excellent, its quantity abundant, its head-spring glorious, and its quality singularly good.

FIRST. Let this, then, in the first place, be a *provocation to us to be more free in making use of this water.* There are many, now-a-days, that are for inventing of waters, to drink for the health of the body; and to allure those that are ill to buy, they will praise their waters beyond their worth. Yea, and if they be helpful to one person in a hundred, they make as if they could cure every one. Well, here you have the great Physician himself, with his water, and he calls it the water of life, water of life for the soul: this water is *probatum est.*[1] It has been proved times without number; it never fails but where it is not taken. Ac. xxvi. 18. Is. v. 4, 5. No disease comes amiss to it; it cures blindness,

[1] *Probatum est*—is proved—a scrap of Latin commonly used in advertising medical prescriptions, in Bunyan's time. —ED.

deadness, deafness, dumbness. It makes 'the lips of those that are asleep to speak.' Ca. vii. 9. This is the right HOLY WATER,[1] all other is counterfeit: it will drive away devils and spirits; it will cure enchantments and witchcrafts; it will heal the mad and lunatic. Ga. iii. 1—3. Mar. xvi. 17, 18. It will cure the most desperate melancholy; it will dissolve doubts and mistrusts, though they are grown as hard as stone in the heart. Eze. xxxvi. 26. It will make you speak well. Col. iv. 6. It will make you have a white soul, and that is better than to have a white skin. Eze. xxxvi. 25, 26. It will make you taste well; it will make you disrelish all hurtful meats. Is. xxx. 22. It will beget in you a good appetite to that which is good; it will remove obstructions in the stomach and liver. It will cause that what you receive of God's bread shall turn to good nourishment, and make good blood. In a word, it preserveth life. Jn. iv. 14. They that take this water shall live longer than did old Methuselah, and yet he lived a great while. Ge. v. 27.

Wherefore, let me continue my exhortation to you. Be more free in making use of this water; it is the wholesomest water in the world; you may take it at the third, sixth, ninth, or eleventh hour, but to take it in the morning of your age is best. Mat. xx. 3—6. For then diseases have not got so great a head as when they are of long continuance, consequently they will be removed with far more ease; besides, those that thus do will receive endless life, and the comfort of it betimes; and that, you know, is a double life to one. Ec. xi. 1—4.

This water gently purges, and yet more effectually than any others. True, where bad humours are more tough and churlish, it will show itself stronger of operation, for there is no disease can be too hard for it. It will, as we say, throw the house out of the windows; but it will rid us of the plague of those most deadly infections that otherwise will be sure to make us sleep in death, and bring us, with the multitude, down to hell. But it will do no hurt; it only breaks our sleep in security, and brings us to a more quick apprehension of the plague of our heart and flesh. It will, as I said before, provoke to appetite, but make us only long after that which is wholesome. If any ask why I thus allegorize, I answer, the text doth lead me to it.

SECOND. I advise, therefore, in the next place, *that thou get thee a dwelling-place by these waters.* 'The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by him, *and the Lord* shall cover him all the day long.' De. xxxiii. 12. If thou ask where that dwelling is, I answer, in the city of God, in and among the tabernacles of the Most High. This river comes from the throne to water the city of God; and to that end it is said to run 'in the midst of the street of it.' Re. xxii. 2. If ye will inquire, inquire, return, come. 'The seed also of his servants shall inherit it, and they that love his name shall dwell therein.' Ps. lxix. 36. Get thee a dwelling in Jerusalem, in the midst of Jerusalem, and then thou wilt be seated by this river.

In old times, the ancients had their habitations by the rivers; yea, we read of Aroer that stood upon the brink of the river Arnon. Jos. xiii. 9. Balaam also had his dwelling in his city Pethor, 'by the river of the land of the children of his people.' Nu. xxii. 5. O! by a river side is the pleasantest dwelling in the world; and of all rivers, the river of the water of life is the best. They that dwell there 'shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the heat nor sun smite them: for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them.' Is. xlix. 10. Trees planted by the rivers, and that spread out their roots by the rivers, they are the flourishing trees, they bring forth their fruit in their season. Ps. i. 3. Je. xvii. 8. And the promise is that men that take up their dwellings by this river of water of life, shall be fruitful as such trees.

If thou art a Christian, thou hast more than an ordinary call and occasion to abide by these waters; thy things will not grow but by these waters. Weeds and the excellencies of most men we may find in the barren wilderness, they grow under every hedge; but thine are garden, and so choice things, and will not thrive without much water, no, without the water of God's river. Dwell, therefore, here; that thy soul may be as a watered garden. Je. xxxi. 12. Is. xii. 1—3. And when thou seest how those that are loath to die,[2] make provision at Tunbridge, Epsom, the Bath, and other places, and what houses they get that they may have their dwellings by those waters, then do thou consider of thy spiritual disease, and how nothing can cure thee but this blessed water of life; be also much of desires to have a dwelling-place in Jerusalem, that thou mayest always be nigh to these waters. Be often also in watering thy plants with these waters. I mean the blessed graces of God in thy soul; then shalt thou grow, and retain thy greenness, and prove thyself to be a disciple indeed. And herein

[1] A Protestant can have but little idea of the insane superstition of the Papists in respect to holy water. The following lines, from Barnaby Googe's *Popish Kingdome*, will shed a little light upon it:—

'Besides, they do beleeue their sinnes to be forgiven quight,
By taking holy water here, whereof if there do light
But one small drop, it driueth out the hellishe deuils all
Then which there can no greater griefe vnto the feend befall.'
—4to. 1570, p. 42. In the Editor's library.—ED.

[2] The infatuation, nay, madness of human nature, in its fallen state, is shown by living to hasten the inroads of death; and when he appears, terror-stricken they fly from it to any remedy that is within their reach. How vast the number of suicides by intemperance!—ED.

is God, and thy Father, glorified, that thou bear much fruit. Jn. xv. 8.

THIRD. My third word is, *bless God for providing for man such waters.* These only can make us live; all others come out of the Dead Sea, and do kill; there is no living water but this. I say, show thy acceptation of it with thanksgiving; if we are not to receive our bread and cheese but with thanksgiving, how should we bless God for this unspeakable gift! 2 Co. ix. 15. This is soul life, life against sin, life from sin, life against the curse, life from the curse, life beyond hell, beyond desert, beyond thought, beyond desires. Life that is pleasing, life that is profitable, life everlasting.

O my brethren, bless God! who doth good and gives us such rain, filling our hearts with food and gladness.[1] When Moses would take the heart of Israel, and took in hand to raise up their spirits to thankfulness, he used to tell them that the land that they were to go to was a land that God cared for, and that was watered with the dew of heaven. Yea, 'a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land that flowed with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands.' De. viii. 7. Ex. iii. 8; xiii. 5. Le. xx. 24. Nu. xiv. 8. But yet in his description he makes no mention of a river of water of life; a river the streams whereof make glad the city of God.

This river is the running out of God's heart; the letting out of his very bowels, for God is the living God. This is his heart and soul. 'Yea, I will rejoice over them to do them good, and I will plant them in this land assuredly, with my whole heart, and with my whole soul.' Je. xxxii. 41. I say, if ever God's heart and soul appeared, it showed itself in giving this water of life, and the throne from whence it proceeds. Wherefore [there is] all the reason of the world, that in the reception of it thy heart and soul should run out and flow after him in thanksgivings. See how David words it in Ps. ciii. 1–5, and do likewise.

FOURTH. By the characters that are given of this water of life, *thou art capacitated to judge when a notion, a doctrine, an opinion, comes to thine ears, whether it is right, good, and wholesome, or how.* This river is pure, is clear, is pure and clear as crystal. Is the doctrine offered unto thee so? or is it muddy, and mixed with the doctrines of men? Look, man, and see if the foot of the worshippers of Bel be not there, and if the waters be not fouled thereby. What water is fouled is not the water of life, or at least not the water of life in its clearness. Wherefore, if thou findest it not right, go up higher to the spring-head, for always the nearer to the spring, the more pure and clear is the water. Fetch, then, thy doctrine from afar, if thou canst not have it good nearer hand. Job xxxvi. 3. Thy life lies at stake; the counterfeit of things is dangerous; everybody that is aware, is afraid thereof. Now a counterfeit here is most dangerous, is most destructive. Wherefore take heed how you hear, what you hear; for, as I said before of the fish, by your colour it will be seen what waters you swim in; wherefore look you well to yourselves.[2]

FIFTH. Doth this water of life run like a river, like a broad, full, and deep river; *then let no man, be his transgressions never so many, fear at all, but there is enough to save his soul, and to spare.* Nothing has been more common to many than to doubt of the grace of God; a thing most unbecoming a sinner of any thing in the world. To break the law is a fact foul enough; but to question the sufficiency of the grace of God to save therefrom, is worse than sin, if worse can be. Wherefore, despairing soul, for it is to thee I speak, forbear thy mistrusts, cast off thy slavish fears, hang thy misgivings as to this upon the hedge; and believe thou hast an invitation sufficient thereto, a river is before thy face. And as for thy want of goodness and works, let that by no means daunt thee; this is a river of water of life, streams of grace and mercy. There is, as I said, enough therein to help thee, for grace brings all that is wanting to the soul. Thou, therefore, hast nothing to do, I mean as to the curing of thy soul of its doubts, and fears, and despairing thoughts, but to drink and live for ever.

SIXTH. But *what is all this to the* DEAD *world*—to them that love to be dead? They toss their vanities about as the boys toss their shuttlecocks in the air, till their foot slips, and themselves descend into the pit.

Let this suffice for this time.

[1] The real Christian, and such only, are in this blessed case; they have the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. Their Father, the Almighty, supplies all their wants; giving joy and peace, when heart and flesh tremble.—ED.

[2] In proportion to the number of professed Christians who thus obey the gospel by judging for themselves, so will be the happiness of the church, and the hastening on of the kingdom of Christ. No one is a Christian that receives his doctrine from a prelate, priest, or minister, without prayerfully comparing it with the written Word. O man, take not the water of life as doled out by a fellow-man; go to the river for yourself—survey yourself as reflected in those crystal streams. Christ does not say to the heavy-laden, sin-burdened soul, Go to the church; but, Come unto me, and find rest. Blessed is he who loves the river of water unpolluted by human devices, forms, or ceremonies; who flies to the open bosom of his Christ, and finds refuge from every storm.—ED.

THE BARREN FIG-TREE;

OR,

THE DOOM AND DOWNFALL OF THE FRUITLESS PROFESSOR:

SHOWING, THAT THE DAY OF GRACE MAY BE PAST WITH HIM LONG BEFORE HIS LIFE IS ENDED; THE SIGNS ALSO BY WHICH SUCH MISERABLE MORTALS MAY BE KNOWN.

By JOHN BUNYAN,

'*Who being dead, yet speaketh.*'—Heb. xi. 4.

London: Printed for J. Robinson, at the Golden Lion, in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1688.

This Title has a broad Black Border.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

This solemn, searching, awful treatise, was published by Bunyan in 1682; but does not appear to have been reprinted until a very few months after his decease, which so unexpectedly took place in 1688. Although we have sought with all possible diligence, no copy of the first edition has been discovered; we have made use of a fine copy of the second edition, in possession of that thorough Bunyanite, my kind friend, R. B. Sherring, of Bristol. The third edition, 1692, is in the British Museum. Added to these posthumous publications appeared, for the first time, 'An Exhortation to Peace and Unity,' which will be found at the end of our second volume. In the advertisement to that treatise are stated, at some length, my reasons for concluding that it was not written by Bunyan, although inserted in all the editions of his collected works. That opinion is now more fully confirmed, by the discovery of Bunyan's own list of his works, published just before his death, in 1688, and in which that exhortation is not inserted. I was also much pleased to find that the same conclusion was arrived at by that highly intelligent Baptist minister, Mr. Robert Robinson. His reasons are given at some length, concluding with, 'it is evident that Bunyan never wrote this piece.'[1] Why it was, after Bunyan's death, published with his 'Barren Fig-tree,' is one of those hidden mysteries of darkness and of wickedness that I cannot discover. The beautiful parable from which Bunyan selected his text, represents an enclosed ground, in which, among others, a fig-tree had been planted. It was not an enclosure similar to some of the vineyards of France or Germany, exclusively devoted to the growth of the vine, but a garden in which fruits were cultivated, such as grapes, figs, or pomegranates. It was in such a vineyard, thus retired from the world, that Nathaniel poured out his heart in prayer, when our Lord in spirit witnessed, unseen, these devotional exercises, and soon afterwards rewarded him with open approbation. Jn. i. 48. In these secluded pleasant spots the Easterns spend much of their time, under their own vines or fig-trees, sheltered from the world and from the oppressive heat of the sun—a fit emblem of a church of Christ. In this vineyard stood a fig-tree—by nature remarkable for fruitfulness—but it is barren. No inquiry is made as to how it came there, but the order is given, 'Cut it down.' The dresser of the garden intercedes, and means are tried to make it fruitful, but in vain. At last it is cut down as a cumber-ground and burnt. This vineyard or garden represents a gospel church; the fig-tree a member—a barren, fruitless professor. 'It matters not how he got there,' if he bears no fruit he must be cut down and away to the fire.

To illustrate so awful a subject this treatise was written, and it is intensely solemn. God, whose omniscience penetrates through every disguise, himself examines every tree in the garden, yea, every bough. Wooden and earthy professor, your detection is sure; appearances that deceive the world and the church cannot deceive God. 'He will be with thee in thy bed fruits—thy midnight fruits—thy closet fruits—thy family fruits—thy conversation fruits.' Professor, solemnly examine yourself; 'in proportion to your fruitfulness will be your blessedness.' 'Naked and open are all things to his eye.' Can it be imagined that those 'that paint themselves did ever repent of their pride?' 'How seemingly self-denying are some of these *creeping things.*' 'Is there no place will serve to fit those for hell but the church, the vineyard of God?' 'It is not the place where the worker of iniquity can hide himself or his sins from God.' May such be detected before they go

[1] *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 8vo, 1781.

hence to the fire. While there is a disposition to seek grace all are invited to come; but when salvation by Christ is abandoned, there is no other refuge, although sought with tears. Reader, may the deeply impressive language of Bunyan sink profoundly into our hearts. We need no splendid angel nor hideous demon to reveal to us the realities of the world to come. 'If we hear not Moses and the prophets,' as set forth by Bunyan in this treatise, 'neither should we be persuaded though one rose from the dead' to declare these solemn truths. Lu. xvi. 31. GEO. OFFOR.

TO THE READER.

COURTEOUS READER,

I HAVE written to thee now about the Barren Fig-tree, or how it will fare with the fruitless professor that standeth in the vineyard of God. Of what complexion thou art I cannot certainly divine; but the parable tells thee that the cumber-ground must be cut down. A cumber-ground professor is not only a provocation to God, a stumbling-block to the world, and a blemish to religion, but a snare to his own soul also. 'Though his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds, *yet* he shall perish for ever, like his own dung; they which have seen him shall say, Where *is* he?' Job xx. 6, 7.

Now 'they count it pleasure to riot in the day-time.' But what will they do when the axe is fetched out? 2 Pe. ii. 13, 14.

The tree whose fruit withereth is reckoned a tree without fruit, a tree twice dead, one that must be 'plucked up by the roots.' Jude 12.

O thou cumber-ground, God expects fruit, God will come seeking fruit shortly.

My exhortation, therefore, is to professors that they look to it, that they take heed.

The barren fig-tree in the vineyard, and the bramble in the wood, are both prepared for the fire.

Profession is not a covert to hide from the eye of God; nor will it palliate the revengeful threatening of his justice; he will command to cut it down shortly.

The church, and a profession, are the best of places for the upright, but the worst in the world for the cumber-ground. He must be cast, as profane, out of the mount of God: cast, I say, over the wall of the vineyard, there to wither; thence to be gathered and burned. 'It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness.' 2 Pe. ii. 21. And yet if they had not, they had been damned; but it is better to go to hell without, than in, or from under a profession. These 'shall receive greater damnation.' Lu. xx. 47.

If thou be a professor, read and tremble: if thou be profane, do so likewise. For if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinners appear? Cumber-ground, take heed of the axe! Barren fig-tree, beware of the fire!

But I will keep thee no longer out of the book. Christ Jesus, the dresser of the vineyard, take care of thee, dig about thee, and dung thee, that thou mayest bear fruit; that when the Lord of the vineyard cometh with his axe to seek for fruit, or pronounce the sentence of damnation on the barren fig-tree, thou mayest escape that judgment. The cumber-ground must to the wood-pile, and thence to the fire. Farewell.

Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus in sincerity. Amen.

JOHN BUNYAN.

THE BARREN FIG-TREE,

OR

THE DOOM AND DOWNFALL OF THE FRUITLESS PROFESSOR.

'A CERTAIN *MAN* HAD A FIG-TREE PLANTED IN HIS VINEYARD; AND HE CAME AND SOUGHT FRUIT THEREON, AND FOUND NONE. THEN SAID HE UNTO THE DRESSER OF HIS VINEYARD, BEHOLD, THESE THREE YEARS I COME SEEKING FRUIT ON THIS FIG-TREE, AND FIND NONE: CUT IT DOWN; WHY CUMBERETH IT THE GROUND? AND HE ANSWERING SAID UNTO HIM, LORD, LET IT ALONE THIS YEAR ALSO, TILL I SHALL DIG ABOUT IT, AND DUNG IT: AND IF IT BEAR FRUIT, *WELL:* AND IF NOT, *THEN* AFTER THAT THOU SHALT CUT IT DOWN.'—LUKE XIII. 6—9.

AT the beginning of this chapter we read how some of the Jews came to Jesus Christ, to tell him of the cruelty of Pontius Pilate, in mingling the

blood of the Galileans with their sacrifices. A heathenish and prodigious act; for therein he showed, not only his malice against the Jewish nation, but also against their worship, and consequently their God. An action, I say, not only heathenish, but prodigious also; for the Lord Jesus, paraphrasing upon this fact of his, teacheth the Jews, that without repentance 'they should all likewise perish.' 'Likewise,' that is, by the hand and rage of the Roman empire. Neither should they be more able to avoid the stroke, than were those eighteen upon whom the tower of Siloam fell, and slew them. Lu. xiii. 1–5. The fulfilling of which prophecy, for their hardness of heart, and impenitency, was in the days of Titus, son of Vespasian, about forty years after the death of Christ. Then, I say, were these Jews, and their city, both environed round on every side, wherein both they and it, to amazement, were miserably overthrown. God gave them sword and famine, pestilence and blood, for their outrage against the Son of his love. So wrath 'came upon them to the uttermost.' 1 Th. ii. 16. [1]

Now, to prevent their old and foolish salvo, which they always had in readiness against such prophecies and denunciations of judgment, the Lord Jesus presents them with this parable, in which he emphatically shows them that their cry of being the temple of the Lord, and of their being the children of Abraham, &c., and their being the church of God, would not stand them in any stead. As who should say, It may be you think to help yourselves against this my prophecy of your utter and unavoidable overthrow, by the interest which you have in your outward privileges. But all these will fail you; for what think you? 'A certain *man* had a fig-tree planted in his vineyard, and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none.' This is your case! The Jewish land is God's vineyard; I know it; and I know also, that you are the fig-trees. But behold, there wanteth the main thing, fruit; for the sake, and in expectation of which, he set this vineyard with trees. Now, seeing the fruit is not found amongst you, the fruit, I say, for the sake of which he did at first plant this vineyard, what remains but that in justice he command to cut you down as those that cumber the ground, that he may plant himself another vineyard? 'Then said he unto the dresser of his vineyard, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?' This therefore must be your end, although you are planted in the garden of God; for the barrenness and unfruitfulness of your hearts and lives you must be cut off, yea, rooted up, and cast out of the vineyard.

In parables there are two things to be taken notice of, and to be inquired into of them that read. *First*, The metaphors made use of. *Second*, The doctrine or mysteries couched under such metaphors.

The metaphors in this parable are, 1. A certain man; 2. A vineyard; 3. A fig-tree, barren or fruitless; 4. A dresser; 5. Three years; 6. Digging and dunging, &c.

The doctrine, or mystery, couched under these words is to show us what is like to become of a fruitless or formal professor. For, 1. By the man in the parable is meant God the Father. Lu. xv. 11. 2. By the vineyard, his church. Is. v. 7. 3. By the fig-tree, a professor. 4. By the dresser, the Lord Jesus. 5. By the fig-tree's barrenness, the professor's fruitlessness. 6. By the three years, the patience of God that for a time he extendeth to barren professors. 7. This calling to the dresser of the vineyard to cut it down, is to show the outeries of justice against fruitless professors. 8. The dresser's interceding is to show how the Lord Jesus steps in, and takes hold of the head of his Father's axe, to stop, or at least to defer, the present execution of a barren fig-tree. 9. The dresser's desire to try to make the fig-tree fruitful, is to show you how unwilling he is that even a barren fig-tree should yet be barren, and perish. 10. His digging about it, and dunging of it, is to show his willingness to apply gospel helps to this barren professor, if haply he may be fruitful. 11. The supposition that the fig-tree may yet continue fruitless, is to show, that when Christ Jesus hath done all, there are some professors will abide barren and fruitless. 12. The determination upon this supposition, at last to cut it down, is a certain prediction of such professor's unavoidable and eternal damnation.

But to take this parable into pieces, and to discourse more particularly, though with all brevity, upon all the parts thereof.

'*A certain* MAN *had a fig-tree planted in his vineyard.*'

The MAN, I told you, is to present us with God the Father; by which similitude he is often set out in the New Testament.

Observe then, that it is no new thing, if you

[1] This awful destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans is narrated by Josephus in his sixth book of the *Jewish Wars*, in language that makes nature shudder. Multitudes had assembled to celebrate the passover when the invading army beleaguered the city; a frightful famine soon filled it with desolation: this, with fire and sword, miserably destroyed one million, three hundred and thirty-seven thousand, four hundred and ninety Jews, while the Christians fled before the siege, and escaped to the mountains. Well might the sun vail his face at that atrocious deed, which was so quickly followed by such awful punishment.—ED.

find in God's church barren fig-trees, fruitless professors; even as here you see is a tree, a fruitless tree, a fruitless fig-tree in the vineyard.[1] Fruit is not so easily brought forth as a profession is got into; it is easy for a man to clothe himself with a fair show in the flesh, to word it, and say, Be thou warmed and filled with the best. It is no hard thing to do these with other things; but to be fruitful, to bring forth fruit to God, this doth not every tree, no not every fig-tree that stands in the vineyard of God. Those words also, 'Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away,' assert the same thing. Jn. xv. 2. There are branches in Christ, in Christ's body mystical, which is his church, his vineyard, that bear not fruit, wherefore the hand of God is to take them away: I looked for grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes, that is, no fruit at all that was acceptable with God. Is. 5. 4. Again, 'Israel *is* an empty vine, he bringeth forth fruit unto himself,' none to God; he is without fruit to God. Ho. x. 1. All these, with many more, show us the truth of the observation, and that God's church may be cumbered with fruitless fig-trees, with barren professors.

Had a FIG-TREE.

Although there be in God's church that be barren and fruitless; yet, as I said, to see to, they are like the rest of the trees, even a fig-tree. It was not an oak, nor a willow, nor a thorn, nor a bramble; but a FIG-TREE. 'They come unto thee as the people cometh.' Eze. xxxiii. 31. 'They delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God. They ask of me the ordinances of justice, they take delight in approaching to God,' and yet but barren, fruitless, and unprofitable professors. Is. lviii. 2–4. Judas also was one of the twelve, a disciple, an apostle, a preacher, an officer, yea, and such a one as none of the eleven mistrusted, but preferred before themselves, each one crying out, 'Is it I? Is it I?' Mar. xiv. 19. None of them, as we read of, Jn. vi. 70, mistrusting Judas; yet he in Christ's eye was the barren fig-tree, a devil, a fruitless professor. The foolish virgins also went forth of the world with the other, had lamps, and light, and were awakened with the other; yea, had boldness to go forth, when the midnight cry was made, with the other; and thought that they could have looked Christ in the face, when he sat upon the throne of judgment, with the other; and yet but foolish, but barren fig-trees, but fruitless professors. 'Many,' saith Christ, 'will say unto me in that day,' this and that, and will also talk of many wonderful works; yet, behold, he finds nothing in them but the fruits of unrighteousness. Mat. vii. 22, 23. They were altogether barren and fruitless professors.

Had a fig-tree PLANTED.

This word PLANTED doth also reach far; it supposeth one taken out of its natural soil, or removed from the place it grew in once; one that seemed to be called, awakened; and not only so, but by strong hand carried from the world to the church; from nature to grace; from sin to godliness. 'Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt; thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it.' Ps. lxxx. 8. Of some of the branches of this vine were there unfruitful professors.

It must be concluded, therefore, that this professor, that remaineth notwithstanding fruitless, is, as to the view and judgment of the church, rightly brought in thither, to wit, by confession of faith, of sin, and a show of repentance and regeneration; thus false brethren creep in unawares![2] All these things this word *planted* intimateth; yea, further, that the church is satisfied with them, consents they should abide in the garden, and counteth them sound as the rest. But before God, in the sight of God, they are graceless professors, barren and fruitless fig-trees.

Therefore it is one thing to be in the church, or in a profession; and another to be of the church, and to belong to that kingdom that is prepared for the saint, that is so indeed. Otherwise, '*Being* planted, shall it prosper? shall it not utterly wither, when the east-wind toucheth it? It shall wither in the furrows where it grew.' Eze. xvii. 10.

Had a fig-tree planted in HIS *vineyard.*

In HIS vineyard. Hypocrites, with rotten hearts, are not afraid to come before God in Sion. These words therefore suggest unto us a prodigious kind of boldness and hardened fearlessness. For what presumption higher, and what attempt more desperate, than for a man that wanteth grace, and the true knowledge of God, to crowd himself, in that condition, into the house or church of God; or to make profession of, and desire that the name of God should be called upon him?

For the man that maketh a profession of the religion of Jesus Christ, that man hath, as it were, put the name of God upon himself, and is called and reckoned now, how fruitless soever before God

[1] Reader, do not imagine that this was peculiar to Bunyan's days; look not upon your neighbours to find an example, but search your own heart—'Lord, is it I?' and strive and pray that you may bring forth more fruit.—(ED.)

[2] The mode of admitting a member to church-fellowship, among the Baptists, was and now is by introducing the trembling convert to a private meeting of the whole church, that they may hear why the union is sought, how the soul became alarmed, and fled for refuge to Christ, with the grounds of hope; inquiries having been previously made into Christian character and godliness. If, with all these precautions, a barren professor gains admittance, the punishment is not upon the garden, but upon the barren tree.—(ED.)

or men, the man that hath to do with God, the man that God owneth, and will stand for. This man, I say, by his profession, suggesteth this to all that know him to be such a professor. Men merely natural, I mean men that have not got the devilish art of hypocrisy, are afraid to think of doing thus. 'And of the rest durst no man join himself to them; but the people magnified them.' Ac. v. 13. And, indeed, it displeaseth God. 'Ye have brought,' saith he, 'men uncircumcised into my sanctuary.' Eze. xliv. 7. And again, 'When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts?' saith God. Is. i. 12. They have therefore learned this boldness of none in the visible world, they only took it of the devil, for he, and he only, with these his disciples, attempt to present themselves in the church before God. 'The tares are the children of the wicked *one*.' The tares, that is, the hypocrites, that are Satan's brood, the generation of vipers, that cannot escape the damnation of hell.

Had *a fig-tree planted in his vineyard.*

He doth not say, He planted a fig-tree, but there was a fig-tree there; he had, or found a fig-tree planted in his vineyard.

The great God will not acknowledge the barren fig-tree, or barren professor, to be *his* workmanship, or a tree of his bringing in; only the text saith, he had one there. This is much like that in Mat. xv. 13—'Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.' Here again are plants in his vineyard which God will not acknowledge to be of his planting; and he seems to suggest that in his vineyard are many such. Every plant, or all those plants or professors, that are got into the assembly of the saints, or into the profession of their religion, without God and his grace, 'shall be rooted up.'

'And when the King came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on the wedding-garment. And he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding-garment?' Mat. xxii. 11, 12. Here is one so cunning and crafty that he beguiled all the guests; he got and kept in the church even until the King himself came in to see the guests; but his subtilty got him nothing; it did not blind the eyes of the King; it did not pervert the judgment of the righteous. 'Friend, how camest thou in hither?' did overtake him at last; even a public rejection; the King discovered him in the face of all present. 'How camest thou in hither?' My Father did not bring thee hither; I did not bring thee hither; my Spirit did not bring thee hither; thou art not of the heavenly Father's planting. 'How camest thou in hither?' He that 'entereth not by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.' Jn. x. 1. This text also is full and plain to our purpose; for this man came not in by the door, yet got into the church; he got in by climbing; he broke in at the windows; he got something of the light and glory of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in his head; and so, hardy wretch that he was, he presumed to crowd himself among the children. But how is this resented? What saith the King of him? Why, this is his sign, 'the same is a thief and a robber.' See ye here also, if all they be owned as the planting of God that get into his church or profession of his name.

'Had a fig-tree.' Had one without a wedding-garment, had a thief in his garden, at his wedding, in his house. These climbed up some other way. There are many ways to get into the church of God, and profession of his name, besides, and without an entering by the door.

1. There is the way of lying and dissembling, and at this gap the Gibeonites got in. Jos. ix. &c.

2. There is sometimes falseness among some pastors, either for the sake of carnal relations, or the like; at this hole Tobiah, the enemy of God, got in. Ne. xiii. 4–9.

3. There is sometimes negligence, and too much uncircumspectness in the whole church; thus the uncircumcised got in. Eze. xliv. 7, 8.

4. Sometimes, again, let the church be never so circumspect, yet these have so much help from the devil that they beguile them all, and so get in. These are of that sort of thieves that Paul complains of, 'False brethren, that are brought in unawares.' Ga. ii. 4. Jude also cries out of these, 'Certain men crept in unawares.' Jude 4. Crept in! What, were they so lowly? A voluntary humility, a neglecting of the body, not in any humour.[1] Col. ii. 23. O! how seemingly self-denying are some of these '*creeping things*,' that yet are to be held, (as we shall know them) an abomination to Israel. Le. xi. 43, 44.

But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour. 2 Ti. ii. 20. By these words the apostle seems to take it for granted, that as there hath been, so there still will be these kind of fig-trees, these barren professors in the house, when all men have done what they can; even as in a great house there are always vessels to dishonour, as well as those to honour and glory; vessels of wood and of earth, as well as of silver and gold. So, then, there must be wooden professors in the garden of God, there must be earthy, earthen professors in his vineyard; but that methinks is the biting word, 'and some to

[1] 'Humour,' the temper or disposition of mind. Not out of love to humility, but these *creeping things* pretend to be humble, to gain some sinister end.—(Ed.)

dishonour.' Ro. ix. 21, 22. That to the Romans is dreadful, but this seems to go beyond it; that speaks but of the reprobate in general, but this of such and such in particular; that speaks of their hardening but in the common way, but this that they must be suffered to creep into the church, there to fit themselves for their place, their own place, the place prepared for them of this sort only. Ac. i. 25. As the Lord Jesus said once of the Pharisees, These 'shall receive greater damnation.' Lu. xx. 47.

Barren fig-tree, fruitless professor, hast thou heard all these things? Hast thou considered that this fig-tree is not acknowledged of God to be his, but is denied to be of his planting, and of his bringing unto his wedding? Dost not thou see that thou art called a thief and a robber, that hast either climbed up to, or crept in at another place than the door? Dost thou not hear that there will be in God's house wooden and earthly professors, and that no place will serve to fit those for hell but the house, the church, the vineyard of God? Barren fig-tree, fruitless Christian, do not thine ears tingle?

And HE *came and sought fruit thereon.*

When a man hath got a profession, and is crowded into the church and house of God, the question is not now, Hath he life, hath he right principles? but, Hath he fruit? HE came seeking fruit thereon. It mattereth not who brought thee in hither, whether God or the devil, or thine own vain-glorious heart; but hast thou fruit? Dost thou bring forth fruit unto God? And, 'Let every one that nameth the name of' the Lord Jesus 'Christ depart from iniquity.' 2 Ti. ii. 19. He doth not say, And let every one that hath grace, or let those that have the Spirit of God; but, 'Let every one that nameth the name of' the Lord Jesus 'Christ depart from iniquity.'

What do men meddle with religion for? Why do they call themselves by the name of the Lord Jesus, if they have not the grace of God, if they have not the Spirit of Christ? God, therefore, expecteth fruit. What do they do in the vineyard? Let them work, or get them out; the vineyard must have labourers in it. 'Son, go WORK to-day in my vineyard.' Mat. xxi. 28. Wherefore, want of grace and want of Spirit will not keep God from seeking fruit. 'And he came and sought fruit thereon.' Lu. xiii. 6; viii. 8. He requireth that which he seemeth to have. Every man in the vineyard and house of God promiseth himself, professeth to others, and would have all men take it for granted, that a heavenly principle is in him, why then should not God seek fruit?

As for them, therefore, that will retain the name of Christians, fearing God, and yet make no conscience of bringing forth fruit to him, he saith to such, Away! 'As for you, - Go ye, serve ye every one his idols, and hereafter *also*, if ye will not hearken unto me,' &c. Eze. xx. 39. Barren fig-tree, dost thou hear? God expecteth fruit, God calls for fruit, yea, God will shortly come seeking fruit on this barren fig-tree. Barren fig-tree, either bear fruit, or go out of the vineyard; and yet then thy case will be unspeakably damnable. Yea, let me add, if thou shalt neither bear fruit nor depart, God will take his name out of thy mouth. Je. xliv. 26. He will have fruit. And I say further, if thou wilt do neither, yet God in justice and righteousness will still come for fruit. And it will be in vain for thee to count this austerity. He will reap where he hath not sowed, and gather where he hath not strewed. Mat. xxv. 24–26. Barren fig-tree, dost thou hear?

Quest. What if a man have no grace?

Answ. Yes, seeing he hath a profession.

And he came and sought fruit THEREON.

A church, then, and a profession, are not places where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves and sins from God. Some of old thought that because they could cry, 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord!' that therefore they were delivered, or had a dispensation to do the abominations which they committed, as some in our days; for who, say they, have a right to the creatures, if not Christians, if not professors, if not church members? And, from this conclusion, let go the reins of their inordinate affections after pride, ambition, gluttony; pampering themselves without fear, Jude 12, daubing themselves with the lust-provoking fashions of the times; to walk with stretched out necks, naked breasts, frizzled fore-tops, wanton gestures, in gorgeous apparel, mixed with gold and pearl, and costly array.[1] I will not here make inspection into their lives, their carriages at home, in their corners and secret holes; but certainly, persons thus spirited, thus principled, and thus inclined, have but empty boughs, boughs that want the fruit that God expects, and that God will come down to seek.

Barren fig-tree, thou art not licensed by thy profession, nor by the Lord of the vineyard, to bear these clusters of Gomorrah; neither shall the vineyard, nor thy being crowded among the trees there, shelter thee from the sight of the eye of

[1] However strange it may appear, it is true that the Ranters, in Bunyan's time, used these arguments, and those so graphically put into the mouth of Bye-ends, in the *Pilgrim*, to justify their nonconformity to Christ. The tom-fooleries and extravagancies of dress introduced by Charles II., are here justly and contemptuously described. The ladies' head-dresses, called 'frizzled fore tops,' became so extravagant, that a barber used high steps to enable him to dress a lady's head! —(ED.)

God. Many make religion their cloak, and Christ their stalking-horse, and by that means cover themselves and hide their own wickedness from men; but God seeth their hearts, hath his print upon the heels of their feet, and pondereth all their goings; and at last, when their iniquity is found to be hateful, he will either smite them with hardness of heart, and so leave them, or awaken them to bring forth fruit. Fruit he looks for, seeks, and expects, barren fig-tree!

But what! come into the presence of God to sin! What! come into the presence of God to hide thy sin! Alas, man! the church is God's garden, and Christ Jesus is the great Apostle and High-priest of our profession. What! come into the house that is called by my name! into the place where mine honour dwelleth! Ps. xxvi. 8. Where mine eyes and heart are continually! 1 Ki. ix. 3. What! come there to sin, to hide thy sin, to cloak thy sin! His plants are an orchard with pleasant fruits. Ca. iv. 13. And every time he goeth into his garden, it is to see the fruits of the valley, and to 'see if the vine flourished, *and* the pomegranates budded.'

Yea, saith he, he came seeking fruit on this fig-tree. The church is the place of God's delight, where he ever desires to be: there he is night and day. He is there to seek for fruit, to seek for fruit of all and every tree in the garden. Wherefore, assure thyself, O fruitless one, that thy ways must needs be open before the eyes of the Lord. One black sheep is soon espied, although in company with many; that is taken with the first cast of the eye; its different colour still betrays it. I say, therefore, a church and a profession are not places where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves from God that seeks for fruit. 'My vineyard,' saith God, 'which *is* mine, *is* before me.' Ca. viii. 12.

And he came and sought fruit thereon, AND FOUND NONE.

Barren fig-tree, hearken; the continual non-bearing of fruit is a dreadful sign that thou art to come to a dreadful end, as the winding up of this parable concludeth.

'AND FOUND NONE.' None at all, or none to God's liking; for when he saith, 'He came seeking fruit thereon,' he means 'fruit meet for God,' pleasant fruit, fruit good and sweet. He. vi. Alas! it is not any fruit will serve; bad fruit is counted none. 'Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.' Mat. iii. 10.

First. There is a fruit among professors that withers, and so never comes to be ripe; a fruit that is smitten in the growth, and comes not to maturity; and this is reckoned no fruit. This fruit those professors bear that have many fair beginnings, or blossoms; that make many fair offers of repentance and amendment; that begin to pray, to resolve, and to break off their sins by righteousness, but stop at those beginnings, and bring no fruit forth to perfection. This man's fruit is withered, wrinkled, smitten fruit, and is in effect no fruit at all.

Second. There is a hasty fruit, such as is the 'corn upon the house-top,' Ps. cxxix. 6; or that which springs up on the dung-hill, that runs up suddenly, violently, with great stalks and big show, and yet at last proves empty of kernel. This fruit is to be found in those professors that on a sudden are so awakened, so convinced, and so affected with their condition that they shake the whole family, the endship,[1] the whole town. For a while they cry hastily, vehemently, dolefully, mournfully, and yet all is but a pang, an agony, a fit, they bring not forth fruit with patience. These are called those hasty fruits that 'shall be a fading flower.' Is. xxviii. 4.

Third. There is a fruit that is vile and ill-tasted, how long soever it be in growing; the root is dried, and cannot convey a sufficiency of sap to the branches, to ripen the fruit. Je. xxiv. These are the fruits of such professors whose hearts are estranged from communion with the Holy Ghost, whose fruit groweth from themselves, from their parts, gifts, strength of wit, natural or moral principles. These, notwithstanding they bring forth fruit, are called empty vines, such as bring not forth fruit to God. 'Their root is dried up, they shall bear no fruit; yea, though they bring forth, yet will I slay *even* the beloved *fruit* of their womb.' Ho. ix. 16.

Fourth. There is a fruit that is wild. 'I looked for grapes and it brought forth wild grapes.' Is. v. 4. I observe, that as there are trees and herbs that are wholly right and noble, fit indeed for the vineyard; so there are also their semblance, but wild; not right, but ignoble. There is the grape, and the wild grape; the vine, and the wild vine; the rose, and canker rose; flowers and wild flowers; the apple, and the wild apple, which we call the crab. Now, fruit from these wild things, however they may please the children to play with, yet the prudent and grave count them of little or no value. There are also in the world a generation of professors that, notwithstanding their profession, are wild by nature; yea, such as were never cut out, or off, from the wild olive-tree, nor never yet planted into the good olive-tree. Now, these can bring nothing forth but wild olive berries, they cannot bring forth fruit unto God. Such are all those that have lightly taken up a profession, and

[1] A word not to be found in our dictionaries, being local and almost obsolete. It means a division, end, or border of a town or village.—(ED.)

crept into the vineyard without a new birth, and the blessing of regeneration.

Fifth. There is also untimely fruit: 'Even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs.' Re. vi. xiii. Fruit out of season, and so no fruit to God's liking. There are two sorts of professors subject to bring forth untimely fruit: 1. They that bring forth fruit too soon; 2. They that bring forth fruit too late.

1. They that bring forth too soon. They are such as at present receive the Word with joy; and anon, before they have root downwards, they thrust forth upwards; but having not root, when the sun ariseth, they are smitten, and miserably die without fruit. These professors are those light and inconsiderate ones that think nothing but peace will attend the gospel; and so anon rejoice at the tidings, without foreseeing the evil. Wherefore, when the evil comes, being unarmed, and so not able to stand any longer, they die, and are withered, and bring forth no fruit. 'He that received the seed into stony places, the same is he that heareth the Word, and anon with joy receiveth it; yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the Word, by and by he is offended.' Mat. xiii. 20, 21. There is, in Is. xxviii. 4, mention made of some 'whose glorious beauty shall be a fading flower,' because it is 'fruit before the summer.' Both these are untimely fruit.

2. They also bring forth untimely fruit that stay till the season is over. God will have his fruit in his season; I say, he will receive them of such men as shall render them to him in their seasons. Mat. xxi. 41. The missing of the season is dangerous; staying till the door is shut is dangerous. Mat. xxv. 10, 11. Many there be that come not till the flood of God's anger is raised, and too deep for them to wade through; 'Surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh unto him.' Ps. xxxii. 6. Esau AFTERWARDS is fearful: 'For ye know how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.' He. xii. 17.

So the children of Israel, they brought to God the fruits of obedience too late; their 'Lo, we *be here*' came too late; Nu. xiv. 40–42. their 'We will go up' came too late. Nu. xiv. 40–44. The Lord had sworn before, 'that they should not possess the land.' Mat. xxv. 10; xxvii. 5. All these are such as bring forth untimely fruit. He. xii. 17. Lu. xiii. 25–27. It is the hard hap of the reprobate to do all things too late; to be sensible of his want of grace too late; to be sorry for sin too late; to seek repentance too late; to ask for mercy, and to desire to go to glory too late.

Thus you see, 1. That fruit smitten in the growth, that withereth, and that comes not to maturity, is no fruit. 2. That hasty fruit, such as 'the grass upon the house-top,' withereth also before it groweth up, and is no fruit. Ps. cxxix. 6. 3. That the fruit that is vile, and ill-tasted, is no fruit. That wild fruit, wild grapes, are no fruit. Re. vi. That untimely fruit, such as comes too soon, or that comes too late, such as come not in their season, are no fruit.

And he came and sought FRUIT *thereon, and found none.*

Nothing will do but fruit; he looked for grapes. 'When the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen, that they might receive the fruits of it.' Mat. xxi. 34.

Quest. But what fruit doth God expect?

Answ. Good fruit. 'Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down.' Mat. vii. 19. Now, before the fruit can be good, the tree must be good; for good fruit makes not a good tree, but a 'good tree bringeth forth good fruit. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?' A man must be good, else he can bring forth no good fruit; he must have righteousness imputed, that he may stand good in God's sight from the curse of his law; he must have a principle of righteousness in his soul, else how should he bring forth good fruits? and hence it is, that a Christian's fruits are called 'the fruits of the Spirit, the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ.' Ga. v. 22, 23. Phi. i. 11. The fruits of the Spirit, therefore the Spirit must be there; the fruits of righteousness, therefore righteousness must first be there. But to particularize in a few things briefly:—

First. God expecteth fruit that will answer, and be worthy of the repentance which thou feignest thyself to have. Every one in a profession, and that hath crowded into the vineyard, pretendeth to repentance; now of every such soul, God expecteth that the fruits of repentance be found to attend them. 'Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance,' or answerable to thy profession of the doctrine of repentance. Mat. iii. 8. Barren fig-tree, seeing thou art a professor, and art got into the vineyard, thou standest before the Lord of the vineyard as one of the trees of the garden; wherefore he looketh for fruit from thee, as from the rest of the trees in the vineyard; fruits, I say, and such as may declare thee in heart and life one that hath made sound profession of repentance. By thy profession thou hast said, I am sensible of the evil of sin. Now then, live such a life as declares that thou art sensible of the evil of sin. By thy profession thou hast said, I am sorry for my sin. Why, then, live such a life as may declare this sorrow. By thy profession thou hast said, I am

ashamed of my sin; yea, but live such a life, that men by that may see thy shame for sin. Ps. xxxviii. 18. Je. xxxi. 19. By thy profession thou sayest, I have turned from, left off, and am become an enemy to every appearance of evil. 1 Th. v. 22. Ah! but doth thy life and conversation declare thee to be such an one? Take heed, barren fig-tree, lest thy life should give thy profession the lie. I say again, take heed, for God himself will come for fruit. 'And he sought fruit thereon,'

You have some professors that are only saints before men when they are abroad, but are devils and vipers at home; saints by profession, but devils by practice; saints in word, but sinners in heart and life. These men may have the profession, but they want the fruits that become repentance.[1]

Barren fig-tree, can it be imagined that those that paint themselves did ever repent of their pride? or that those that pursue this world did ever repent of their covetousness? or that those that walk with wanton eyes did ever repent of their fleshly lusts? Where, barren fig-tree, is the fruit of these people's repentance? Nay, do they not rather declare to the world that they have repented of their profession? Their fruits look as if they had. Their pride saith they have repented of their humility. Their covetousness declareth that they are weary of depending upon God; and doth not thy wanton actions declare that thou abhorrest chastity? Where is thy fruit, barren fig-tree? Repentance is not only a sorrow, and a shame for, but a turning from sin to God; it is called 'repentance from dead works.' He. vi. 1. Hast thou that 'godly sorrow' that 'worketh repentance to salvation, not to be repented of?' 2 Co. vii. 10, 11. How dost thou show thy carefulness, and clearing of thyself; thy indignation against sin; thy fear of offending; thy vehement desire to walk with God; thy zeal for his name and glory in the world? And what revenge hast thou in thy heart against every thought of disobedience?

But where is the fruit of this repentance? Where is thy watching, thy fasting, thy praying against the remainders of corruption? Where is thy self-abhorrence, thy blushing before God, for the sin that is yet behind? Where is thy tenderness of the name of God and his ways? Where is thy self-denial and contentment? How dost thou show before men the truth of thy turning to God? Hast thou 'renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness?' Canst thou commend thyself 'to every man's conscience in the sight of God?' 2 Co. iv. 2.

Second. God expecteth fruits that shall answer that faith which thou makest profession of. The professor that is got into the vineyard of God doth feign that he hath the faith, the faith most holy, the faith of God's elect. Ah! but where are thy fruits, barren fig-tree? The faith of the Romans was 'spoken of throughout the whole world.' Ro. i. 8. And the Thessalonians' faith grew exceedingly. 2 Th. i. 3.

Thou professest to believe thou hast a share in another world: hast thou let go THIS, barren fig-tree? Thou professest thou believest in Christ: is he thy joy, and the life of thy soul? Yea, what conformity unto him, to his sorrows and sufferings? What resemblance hath his crying, and groaning, and bleeding, and dying, wrought in thee? Dost thou 'bear about in thy body the dying of the Lord Jesus?' and is also the life of Jesus 'made manifest in thy mortal body?' 2 Co. iv. 10, 11. Barren fig-tree, 'show me thy faith by thy works.' 'Show out of a good conversation thy works with meekness of wisdom.' Ja. ii. 18; iii. 13. What fruit, barren fig-tree, what degree of heart-holiness? for faith purifies the heart. Ac. xv. 9. What love to the Lord Jesus? for 'faith worketh by love.' Ga. v. 6.

Third. God expecteth fruits according to the seasons of grace thou art under, according to the rain that cometh upon thee. Perhaps thou art planted in a good soil, by great waters, that thou mightest bring forth branches, and bear fruit; that thou mightest be a goodly vine or fig-tree. Shall he not therefore seek for fruit, for fruit answerable to the means? Barren fig-tree, God expects it, and will find it too, if ever he bless thee. 'For the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God: but that which beareth thorns and briars *is* rejected, and *is* nigh unto cursing, whose end *is* to be burned.' He. vi. 7, 8.

Barren soul, how many showers of grace, how many dews from heaven, how many times have the silver streams of the city of God run gliding by thy roots, to cause thee to bring forth fruit! These showers and streams, and the drops that hang upon thy boughs, will all be accounted for; and will they not testify against thee that thou oughtest, of right, to be burned? Hear and tremble, O thou barren professor! Fruits that become thy profession of the gospel, the God of heaven expecteth. The gospel hath in it the forgiveness of sins, the kingdom of heaven, and eternal life; but what fruit hath thy profession of a belief of these things put forth in thy heart and life? Hast thou given thyself to the Lord? and is all that thou hast to be ventured for his name in this world? Dost

[1] See the character of Talkative, in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 122. 'His house is as empty of religion as the white of an egg is of savour. There is in his house neither prayer, nor sign of repentance for sin. He is the very stain, reproach, and shame of religion. Thus say the common people that know him, A saint abroad and a devil at home.'—(ED.)

thou walk like one that is bought with a price, even with the price of precious blood?

Fourth. The fruit that God expecteth is such as is meet for himself; fruit that may glorify God. God's trees are trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he may be glorified; fruit that tasteth of heaven, abundance of such fruit. For 'herein,' saith Christ, 'is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit.' Jn. xv. 8. Fruits of all kinds, new and old; the fruits of the Spirit are in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth. Fruits before the world, fruits before the saints, fruits before God, fruits before angels.

O my brethren, 'what manner of persons ought we to be,' who have subscribed to the Lord, and have called ourselves by the name of Israel? 'One shall say I *am* the Lord's; and another shall call *himself* by the name of Jacob; and another shall subscribe *with* his hand unto the Lord, and surname *himself* by the name of Israel.' Is. xliv. 5. Barren fig-tree, hast thou subscribed, hast thou called thyself by the name of Jacob, and surnamed thyself by the name of Israel? All this thou pretendest to, who art got into the vineyard, who art placed among the trees of the garden of God. God doth therefore look for such fruit as is worthy of his name, as is meet for him; as the apostle saith, 'we should walk worthy of God;' that is, so as we may show in every place that the presence of God is with us, his fear in us, and his majesty and authority upon our actions. Fruits meet for him, such a dependence upon him, such trust in his word, such satisfaction in his presence, such a trusting of him with all my concerns, and such delight in the enjoyment of him, that may demonstrate that his fear is in my heart, that my soul is wrapped up in his things, and that my body, and soul, and estate, and all, are in truth, through his grace, at his dispose, fruit meet for him. Hearty thanks, and blessing God for Jesus Christ, for his good word, for his free grace, for the discovery of himself in Christ to the soul, secret longing after another world, fruit meet for him. Liberality to the poor saints, to the poor world; a life in word and deed exemplary; a patient and quiet enduring of all things, till I have done and suffered the whole will of God, which he hath appointed for me. 'That on the good ground are they which, in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep *it*, and bring forth fruit with patience.' Lu. viii. 15. This is bringing forth fruit unto God; having our 'fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.' Ro. vii. 4; vi. 22; xiv. 8.

Fifth. The Lord expects fruit becoming the vineyard of God. 'The vineyard,' saith he, 'in a very fruitful hill:' witness the fruit brought forth in all ages. Is. v. 1. The most barren trees that ever grew in the wood of this world, when planted in this vineyard by the God of heaven, what fruit to Godward have they brought forth! 'Abel offered the more excellent sacrifice.' He. xi. 4. Enoch walked with God three hundred years. He. xi. 5. Noah, by his life of faith, 'condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith.' He. xi. 7. Abraham left his country, and went out after God, not knowing whither he went. He. xi. 8. Moses left a kingdom, and run the hazard of the wrath of the king, for the love he had to God and Christ. What shall I say of them who had trials, 'not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection? They were stoned; they were sawn asunder; were tempted; were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented.' He. xi. 35–37. Peter left his father, ship, and nets. Mat. iv. 18–20. Paul turned off from the feet of Gamaliel. Men brought their goods and possessions (the price of them) and cast it down at the apostle's feet. Ac. xix. 18–20. And others brought their books together, and burned them; curious books, though they were worth fifty thousand pieces of silver. I could add how many willingly offered themselves in all ages, and their all, for the worthy name of the Lord Jesus, to be racked, starved, hanged, burned, drowned, pulled in pieces, and a thousand calamities.[1] Barren fig-tree, the vineyard of God hath been a fruitful place. What dost thou there? What dost thou bear? God expects fruit according to, or becoming the soil of the vineyard.

Sixth. The fruit which God expecteth is such as becometh God's husbandry and labour. The vineyard is God's husbandry, or tillage. 'I am the true vine,' saith Christ, 'and my Father is the husbandman.' Jn. xv. 1. And again, 'Ye are God's husbandry, *ye are* God's building.' 1 Co. iii. 9. The vineyard; God fences it, God gathereth out the stones, God builds the tower, and the wine-press in the midst thereof. Here is labour, here is protection, here is removing of hindrances, here is convenient purgation, and all that there might be fruit.

Barren fig-tree, what fruit hast thou? Hast thou fruit becoming the care of God, the protection of God, the wisdom of God, the patience and husbandry of God? It is the fruit of the vineyard that is either the shame or the praise of the husbandman. 'I went by the field of the slothful,' saith Solomon, 'and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding; and lo, it was all grown

[1] How great is the mercy that those horrid barbarities, perpetrated upon peaceful Christians, are now only heard of in those distant parts of Satan's empire, China and Madagascar! Has the enmity of the human heart by nature changed? No; but the number of Christians has so vastly increased with a civilizing influence, as to change the face of society. What a paradise will this earth become when Christ shall reign in every heart!—(Ed.)

over with thorns, *and* nettles had covered the face thereof.' Pr. xxxiv. 30—32.

Barren fig-tree, if men should make a judgment of the care, and pains, and labour of God in his church, by the fruit that thou bringest forth, what might they say? Is he not slothful, is not he careless, is he not without discretion? O! thy thorns, thy nettles, thy barren heart and barren life, is a continual provocation to the eyes of his glory, as likewise a dishonour to the glory of his grace.

Barren fig-tree, hast thou heard all these things? I will add yet one more.

'*And he came and sought fruit thereon.*'

The question is not now, What thou thinkest of thyself, nor what all the people of God think of thee, but what thou shalt be found in that day when God shall search thy boughs for fruit? When Sodom was to be searched for righteous men, God would not, in that matter, trust his faithful servant Abraham; but still, as Abraham interceded, God answered, 'If I find fifty, - or forty and five there, I will not destroy the city.' Ge. xviii. 20—28. Barren fig-tree, what sayest thou? God will come down to see, God will make search for fruit himself.

'And he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none. Then said he unto the dresser of the vineyard, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?'

These words are the effects of God's search into the boughs of a barren fig-tree; he sought fruit, and found none—none to his liking, none pleasant and good. Therefore, first, he complains of the want thereof to the dresser; calls him to come, and see, and take notice of the tree; then signifieth his pleasure: he will have it removed, taken away, cut down from cumbering the ground.

Observe, The barren fig-tree is the object of God's displeasure; God cannot bear with a fruitless professor.

THEN *said he*, &c.

THEN, after this provocation; then, after he had sought and found no fruit, then. This word, THEN, doth show us a kind of an inward disquietness; as he saith also in another place, upon a like provocation. 'THEN the anger of the Lord, and his jealousy, shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him, and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven.' De. xxix. 18—20.

THEN; it intimateth that he was now come to a point, to a resolution what to do with this fig-tree. 'Then said he to the dresser of this vineyard,' that is, to Jesus Christ, 'behold,' as much as to say, come hither, here is a fig-tree in my vineyard, here is a professor in my church, that is barren, that beareth no fruit.

Observe, However the barren professor thinks of himself on earth, the Lord cries out in heaven against him. 'And now go to, I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; *and* I will break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down.' Is. v. 5.

'*Behold*, THESE THREE YEARS *I come seeking fruit.*'

Observe, 'THESE THREE YEARS.' God cries out that this patience is abused, that his forbearance is abused. Behold, these three years I have waited, forborne; these three years I have deferred mine anger. 'Therefore will I stretch out my hand against thee, and destroy thee; I am weary with repenting.' Je. xv. 6. 'These three years.' Observe, God layeth up all the time; I say, a remembrance of all the time that a barren fig-tree, or a fruitless professor, misspendeth in this world. As he saith also of Israel of old, 'forty years long was I grieved with *this* generation.' Ps. xcv. 10.

'These three years,' &c. These three seasons: Observe, God remembers how many seasons thou hast misspent: for these three years signify so many seasons. And when the time of fruit drew nigh, that is, about the season they begin to be ripe, or that according to the season might so have been. Barren fig-tree, thou hast had time, seasons, sermons, ministers, afflictions, judgments, mercies, and what not; and yet hast not been fruitful. Thou hast had awakenings, reproofs, threatenings, comforts, and yet hast not been fruitful. Thou hast had patterns, examples, citations, provocations, and yet hast not been fruitful. Well, God hath laid up thy three years with himself. He remembers every time, every season, every sermon, every minister, affliction, judgment, mercy, awakening, pattern, example, citation, provocation; he remembers all. As he said of Israel of old, 'They have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice.' Nu. xiv. 22. And again, 'I remember all their wickedness.' Ho. vii. 2.

'These three years,' &c. He seeks for the fruit of every season. He will not that any of his sermons, ministers, afflictions, judgments, or mercies, should be lost, or stand for insignificant things; he will have according to the benefit bestowed. 2 Ch. xxxii. 24, 25. He hath not done without a cause all that he hath done, and therefore he looketh for fruit. Eze. xiv. 23. Look to it, barren fig-tree.[1]

[1] In the midst of these faithful admonitions, we venture to remark that, according to Lightfoot, so valuable was the fig-tree that it was never destroyed until means were carefully used to restore its fruitfulness, and that the use of these means occupied a period of three years. This illustrates the wisdom of our Lord in selecting the fig-tree as the principal object

I came 'SEEKING' *fruit.*

Observe, This word 'SEEKING' signifies a narrow search; for when a man seeks for fruit on a tree, he goes round it and round it; now looking into this bough, and then into that; he peeks into the inmost boughs, and the lowermost boughs, if perhaps fruit may be thereon. Barren fig-tree, God will look into all thy boughs, he will be with thee in thy bed-fruits, thy midnight-fruits, thy closet-fruits, thy family-fruits, thy conversation-fruits, to see if there be any among all these that are fit for, or worthy of the name of the God of heaven. He sees 'what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark.' Eze. viii. 12. 'All things *are* naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do.' He. iv. 12, 13.

Seeking fruit on 'THIS' *fig-tree.*

I told you before, that he keeps in remembrance the times and seasons that the barren professor had wickedly misspent. Now, forasmuch as he also pointeth out the fig-tree, THIS fig-tree, it showeth that the barren professor, above all professors, is a continual odium in the eyes of God. This fig-tree, 'this man Coniah.' Je. xxii. 28. This people draw nigh me with their mouth, but have removed their hearts far from me. God knows who they are among all the thousands of Israel that are the barren and fruitless professors; his lot will fall upon the head of Achan, though he be hid among six hundred thousand men. 'And he brought his household, man by man, and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zera, of the tribe of Judah, was taken.' Jos. vii. 17, 18. This is the Achan, this is the fig-tree, this is the barren professor!

There is a man hath a hundred trees in his vineyard, and at the time of the season, he walketh into his vineyard to see how the trees flourish; and as he goes, and views, and prys, and observes how they are hanged with fruit, behold, he cometh to one where he findeth naught but leaves. Now he makes a stand; looks upon it again and again; he looks also here and there, above and below; and if after all this seeking, he finds nothing but leaves thereon, then he begins to cast in his mind, how he may know this tree next year; what stands next it, or how far it is off the hedge? But if there be nothing there that may be as a mark to know it by, then he takes his hook, and giveth it a private mark—'And the Lord set a mark upon Cain,' Ge. iv. saying, Go thy ways, fruitless fig-tree, thou hast spent this season in vain. Yet doth he not cut it down, I will try it another year: may be this was not a hitting[1] season. Therefore he comes again next year, to see if now it have fruit; but as he found it before, so he finds it now, barren, barren, every year barren; he looks again, but finds no fruit. Now he begins to have second thoughts, How! neither hit last year nor this? Surely the barrenness is not in the season; sure the fault is in the tree; however, I will spare it this year also, but will give it a second mark; and it may be he toucheth it with a hot iron, because he begins to be angry.

Well, at the third season he comes again for fruit, but the third year is like the first and second; no fruit yet; it only cumbereth the ground. What now must be done with this fig-tree? Why, the Lord will lop its boughs with terror; yea, the thickets of those professors with iron. I have waited, saith God, these three years; I have missed of fruit these three years; it hath been a cumber-ground these three years; cut it down. Precept hath been upon precept, and line upon line, one year after another, for these three years, but no fruit can be seen; I find none, fetch out the axe! I am sure THIS is the fig-tree, I know it from the first year; barrenness was its sign then, barrenness is its sign now; make it fit for the fire! Behold, 'now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore, every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire.' Mat. iii. 10.

Observe, my brethren, God's heart cannot stand towards a barren fig-tree. You know thus it is with yourselves. If you have a tree in your orchard or vineyard that doth only cumber the ground, you cannot look upon that tree with pleasure, with complacency and delight. No; if you do but go by it, if you do but cast your eye upon it: yea, if you do but think of that tree, you threaten it in your heart, saying, I will hew thee down shortly; I will to the fire with thee shortly: and it is in vain for any to think of persuading of you to show favour to the barren fig-tree; and if they should persuade, your answer is irresistible, It yields me no profit, it takes up room and doth no good; a better may grow in its room.

Cut it down.

Thus, when the godly among the Jews made prayers that rebellious Israel might not be cast out of the vineyard, what saith the answer of God? Je. xiv. 17. 'Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, *yet* my mind *could* not *be* toward this people:' wherefore 'cast *them* out of my sight, and let them go forth.' Je. xv. 1.

What a resolution is here! Moses and Samuel

presented to view in his parable. It is a most valuable tree—capable of bearing much fruit; still, after every trial, if it remains barren, it must be cut down as a cumber-ground, and sent to the fire.—(ED.)

[1] A 'hit,' in some parts of the country, is used to express a good crop. A 'hitting season' means a fruitful season.—(ED.)

could do almost anything with God in prayer. How many times did Moses by prayer turn away God's judgments from even Pharaoh himself! yea, how many times did he by prayer preserve Israel, when in the wilderness, from the anger and wrath of God! Ps. cvi. 23. Samuel is reckoned excellent this way, yea, so excellent, that when Israel had done that fearful thing as to reject the Lord, and choose them another king, he prayed, and the Lord spared, and forgave them. 1 Sa. xii. But yet neither Moses nor Samuel can save a barren fig-tree. No; though Moses and Samuel stood before me, that is, pleading, arguing, interceding, supplicating, and beseeching, yet could they not incline mine heart to this people.

Cut it down.

'Ay, but Lord, it is a fig-tree, a fig-tree!' If it was a thorn, or a bramble, or a thistle, the matter would not be much; but it is a fig-tree, or a vine. Well, but mark the answer of God, 'Son of man, What is the vine-tree more than any tree, *or than* a branch which is among the trees of the forest? Shall wood be taken thereof to do any work? or will *men* take a pin of it to hang any vessel thereon?' Eze. xv. 2, 3. If trees that are set, or planted for fruit, bring not forth that fruit, there is betwixt them and the trees of the forest no betterment at all, unless the betterment lieth in the trees of the wood, for they are fit to build withal; but a fig-tree, or a vine, if they bring not forth fruit, yea, good fruit, they are fit for nothing at all, but to be cut down and prepared for the fire; and so the prophet goes on, 'Behold, it is cast into the fire for fuel.' If it serve not for fruit it will serve for fuel, and so 'the fire devoureth both the ends of it, and the midst of it is burnt.'

Ay, but these fig-trees and vines are church-members, inhabiters of Jerusalem. So was the fig-tree mentioned in the text. But what answer hath God prepared for these objections? Why, 'Thus saith the Lord God, As the vine-tree among the trees of the forest, which I have given to the fire for fuel; so will I give the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and I will set my face against them, they shall go out from *one* fire, and *another* fire shall devour them.' Eze. xv. 6, 7.

Cut it down.

The woman that delighteth in her garden, if she have a slip there, suppose, if it was fruitful, she would not take five pounds for it; yet if it bear no fruit, if it wither, and dwindle, and die, and turn cumber-ground only, it may not stand in her garden. Gardens and vineyards are places for fruit, for fruit according to the nature of the plant or flowers. Suppose such a slip as I told you of before should be in your garden, and there die, would you let it abide in your garden? No; away with it, away with it! The woman comes into her garden towards the spring, where first she gives it a slight cast with her eye, then she sets to gathering out the weeds, and nettles, and stones; takes a besom and sweeps the walks; this done, she falls to prying into her herbs and slips, to see if they live, to see if they are likely to grow. Now, if she comes to one that is dead, that she is confident will not grow, up she pulls that, and makes to the heap of rubbish with it, where she despisingly casts it down, and valueth it no more than a nettle, or a weed, or than the dust she hath swept out of her walks. Yea, if any that see her should say, Why do you so? the answer is ready, It is dead, it is dead at root; if I had let it stand it would but have cumbered the ground. The strange slips, and also the dead ones, they must be 'a heap in the day of grief, and of desperate sorrow.' Is. xvii. 10, 11.

Cut it down.

There are two manner of cuttings down; *First.* When a man is cast out of the vineyard. *Second.* When a man is cast out of the world.

First. When a man is *cast out of the vineyard.* And that is done two ways; 1. By an immediate hand of God. 2. By the church's due execution of the laws and censures which Christ for that purpose has left with his church.

1. God cuts down the barren fig-tree *by an immediate hand,* smiting his roots, blasting his branches, and so takes him away from among his people. 'Every branch,' saith Christ, 'that beareth not fruit in me, he,' my Father, 'taketh away.' Jn. xv. 2. He taketh him out of the church, he taketh him away from the godly. There are two things by which God taketh the barren professor from among the children of God: (1.) Strong delusions. (2.) Open profaneness.

(1.) By strong delusion; such as beguile the soul with damnable doctrines, that swerve from faith and godliness, 'They have chosen their own ways,' saith God, 'and their soul delighteth in their abominations. I also will choose their delusions, and will bring their fears upon them.' Is. lxvi. 3, 4. I will smite them with blindness, and hardness of heart, and failing of eyes; and will also suffer the tempter to tempt and affect his hellish designs upon them. 'God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.' 2 Th. ii. 10–12.

(2.) Sometimes God takes away a barren professor by open profaneness. There is one hath taken up a profession of that worthy name, the Lord Jesus Christ; but this profession is but a cloak; he secretly practiseth wickedness. He is

a glutton, a drunkard, or covetous, or unclean. Well, saith God, I will loose the reins of this professor; I will give him up to his vile affections; I will loose the reins of his lusts before him; he shall be entangled with his beastly lusts; he shall be overcome of ungodly company. Thus they that turn aside to their own crooked ways 'the Lord shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity.' Ps. cxxv. 5. This is God's hand immediately; God is now dealing with this man himself. Barren fig-tree, hearken! Thou art crowded into a profession, art got among the godly, and there art a scandal to the holy and glorious gospel; but withal so cunning that, like the sons of Zeruiah, thou art too hard for the church; she knows not how to deal with thee. Well, saith God, I will deal with that man myself, 'I will answer that man by myself.' He that sets up his idols in his heart, and puts the stumbling-block of his iniquity before his face, and yet comes and appears before me, 'I will set my face against that man, and will make him a sign and a proverb: and I will cut him off from the midst of my people; and ye shall know that I *am* the Lord.' Eze. xiv. 7, 8. But,

2. God doth sometimes cut down the barren fig-tree *by the church*, by the church's due execution of the laws and censures which Christ for that purpose hath left with his church. This is the meaning of that in Mat. xviii; 1 Cor. v: and that in 1 Tim. i. 20. upon which now I shall not enlarge, But which way soever God dealeth with thee, O thou barren fig-tree, whither by himself immediately, or by his church, it amounts to one and the same; for if timely repentance prevent not, the end of that soul is damnation. They are blasted, and withered, and gathered by men, God's enemies; and at last being cast into the fire burning must be their end. 'That which beareth thorns and briars *is* nigh unto cursing, whose end *is* to be burned.' He. vi. 8.

Second. And, again, sometimes by 'Cut it down' God means, *cast it out of the world.* Thus he cut down Nadab and Abihu, when he burned them up with fire from heaven. Thus he cut down Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, when he made the earth to swallow them up. Nu. iii. 4; xvi. 31–33. Thus he cut down Saul, when he gave him up to fall upon the edge of his own sword, and died. 1 Sa. xxxi. 4. Thus he cut down Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, when he struck them down dead in the midst of the congregation. Ac. v. 5, 10. I might here also discourse of Absalom, Ahithophel, and Judas, who were all three hanged: the first by God's revenging hand, the others were given up of God to be their own executioners. These were barren and unprofitable fig-trees, such as God took no pleasure in, therefore he commanded to cut them down. The Psalmist saith, 'He shall take them away as with a whirlwind, both living, and in *his* wrath.' Ps. lviii. 9. Barren fig-tree, hearken! God calls for the axe, his sword; bring it hither; here is a barren professor. Cut him down, why cumbereth he the ground?

Why cumbereth it the ground?

By these words the Lord suggesteth reasons of his displeasure against the barren fig-tree; it cumbereth the ground. The Holy Ghost doth not only take an argument from its barrenness, but because it is a cumber-ground, therefore cut it down; wherefore it must needs be a provocation. 1. Because, as much as in him lieth, he disappointeth the design of God in planting his vineyard; I looked that it should bring forth fruit. 2. It hath also abused his patience, his long-suffering, his three years' patience. 3. It hath also abused his labour, his pains, his care, and providence of protection and preservation: for he hedges his vineyard, and walls it about. Cumber-ground, all these things thou abusest! He waters his vineyard, and looks to it night and day; but all these things thou hast abused.

Further, there are other reasons of God's displeasure; as,

First. A cumber-ground is a very mock and reproach of religion, a mock and reproach to the ways of God, to the people of God, to the Word of God, and to the name of religion. It is expected of all hands, that all the trees in the garden of God should be fruitful: God expects fruit, the church expects fruit, the world, even the world, concludes that professors should be fruitful in good works; I say, the world expecteth that professors should be better than themselves. But, barren fig-tree, thou disappointest all. Nay, hast thou not learned the wicked ones thy ways? Hast thou not learned them to be more wicked by thy example?—but that is by the by. Barren fig-tree, thou hast disappointed others, and must be disappointed thyself! 'Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?'

Second. The barren fig-tree takes up the room where a better tree might stand; I say, it takes up the room, it keeps, so long as it stands where it doth; a fruitful tree out of that place, and therefore it must be cut down. Barren fig-tree, dost thou hear? Because the Jews stood fruitless in the vineyard, therefore, saith God, 'The kingdom of God shall be taken from you,' and given to a nation that shall render him their fruits in their season. Mat. xxi. 33–41. The Jews for their barrenness were cut down, and more fruitful people put in their room. As Samuel also said to barren Saul, 'The Lord hath rent the kingdom from thee, and hath given it to a neighbour of thine *that is* better than thou.' 1 Sa. xv. 28. The unprofitable servant must be cast out, must be cut down. Mat. xxv. 27.

Cumber-ground, how many hopeful, inclinable, forward people, hast thou by thy fruitless and unprofitable life, kept out of the vineyard of God? For thy sake have the people stumbled at religion; by thy life have they been kept from the love of their own salvation. Thou hast been also a means of hardening others, and of quenching and killing weak beginnings. Well, barren fig-tree, look to thyself, thou wilt not go to heaven thyself, and them that would, thou hinderest; thou must not always cumber the ground, nor always hinder the salvation of others. Thou shalt be cut down, and another shall be planted in thy room.

Third. The cumber ground is a sucker; he draws away the heart and nourishment from the other trees. Were the cumber ground cut down, the others would be more fruitful; he draws away that fatness of the ground to himself, that would make the others more hearty and fruitful. 'One sinner destroyeth much good.' Ec. ix. 18.

The cumber ground is a very drone in the hive, that eats up the honey that should feed the labouring bee; he is a thief in the candle, that wasteth the tallow, but giveth no light; he is the unsavoury salt, that is fit for nought but the dunghill. Look to it, barren fig-tree!

And he answering, said unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it; and if it bear fruit, well; *and if not,* then *after that, thou shalt cut it down.* ver. 8, 9.

These are the words of the dresser of the vineyard, who, I told you, is Jesus Christ, for he made intercession for the transgressors. And they contain a petition presented to an offended justice, praying, that a little more time and patience might be exercised towards the barren cumber-ground fig-tree.

In this petition there are six things considerable: 1. That justice might be deferred. O that justice might be deferred! 'Lord, let it alone,' &c., a while longer. 2. Here is time prefixed, as a space to try if more means will cure a barren fig-tree. 'Lord, let it alone this year also.' 3. The means to help it are propounded, 'until I shall dig about it, and dung it.'[1] 4. Here is also an insinuation of a supposition, that, by thus doing, God's expectation may be answered; 'and if it bear fruit, *well.*' 5. Here is a supposition that the barren fig-tree may yet abide barren, when Christ hath done what he will unto it; 'and *if* it bear fruit,' &c. 6. Here is at last a resolution, that if thou continue barren, hewing days will come upon thee: 'and if it bear fruit, *well;* and if not, *then* after that thou shalt cut it down.' But to proceed according to my former method, by way of exposition.

Lord, let it alone this year also.

Here is astonishing grace indeed! astonishing grace, I say, that the Lord Jesus should concern himself with a barren fig-tree; that he should step in to stop the blow from a barren fig-tree![1] True, he stopped the blow but for a time; but why did he stop it at all? Why did not he fetch out the axe? Why did he not do execution? Why did not he cut it down? Barren fig-tree, it is well for thee that there is a Jesus at God's right hand, a Jesus of that largeness of bowels, as to have compassion for a barren fig-tree, else justice had never let thee alone to cumber the ground as thou hast done! When Israel also had sinned against God, down they had gone, but that Moses stood in the breach. 'Let me alone,' said God to him, 'that I may consume them' in a moment, 'and I will make of thee a great nation.' Ex. xxxii. 10. Barren fig-tree, dost thou hear? Thou knowest not how oft the hand of Divine justice hath been up to strike, and how many years since thou hadst been cut down, had not Jesus caught hold of his Father's axe. Let me alone, let me fetch my blow, or 'Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?' Wilt thou not hear yet, barren fig-tree? Wilt thou provoke still? Thou hast wearied men, and provoked the justice of God! And 'will ye weary my God also?' Is. vii. 13.

Lord, let it alone this year.

Lord, a little longer! let us not lose a soul for want of means. I will try, I will see if I can make it fruitful, I will not beg a long life, nor that it might still be barren, and so provoke thee. I beg, for the sake of the soul, the immortal soul; Lord, spare it one year only, one year longer, this year also. If I do any good to it, it will be in little time. Thou shalt not be over wearied with waiting; one year and then.

Barren fig-tree, dost thou hear what a striving there is between the vine-dresser and the husbandman, for thy life? 'Cut it down,' says one; 'Lord, spare it,' saith the other. It is a cumber-ground, saith the Father; one year longer, prays the Son. 'Let it alone this year also.'

Till I shall dig about it, and dung it.

The Lord Jesus by these words supposeth two things, as causes of the want of fruit in a barren fig-tree; and two things he supposeth as a remedy.

The things that are a cause of want of fruit are, *First.* It is earth-bound. Lord, the fig-tree is

[1] This mode of infusing new vigour into plants and trees is thus described in the *Gemara*—'They lay dung in their gardens, to soften the earth. They dig about the roots of their trees, and sprinkle ashes, and pluck up suckers, and make a smoke beneath to kill vermin.'—(Ed.)

earth-bound. *Second.* A want of warmer means, of fatter means. Wherefore, accordingly, he propoundeth to loosen the earth; to dig about it. And then to supply it with dung.

'To dig about it, and dung it. Lord, let it alone this year also, until I shall dig about it.' I doubt it is too much ground-bound. The love of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches lie too close to the roots of the heart of this professor. Lu. xiv. The love of riches, the love of honours, the love of pleasures, are the thorns that choke the word. 'For all that *is* in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father,' but enmity to God; how then, where these things bind up the heart, can there be fruit brought forth to God? 1 Jn. ii. 15, 16. Barren fig-tree, see how the Lord Jesus, by these very words, suggesteth the cause of thy fruitlessness of soul! The things of this world lie too close to thy heart; the earth with its things have bound up thy roots; thou art an earth-bound soul, thou art wrapped up in thick clay. 'If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him;' how then can he be fruitful in the vineyard? This kept Judas from the fruit of caring for the poor. Jn. xii. 6. This kept Demas from the fruit of self-denial. 2 Ti. iv. 10. And this kept Ananias and Sapphira his wife from the goodly fruit of sincerity and truth. Ac. v. 5, 10. What shall I say? These are 'foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition; for the love of money is the root of all evil.' How then can good fruit grow from such a root, the root of all evil? 'Which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.' 1 Ti. vi. 9, 10. It is an evil root, nay, it is the root of all evil. How then can the professor that hath such a root, or a root wrapped up in such earthly things, as the lusts, and pleasures, and vanities of this world, bring forth fruit to God?

Till I shall 'DIG' *about it.*

Lord, I will loose his roots, I will dig up this earth, I will lay his roots bare; my hand shall be upon him by sickness, by disappointments, by cross providences; I will dig about him until he stands shaking and tottering; until he be ready to fall; then, if ever, he will seek to take faster hold. Thus, I say, deals the Lord Jesus ofttimes with the barren professor; he diggeth about him, he smiteth one blow at his heart, another blow at his lusts, a third at his pleasures, a fourth at his comforts, another at his self-conceitedness. Thus he diggeth about him; this is the way to take bad earth from his roots, and to loosen his roots from the earth. Barren fig-tree, see here the care, the love, the labour, and way, which the Lord Jesus, the dresser of the vineyard, is fain to take with thee, if haply thou mayest be made fruitful.[1]

Till I shall dig about it, and 'DUNG' *it.*

As the earth, by binding the roots too closely, may hinder the tree's being fruitful, so the want of better means may be also a cause thereof. And this is more than intimated by the dresser of the vineyard; 'Till I shall dig about it and dung it.' I will supply it with a more fruitful ministry, with a warmer word; I will give them pastors after mine own heart; I will dung them. You know dung is a more warm, more fat, more hearty, and succouring matter than is commonly the place in which trees are planted.

'I will dig about it, and dung it.' I will bring it under a heart-awakening ministry; the means of grace shall be fat and good: I will also visit it with heart-awakening, heart-warming, heart-encouraging considerations; I will apply warm dung to his roots; I will strive with him by my Spirit, and give him some tastes of the heavenly gift, and the power of the world to come. I am loth to lose him for want of digging. 'Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it and dung it.'

And if it bear fruit, WELL.

And if the fruit of all my labour doth make this fig-tree fruitful, I shall count my time, my labour, and means, well bestowed upon it; and thou also, O my God, shalt be therewith much delighted; for thou art gracious, and mereiful, and repentest thee of the evil which thou threatenest to bring upon a people. These words, therefore, inform us, that if a barren fig-tree, a barren professor, shall now at last bring forth fruit to God, it shall go well with that professor, it shall go well with that poor soul. His former barrenness, his former tempting of God, his abuse of God's patience and long-suffering, his mis-spending year after year, shall now be all forgiven him. Yea, God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, will now pass by and forget all, and say, 'Well done,' at the last. When I say to the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die; if he then do that which is lawful and right, if he walk in the statutes of life, without committing iniquity, he shall surely live, he shall not die. Eze. xxxiii.

Barren fig-tree, dost thou hear? the axe is laid to thy roots, the Lord Jesus prays God to spare thee. Hath he been digging about thee? Hath he been dunging of thee? O barren fig-tree, now thou art come to the point; if thou shalt now become good, if thou shalt, after a gracious manner,

[1] Among the superstitions of the ancients, Michaelis states that both the Greeks and Asiatics had a superstition that a tree might be rendered fruitful by striking it, at the intercession of a friend, three times with the *back* of an axe.—(ED.)

suck in the gospel-dung, and if thou shalt bring forth fruit unto God, well; but if not, the fire is the last! fruit, or the fire; fruit, or the fire, barren fig-tree! 'If it bear fruit, *well*.'[1]

And if not, THEN *after that thou shalt cut it down.*

The Lord Jesus, by this *if*, giveth us to understand that there is a generation of professors in the world that are incurable, that will not, that cannot repent, nor be profited by the means of grace. A generation, I say, that will retain a profession, but will not bring forth fruit; a generation that will wear out the patience of God, time and tide, threatenings and intercessions, judgments and mercies, and after all will be unfruitful.

O the desperate wickedness that is in thy heart! Barren professor, dost thou hear? the Lord Jesus stands yet in doubt about thee; there is an IF stands yet in the way. I say, the Lord Jesus stands yet in doubt about thee, whether or no, at last, thou wilt be good; whether he may not labour in vain; whether his digging and dunging will come to more than lost labour; 'I gave her space to repent, - and she repented not.' Re. ii. 21. I digged about it, I dunged it; I gained time, and supplied it with means; but I laboured herein in vain, and spent my strength for nought, and in vain! Dost thou hear, barren fig-tree? there is yet a question, Whether it may be well with thy soul at last?

And if not, THEN *after that thou shalt cut it down.*

There is nothing more exasperating to the mind of a man than to find all his kindness and favour slighted; neither is the Lord Jesus so provoked with anything, as when sinners abuse his means of grace; if it be barren and fruitless under my gospel; if it turn my grace into wantonness, if after digging and dunging, and waiting, it yet remain unfruitful, I will let thee cut it down.

Gospel means, applied, is the last remedy for a barren professor; if the gospel, if the grace of the gospel, will not do, there can be nothing expected but cut it down. '*Then* after that thou shalt cut it down.' 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, *thou* that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under *her* wings, and ye would not!' Therefore 'your house is left unto you desolate.' Mat. xxiii. 37, 38. Yet it cannot be, but that this Lord Jesus, who at first did put a stop to the execution of his Father's justice, because he desired to try more means with the fig-tree; I say, it cannot be, but that a heart so full of compassion as his is should be touched, to behold this professor must now be cut down. 'And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.' Lu. xix. 41, 42.

After that thou shalt cut it down.

When Christ giveth thee over, there is no intercessor, no mediator, no more sacrifice for sin, all is gone but judgment, but the axe, but a 'certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.' He. x. 26, 27.

Barren fig-tree, take heed that thou comest not to these last words, for these words are a give up, a cast up, a cast up of a cast away; 'After that thou shalt cut it down.' They are as much as if Christ had said, Father, I begged for more time for this barren professor; I begged until I should dig about it, and dung it. But now, Father, the time is out, the year is ended, the summer is ended, and no good done! I have also tried with my means, with the gospel, I have digged about it; I have laid also the fat and hearty dung of the gospel to it, but all comes to nothing. Father, I deliver up this professor to thee again; I have done; I have done all; I have done praying and endeavouring; I will hold the head of thine axe no longer. Take him into the hands of justice; do justice; do the law; I will never beg for him more. 'After that thou shalt cut it down.' 'Woe also to them when I depart from them!' Ho. ix. 12. Now is this professor left naked indeed; naked to God, naked to Satan, naked to sin, naked to the law, naked to death, naked to hell, naked to judgment, and naked to the gripes of a guilty conscience, and to the torment of that worm that never dies, and to that fire that never shall be quenched. 'See that ye refuse not him that speaketh. For if they escaped not, who refused him that spake on earth, much more *shall not* we *escape*, if we turn away from him that *speaketh* from heaven.' He. xii. 25.

From this brief pass through this parable, you have these two general observations:—*First.* That even then when the justice of God cries out, I cannot endure to wait on this barren professor any longer, then Jesus Christ intercedes for a little more patience, and a little more striving with this professor, if possible he may make him a fruitful professor. 'Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it; and if it bear fruit, well,' &c. *Second.* There are some professors whose day of grace will end with, Cut it down,

[1] However painfully unpleasant these terms may appear to eyes or ears polite, it is a homely but just representation, and calculated to make a lasting impression on every reader. Afflictions, trials, crosses, are used as a means of creating or reviving spiritual life, as manure is applied to vegetation.—(ED.)

with judgment; when Christ, by his means, hath been used for their salvation.

First. The first of these observations I shall pass, and not meddle at all therewith; but shall briefly speak to the

Second, to wit, that there are some professors whose day of grace will end with, Cut it down, with judgment, when Christ, by his means, hath been used for their salvation.

This the apostle showeth in that third chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews, where he tells us that the people of the Jews, after a forty years' patience and endeavour to do them good by the means appointed for that purpose, their end was to be cut down, or excluded the land of promise, for their final incredulity. 'So we see that they could not enter in, because of unbelief.' 'Wherefore,' saith he, 'I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do alway err in *their* heart, and they have not known my ways; so I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.' As who should say, I would they should have entered in, and for that purpose I brought them out of Egypt, led them through the sea, and taught them in the wilderness, but they did not answer my work nor designs in that matter; wherefore they shall not, I swear they shall not. 'I sware in my wrath, they shall not enter into my rest.' Here is cutting down with judgment. So again, he saith, 'As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest; although the works were finished from the foundation of the world.' Heb. iv. 4, 5. This word 'if' is the same with 'they shall not,' in the chapter before. And where he saith, 'Although the works were finished from the foundation of the world,' he giveth us to understand that what preparations soever are made for the salvation of sinners, and of how long continuance soever they are, yet the God-tempting, God-provoking and fruitless professor, is like to go without a share therein, 'although the works were finished from the foundation of the world.' 'I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this, how that the Lord having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not. And the angels that kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day.' Jude 5, 6. Here is an instance to purpose, an instance of men and angels: men saved out of the land of Egypt, and in their journey towards Canaan, the type of heaven, cut down; angels created and placed in the heavens in great estate and principality; yet both these, because unfruitful to God in their places, were cut down—the men destroyed by God, for so saith the text, and the 'angels reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day.

Now, in my handling of this point, I shall discourse of the cutting down, or the judgment here denounced, as it respecteth the doing of it by God's hand immediately, and that too with respect to his casting them out of the world, and not as it respecteth an act of the church, &c. And as to this cutting down, or judgment, it must be concluded, that it cannot be before the day of grace be past with the fig-tree; but according to the observation, there are some professors whose day of grace will end with, Cut it down; and according to the words of the text, '*Then*,' after that, 'thou shalt cut it down.' 'After that,' that is, after all my attempts and endeavours to make it fruitful, after I have left it, given it over, done with it, and have resolved to bestow no more days of grace, opportunities of grace, and means of grace upon it, then, 'after that,' thou shalt cut it down.

Besides, the giving up of the fig-tree is before the execution. Execution is not always presently upon the sentence given; for, after that, a convenient time is thought on, and then is cutting down. And so it is here in the text. The decree, that he shall perish, is gathered from its continuing fruitless quite through the last year—from its continuing fruitless at the end of all endeavours. But cutting down is not yet, for that comes with an afterward. '*Then*, after that, thou shalt cut it down.'

So then, that I may orderly proceed with the observation, I must lay down these two propositions:—Proposition First. That the day of grace ends with some men before God takes them out of this world. And, Proposition Second. The death, or cutting down of such men, will be dreadful. For this 'Cut it down,' when it is understood in the largest sense, as here indeed it ought, it showeth not only the wrath of God against a man's life in this world, but his wrath against him, body and soul; and is as much as to say, Cut him off from all the privileges and benefits that come by grace, both in this world and that which is to come. But to proceed:

Proposition First.—The day of grace ends with some men before God taketh them out of the world. I shall give you some instances of this, and so go on to the last proposition.

First. I shall instance Cain. Cain was a professor, a sacrificer, a worshipper of God, yea, the first worshipper that we read of after the fall; but his grapes were wild ones. His works were evil; he did not do what he did from true gospel motives, therefore God disallowed his work. Ge. iv. 3–8. At this his countenance falls, wherefore he envies his brother, disputes him, takes his opportunity, and kills him. Now, in that day that he did this act were the heavens closed up against him, and

that himself did smartingly and fearfully feel when God made inquisition for the blood of Abel. 'And now *art* thou cursed,' said God, 'from the earth; which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand,' &c. 'And Cain said, My punishment is greater than I can bear.' Mine iniquity is greater than that it may be forgiven. 'Behold thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid.' Ge. iv. 9–14. Now thou art cursed, saith God. Thou hast driven me out this day, saith Cain, and from thy face shall I be hid. I shall never more have hope in thee, smile from thee, nor expect mercy at thy hand. Thus, therefore, Cain's day of grace ended; and the heavens, with God's own heart, were shut up against him; yet after this he lived long. Cutting down was not come yet; after this he lived to marry a wife, to beget a cursed brood, to build a city, and what else I know not; all which could not be quickly done; wherefore Cain might live after the day of grace was past with him several hundred of years. Ge. iv. 10–17.

Second. I shall instance Ishmael. Ishmael was a professor, was brought up in Abraham's family, and was circumcised at thirteen years of age. Ge. xvi. 12; xvii. 25, 26. But he was the son of the bond-woman, he brought not forth good fruit; he was a wild professor. For all his religion, he would scoff at those that were better than himself. Well, upon a day his brother Isaac was weaned, at which time his father made a feast, and rejoiced before the Lord, for that he had given him the promised son; at this Ishmael mocked them, their son, and godly rejoicing. Then came the Spirit of God upon Sarah, and she cried, Cast him out, 'cast out this bond-woman and her son; for the son of this bond-woman shall not be heir with my son, with Isaac.' Ge. xxi. 9–11. Now Paul to the Galatians makes this casting out to be, not only a casting out of Abraham's family, but a casting out also from a lot with the saints in heaven. Ga. iv. 29–31. Also Moses giveth us a notable proof thereof, in saying, that when he died he was gathered to his people—his people by his mother's side; for he was reckoned from her, the son of Hagar, the son of the bond-woman. Ge. xxv. 17. Now, she came of the Egyptians, so that he was gathered when he died, notwithstanding his profession, to the place that Pharaoh and his host were gathered to, who were drowned in the Red Sea; these were his people, and he was of them, both by nature and disposition, by persecuting as they did.[1] Ge. xxi. 9. But now, when did the day of grace end with this man? Observe, and I will show you. Ishmael was thirteen years old when he was circumcised, and then was Abraham ninety years old and nine. Ge. xvii. 24–26. The next year Isaac was born; so that Ishmael was now fourteen years of age. Now, when Isaac was weaned, suppose he sucked four years, by that account, the day of grace must be ended with Ishmael by that time he was eighteen years old. Ge. xxv. 12, &c. For that day he mocked; that day it was said, 'Cast him out;' and of that casting out the apostle makes what I have said. Beware, ye young barren professors! Now, Ishmael lived a hundred and nineteen years after this, in great tranquillity and honour with men. After this he also begat twelve princes, even after his day of grace was past.

Third. I shall instance Esau. Ge. xxv. 27, &c. Esau also was a professor; he was born unto Isaac, and circumcised according to the custom. But Esau was a gamesome professor, a huntsman, a man of the field; also he was wedded to his lusts, which he did also venture to keep, rather than the birthright. Well, upon a day, when he came from hunting, and was faint, he sold his birthright to Jacob, his brother. Now the birthright, in those days, had the promise and blessing annexed to it. Yea, they were so entailed in this, that the one could not go without the other; wherefore the apostle's caution is here of weight. Take heed, saith he, 'lest there *be* any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright. For ye know how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.' He. xii. 16, 17. Now, the ending of Esau's day of grace is to be reckoned from his selling of his birthright; for there the apostle points it, lest there be among you any that, like Esau, sells his birthright: for then goes hence the blessing also.

But Esau sold his birthright long before his death. Twenty years after this Jacob was with Laban, and when he returned home, his brother Esau met him. Ge. xxxi. 41; xxxii. 4. Further, after this, when Jacob dwelt again some time with his father, then Jacob and Esau buried him. I suppose he might live above forty, yea, for ought I know, above fourscore years after he had sold his birthright, and so consequently had put himself out of the grace of God.[2] Ge. xxxv. 28, 29.

[1] Mahomet professed descent from Ishmael, and that he came to revive the religion which God had revealed to Abraham, who taught it to Ishmael. Mahometanism is the religion of the outcast of God.—(Ed.)

[2] Bunyan had been haunted with the temptation 'to sell and part with Christ,' and, under a fear that he had fallen under that temptation, the case of Esau made a dreadful impression upon his soul; extreme horror and anguish seized upon his spirit; 'he was like a man bereft of life and bound over to eternal punishment,' for two years. At length, after an awful storm, he found peace in the promise, 'his blood cleanseth from ALL sins,' and a proof that he had not sold Christ.—See *Grace Abounding*, No. 139—160.

Three things I would further note upon these three professors.

1. Cain, an angry professor; Ishmael, a mocking one; Esau, a lustful, gamesome one. Three symptoms of a barren professor; for he that can be angry, and that can mock, and that can indulge his lusts, cannot bring forth fruit to God.

2. The day of grace ended with these professors at that time when they committed some grievous sin. Cain's, when he killed his brother; Ishmael's, when he mocked at Isaac; and Esau's, when, out of love to his lusts, he despised and sold his birthright. Beware, barren professor! thou mayest do that in half a quarter of an hour, from the evil of which thou mayest not be delivered for ever and ever.[1]

3. Yet these three, after their day of grace was over, lived better lives, as to outward things, than ever they did before. Cain, after this, was lord of a city. Ge. iv. 17. Ishmael was, after this, father of twelve princes. Ge. xxv. 16. And Esau, after this, told his brother, 'I have enough, my brother, keep that thou hast unto thyself.' Ge. xxxiii. 8, 9. Ease and peace, and a prosperous life in outwards, is no sign of the favour of God to a barren and fruitless professor, but rather of his wrath; that thereby he may be capable to treasure up more wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God. Let this much serve for the proof of the first proposition, namely, That the day of grace ends with some men before God takes them out of this world.

SIGNS OF BEING PAST GRACE.

Now, then, to show you, by some signs, how you may know that the day of grace is ended, or near to ending, with the barren professor; and after that thou shalt cut it down. He that hath stood it out against God, and that hath withstood all those means for fruit that God hath used for the making of him, if it might have been, a fruitful tree in his garden, he is in this danger; and this indeed is the sum of the parable. The fig-tree here mentioned was blessed with the application of means, had time allowed it to receive the nourishment; but it outstood, withstood, overstood all, all that the husbandman did, all that the vine-dresser did.

But a little distinctly to particularize in four or five particulars.

First sign. The day of grace is like to be past, when a professor hath withstood, abused, and worn out God's patience, then he is in danger; this is a provocation; then God cries, 'Cut it down.' There are some men that steal into a profession, nobody knows how, even as this fig-tree was brought into the vineyard by other hands than God's; and there they abide lifeless, graceless, careless, and without any good conscience to God at all. Perhaps they came in for the loaves, for a trade, for credit, for a blind; or it may be to stifle and choke the checks and grinding pangs of an awakened and disquieted conscience. Now, having obtained their purpose, like the sinners of Sion, they are at ease and secure; saying like Agag, 'Surely the bitterness of death is past,' 1 Sa. xv. 32; I am well, shall be saved, and go to heaven. Thus in these vain conceits they spend a year, two, or three; not remembering that at every season of grace, and at every opportunity of the gospel the Lord comes seeking fruit. Well, sinner, well, barren fig-tree, this is but a coarse beginning: God comes for fruit.

1. What have I here? saith God; what a fig-tree is this, that hath stood this year in my vineyard, and brought me forth no fruit? I will cry unto him, Professor, barren fig-tree, be fruitful! I look for fruit, I expect fruit, I must have fruit; therefore bethink thyself! At these the professor pauses; but these are *words*, not blows, therefore off goes this consideration from the heart. When God comes the next year, he finds him still as he was, a barren, fruitless cumber-ground. And now again he complains, here are two years gone, and no fruit appears; well, I will defer mine anger. 'For my name sake will I defer mine anger, and for my praise will I refrain for thee, that I cut thee not off,' as yet. Is. xlviii. 9. I will wait, I will yet wait to be gracious. But this helps not, this hath not the least influence upon the barren fig-tree. Tush, saith he, here is no threatening: God is merciful, he will defer his anger, he waits to be gracious, I am not yet afraid. Is. xxx. 18. O! how ungodly men, that are at unawares crept into the vineyard, how do they turn the grace of our God into lasciviousness! Well, he comes the third year for fruit, as he did before, but still he finds but a barren fig-tree; no fruit. Now, he cries out again, O thou dresser of my vineyard, come hither; here is a fig-tree hath stood these three years in my vineyard, and hath at every season disappointed my expectation; for I have looked for fruit in vain; 'Cut it down,' my patience is worn out, I shall wait on this fig-tree no longer.

2. And now he begins to shake the fig-tree with his threatenings: Fetch out the axe! Now the axe is death; death therefore is called for. Death, come smite me this fig-tree. And withal the Lord shakes this sinner, and whirls him upon a sick-bed, saying, Take him, death, he hath abused my patience and forbearance, not remembering that it should have led him to repentance, and to the fruits thereof. Death, fetch away this

[1] How solemn a thought! What an appeal to perpetual watchfulness. Why have I not made shipwreck of faith? Most emphatically may we reply, Because God has sustained my soul.—(Ed.)

fig-tree to the fire, fetch this barren professor to hell! At this death comes with grim looks into the chamber; yea, and hell follows with him to the bedside, and both stare this professor in the face, yea, begin to lay hands upon him; one smiting him with pains in his body, with head-ache, heart-ache, back-ache, shortness of breath, fainting, qualms, trembling of joints, stopping at the chest, and almost all the symptoms of a man past all recovery. Now, while death is thus tormenting the body, hell is doing with the mind and conscience, striking them with its pains, casting sparks of fire in thither, wounding with sorrows, and fears of everlasting damnation, the spirit of this poor creature.[1] And now he begins to bethink himself, and to cry to God for mercy; Lord, spare me! Lord, spare me! Nay, saith God, you have been a provocation to me these three years. How many times have you disappointed me? How many seasons have you spent in vain? How many sermons and other mercies did I, of my patience, afford you? but to no purpose at all. Take him, death! O! good Lord, saith the sinner, spare me but this once; raise me but this once. Indeed I have been a barren professor, and have stood to no purpose at all in thy vineyard; but spare! O spare this one time, I beseech thee, and I will be better! Away, away you will not; I have tried you these three years already; you are naught; if I should recover you again, you would be as bad as you were before. And all this talk is while death stands by. The sinner cries again, Good Lord, try me this once; let me get up again this once, and see if I do not mend. But will you promise me to mend? Yes, indeed, Lord, and vow it too; I will never be so bad again; I will be better. Well, saith God, death, let this professor alone for this time; I will try him a while longer; he hath promised, he hath vowed, that he will amend his ways. It may be he will mind to keep his promises. Vows are solemn things; it may be he may fear to break his vows. Arise from off thy bed. And now God lays down his axe. At this the poor creature is very thankful, praises God, and fawns upon him, shows as if he did it heartily, and calls to others to thank him too. He therefore riseth, as one would think, to be a new creature indeed. But by that he hath put on his clothes, is come down from his bed, and ventured into the yard or shop, and there sees how all things are gone to sixes and sevens, he begins to have second thoughts, and says to his folks, What have you all been doing? How are all things out of order? I am I cannot tell what behind hand. One may see, if a man be but a little a to side, that you have neither wisdom nor prudence to order things.[2] And now, instead of seeking to spend the rest of his time to God, he doubleth his diligence after this world. Alas! all must not be lost; we must have provident care. And thus, quite forgetting the sorrows of death, the pains of hell, the promises and vows which he made to God to be better; because judgment was not now speedily executed, therefore the heart of this poor creature is fully set in him to do evil.

3. These things proving ineffectual, God takes hold of his axe again, sends death to a wife, to a child, to his cattle, 'Your young men have I slain, - and taken away your horses.' Am. iv. 9, 10. I will blast him, cross him, disappoint him, and cast him down, and will set myself against him in all that he putteth his hand unto. At this the poor barren professor cries out again, Lord, I have sinned; spare me once more, I beseech thee. O take not away the desire of mine eyes; spare my children, bless me in my labours, and I will mend and be better. No, saith God, you lied to me last time, I will trust you in this no longer; and withal he tumbleth the wife, the child, the estate into a grave. And then returns to his place, till this professor more unfeignedly acknowledgeth his offence. Ho. v. 14, 15.

At this the poor creature is afflicted and distressed, rends his clothes, and begins to call the breaking of his promise and vows to mind; he mourns and prays, and like Ahab, awhile walks softly at the remembrance of the justness of the hand of God upon him. And now he renews his promises: Lord, try me this one time more; take off thy hand and see; they go far that never turn. Well, God spareth him again, sets down his axe again. 'Many times he did deliver them, but they provoked *him* with their counsel, and were brought low for their iniquity.' Ps. cvi. 43. Now they seem to be thankful again, and are as if they were resolved to be godly indeed. Now they read, they pray, they go to meetings, and seem to be serious a pretty while, but at last they forget. Their lusts prick them, suitable temptations present themselves; wherefore they turn to their own crooked ways again. 'When he slew them, then they sought him, and they returned and inquired early after God;' 'nevertheless they did flatter him with

[1] Bunyan's tongue and pen are here fired by his vivid imagination of eternal realities. With such burning words, we need no messenger from the invisible world to alarm the consciences of sinners. What angel could arouse more powerfully, alarmingly, convincingly, the poor sinner, than the whole of this chain of reasoning.—(Ed.)

[2] This picture is drawn by a master hand: the master is laid by for a season; or, as Bunyan quaintly expresses it, 'a little a to side:' when raised from affliction earthly affairs absorb his attention, and he forgets his good resolves. According to the old rhyme:—

'The devil was sick, the devil a saint would be'
The devil got well, the devil a saint was he.'—Ed.

their mouth, and they lied unto him with their tongue.' Ps. lxxviii. 34–36.

4. Yet again, the Lord will not leave this professor, but will take up his axe again, and will put him under a more heart-searching ministry, a ministry that shall search him, and turn him over and over; a ministry that shall meet with him, as Elijah met with Ahab, in all his acts of wickedness, and now the axe is laid to the roots of the trees. Besides, this ministry doth not only search the heart, but presenteth the sinner with the golden rays of the glorious gospel; now is Christ Jesus set forth evidently, now is grace displayed sweetly; now, now are the promises broken like boxes of ointment, to the perfuming of the whole room! But, alas! there is yet no fruit on this fig-tree. While his heart is searching, he wrangles; while the glorious grace of the gospel is unveiling, this professor wags and is wanton, gathers up some scraps thereof; 'Tastes the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come;' 'drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon him.' He. vi. 3–8. Jude 4. But bringeth not forth fruit meet for him whose gospel it is; 'Takes no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart.' 2 Ki. x. 31. But counteth that the glory of the gospel consisteth in talk and show, and that our obedience thereto is a matter of speculation; that good works lie in good words; and if they can finely talk, they think they bravely please God. They think the kingdom of God consisteth only in word, not in power; and thus proveth ineffectual this fourth means also.

5. Well, now the axe begins to be heaved higher, for now indeed God is ready to smite the sinner; yet before he will strike the stroke, he will try one way more at the last, and if that misseth, down goes the fig-tree! Now this last way is to tug and strive with this professor by his Spirit. Wherefore the Spirit of the Lord is now come to him; but not always to strive with man. Ge. vi. 3. Yet a while he will strive with him, he will awaken, he will convince, he will call to remembrance former sins, former judgments, the breach of former vows and promises, the misspending of former days; he will also present persuasive arguments, encouraging promises, dreadful judgments, the shortness of time to repent in; and that there is hope if he come. Further, he will show him the certainty of death, and of the judgment to come; yea, he will pull and strive with this sinner; but, behold, the mischief now lies here, here is tugging and striving on both sides. The Spirit convinces, the man turns a deaf ear to God; the Spirit saith, Receive my instruction and live, but the man pulls away his shoulder; the Spirit shows him whither he is going, but the man closeth his eyes against it; the Spirit offereth violence, the man strives and resists; they have 'done despite unto the Spirit of grace.' He. x. 29. The Spirit parleth a second time, and urgeth reasons of a new nature, but the sinner answereth, No, I have loved strangers, and after them I will go. Am. iv. 6–12. At this God's fury comes up into his face: now he comes out of his holy place, and is terrible; now he sweareth in his wrath they shall never enter into his rest. He. iii. 11. I exercised towards you my patience, yet you have not turned unto me, saith the Lord. I smote you in your person, in your relations, in your estate, yet you have not returned unto me, saith the Lord. 'In thy filthiness *is* lewdness, because I have purged thee, and thou wast not purged; thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more, till I cause my fury to rest upon thee.' Eze. xxiv. 13. 'Cut it down, why doth it cumber the ground?'

The second sign. That such a professor is almost, if not quite, past grace, is, when God hath given him over, or lets him alone, and suffers him to do anything, and that without control, helpeth him not either in works of holiness, or in straits and difficulties. 'Ephraim *is* joined to idols; let him alone.' Ho. iv. 17. Woe be to them when I depart from them. I will laugh at their calamities, and will mock when their fear cometh. Pr. i. 24–29.

Barren fig-tree, thou hast heretofore been digged about, and dunged; God's mattock hath heretofore been at thy roots; gospel-dung hath heretofore been applied to thee; thou hast heretofore been strove with, convinced, awakened, made to taste and see, and cry, O the blessedness! Thou hast heretofore been met with under the word; thy heart hath melted, thy spirit hath fallen, thy soul hath trembled, and thou hast felt something of the power of the gospel. But thou hast sinned, thou hast provoked the eyes of his glory, thy iniquity is found to be hateful, and now perhaps God hath left thee, given thee up, and lets thee alone. Heretofore thou wast tender; thy conscience startled at the temptation to wickedness, for thou wert taken off from 'the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' 2 Pe. ii. 20–22. But that very vomit that once thou wert turned from, now thou lappest up—with the dog in the proverb—again; and that very mire that once thou seemedst to be washed from, in that very mire thou now art tumbling afresh. But to particularize, there are *three* signs of a man's being given over of God.

1. When he is let alone in sinning, when the reins of his lusts are loosed, and he given up to them. 'And even as they did not like to retain God in *their* knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient: being filled with all unrighteousness.' Ro. i. 28, 29. Seest thou a man that heretofore had the knowledge of God, and that had some awe of Majesty upon him: I say, seest thou such an one

sporting himself in his own deceivings, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and walking after his own ungodly lusts? Ro. i. 30, 31. His 'judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and his damnation slumbereth not.' 2 Pe. ii. 13. Dost thou hear, barren professor? It is astonishing to see how those that once seemed 'sons of the morning,' and were making preparations for eternal life, now at last, for the rottenness of their hearts, by the just judgment of God, to be permitted, being past feeling, to give 'themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness.' Ep. iv. 18, 19. A great number of such were in the first gospel-days; against whom Peter, and Jude, and John, pronounce the heavy judgment of God. Peter and Jude couple them with the fallen angels, and John forbids that prayer be made for them, because that is happened unto them that hath happened to the fallen angels that fell, who, for forsaking their first state, and for leaving 'their own habitation,' are 'reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day.' Jude 5, 6. 2 Pe. ii. 3–8. Barren fig-tree, dost thou hear? (1.) These are beyond all mercy! (2.) These are beyond all promises! (3.) These are beyond all hopes of repentance! (4.) These have no intercessor, nor any more share in a sacrifice for sin! (5.) For these there remains nothing but a fearful looking for of judgment! (6.) Wherefore these are the true fugitives and vagabonds, that being left of God, of Christ, of grace, and of the promise, and being beyond all hope, wander and straggle to and fro, even as the devil, their associate, until their time shall come to die, or until they descend in battle and perish!

2. Wherefore they are let alone in hearing. If these at any time come under the word, there is for them no God, no savour of the means of grace, no stirrings of heart, no pity for themselves, no love to their own salvation. Let them look on this hand or that, there they see such effects of the word in others as produceth signs of repentance, and love to God and his Christ. These men only have their backs bowed down alway. Ro. xi. 10. These men only have the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, to this very day. Wherefore as they go to the place of the Holy, so they come from the place of the Holy, and soon are forgotten in the places where they so did. Ec. viii. 10. Only they reap this damage, 'They treasure up wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.' Ro. ii. 3–5. Look to it, barren professor!

3. If he be visited after the common way of mankind, either with sickness, distress, or any kind of calamity, still no God appeareth, no sanctifying hand of God, no special mercy is mixed with the affliction. But he falls sick, and grows well, like the beast; or is under distress, as Saul, who when he was engaged by the Philistines was forsaken and left of God, 'And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem, and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in Gilboa. And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets.' 1 Sa. xxviii. 4–6. The Lord answered him no more; he had done with him, cast him off, and rejected him, and left him to stand and fall with his sins, by himself. But of this more in the conclusion: therefore I here forbear.

4. These men may go whither they will, do what they will; they may range from opinion to opinion, from notion to notion, from sect to sect, but are steadfast nowhere; they are left to their own uncertainties, they have not grace to establish their hearts; and though some of them have boasted themselves of this liberty, yet Jude calls them 'wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.' Jude 13. They are left, as I told you before, to be fugitives and vagabonds in the earth, to wander everywhere, but to abide nowhere, until they shall descend to their own place, with Cain and Judas, men of the same fate with themselves. Ac. i. 25.

A third sign that such a professor is quite past grace is, when his heart is grown so hard, so stony, and impenetrable, that nothing will pierce it. Barren fig-tree, dost thou consider? a hard and impenitent heart is the curse of God! A heart that cannot repent, is instead of all plagues at once; and hence it is that God said of Pharaoh, when he spake of delivering him up in the greatness of his anger, 'I will at this time,' saith he, 'send all my plagues upon thine heart.' Ex. ix. 14.

To some men that have grievously sinned under a profession of the gospel, God giveth this token of his displeasure; they are denied the power of repentance, their heart is bound, they cannot repent; it is impossible that they should ever repent, should they live a thousand years. It is impossible for those fall-aways to be renewed again unto repentance, 'seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put *him* to an open shame.' He. vi. 4–6. Now, to have the heart so hardened, so judicially hardened, this is as a bar put in by the Lord God against the salvation of this sinner. This was the burden of Spira's complaint, 'I cannot do it! O! now I cannot do it!' [1]

[1] This is referred to in the Pilgrim, at the Interpreter's house, by the representation of a man in an iron cage, who says, 'I cannot get out, O now I cannot!' The awful account

This man sees what he hath done, what should help him, and what will become of him; yet he cannot repent; he pulled away his shoulder before, he stopped his ears before, he shut up his eyes before, and in that very posture God left him, and so he stands to this very day. I have had a fancy, that Lot's wife, when she was turned into a pillar of salt, stood yet looking over her shoulder, or else with her face towards Sodom; as the judgment caught her, so it bound her, and left her a monument of God's anger to after generations. Ge. xix. 26.

We read of some that are seared with a hot iron, and that are past feeling; for so seared persons in seared parts are. Their conscience is seared. 1 Ti. iv. 2. The conscience is the thing that must be touched with feeling, fear, and remorse, if ever any good be done with the sinner. How then can any good be done to those whose conscience is worse than that? that is, fast asleep in sin. Ep. iv. 19. For that conscience that is fast asleep, may yet be effectually awakened and saved; but that conscience that is seared, dried, as it were, into a cinder, can never have sense, feeling, or the least regret in this world. Barren fig-tree, hearken, judicial hardening is dreadful! There is a difference betwixt that hardness of heart that is incident to all men, and that which comes upon some as a signal or special judgment of God. And although all kinds of hardness of heart, in some sense may be called a judgment, yet to be hardened with this second kind, is a judgment peculiar only to them that perish; a hardness that is sent as a punishment for the abuse of light received, for a reward of apostacy. This judicial hardness is discovered from that which is incident to all men, in these particulars:—

1. It is a hardness that comes after some great light received, because of some great sin committed against that light, and the grace that gave it. Such hardness as Pharaoh had, after the Lord had wrought wondrously before him; such hardness as the Gentiles had, a hardness which darkened the heart, a hardness which made their minds reprobate. This hardness is also the same with that the Hebrews are cautioned to beware of, a hardness that is caused by unbelief, and a departing from the living God; a hardness completed through the deceitfulness of sin. He. iii. 7, &c. Such as that in the provocation, of whom God sware, that they should not enter into his rest. It was this kind of hardness also, that both Cain, and Ishmael, and Esau, were hardened with, after they had committed their great transgressions.

2. It is the greatest kind of hardness; and hence they are said to be harder than a rock, or than an adamant, that is, harder than flint: so hard, that nothing can enter. Je. v. 3. Zec. vii. 12.

3. It is a hardness given in much anger, and that to bind the soul up in an impossibility of repentance.

4. It is a hardness, therefore, which is incurable, of which a man must die and be damned. Barren professor, hearken to this.

A fourth sign that such a professor is quite past grace, is, when he fortifies his hard heart against the tenor of God's word. Job ix. 4, &c. This is called hardening themselves against God, and turning of the Spirit against them. As thus, when after a profession of faith in the Lord Jesus, and of the doctrine that is according to godliness, they shall embolden themselves in courses of sin, by promising themselves that they shall have life and salvation notwithstanding. Barren professor, hearken to this! This man is called, 'a root that beareth gall and wormwood,' or a poisonful herb, such an one as is abominated of God, yea, the abhorred of his soul. For this man saith, 'I shall have peace, though I walk in the imagination' or stubbornness 'of mine heart, to add drunkenness to thirst;' an opinion flat against the whole Word of God, yea, against the very nature of God himself. De. xxix. 18, 19. Wherefore he adds, 'Then the anger of the Lord, and his jealousy, shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in God's book shall lie upon him, and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven.' De. xix. 20.

Yea, that man shall not fail to be effectually destroyed, saith the text: 'The Lord shall separate that man unto evil, out of all the tribes of Israel, according to all the curses of the covenant.' De. xix. 21. He shall separate him unto evil; he shall give him up, he shall leave him to his heart; he shall separate him to that or those that will assuredly be too hard for him.

Now this judgment is much effected when God hath given a man up unto Satan, and hath given Satan leave, without fail, to complete his destruction. I say, when God hath given Satan leave effectually to complete his destruction; for all that are delivered up unto Satan have not, nor do not come to this end. But that is the man whom God shall separate to evil, and shall leave in the hands of Satan, to complete, without fail, his destruction.

Thus he served Ahab, a man that sold himself

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of Spira's despair must have made a strong impression upon Bunyan's mind. It commences with a poem.

'Here see a soul that's all despair; a man
All hell; a spirit all wounds; who can
A wounded spirit bear?
Reader, would'st see, what may you never feel
Despair, racks, torments, whips of burning steel!
Behold, the man's the furnace, in whose heart
Sin hath created hell; O in each part
What flames appear:
His thoughts all stings; words, swords;
Brimstone his breath;
His eyes flames; wishes curses, life a death;
A thousand deaths live in him, he not dead;
A breathing corpse in living, scalding lead.'

—*Fearful Estate of Francis Spira.*—(Ed.)

to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord. 'And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade *him*, and prevail also; go forth, and do so.' 1 Ki. xxi. 25; xxii. 20–22. Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail; do thy will, I leave him in thy hand, go forth, and do so.

Wherefore, in these judgments the Lord doth much concern himself for the management thereof, because of the provocation wherewith they have provoked him. This is the man whose ruin contriveth, and bringeth to pass by his own contrivance: 'I also will choose their delusions' for them; 'I will bring their fears upon them.' Is. lxvi. 4. I will choose their devices, or the wickednesses that their hearts are contriving of. I, even I, will cause them to be accepted of, and delightful to them. But who are they that must thus be feared? Why, those among professors that have chosen their own ways, those whose soul delighteth in their abominations. Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved: for this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned, who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.

'God shall send them.' It is a great word! Yea, God shall send them strong delusions; delusions that shall do: that shall make them believe a lie. Why so? 'That they all might be damned,' every one of them, 'who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.' 2 Thes. ii. 10–12.

There is nothing more provoking to the Lord, than for a man to promise when God threateneth; for a man to be light of conceit that he shall be safe, and yet to be more wicked than in former days, this man's soul abhorreth the truth of God; no marvel, therefore, if God's soul abhorreth him; he hath invented a way contrary to God, to bring about his own salvation; no marvel, therefore, if God invent a way to bring about this man's damnation: and seeing that these rebels are at this point, we shall have peace; God will see whose word will stand, his or theirs.

A fifth sign of a man being past grace is, when he shall at this scoff, and inwardly grin and fret against the Lord, secretly purposing to continue his course, and put all to the venture, despising the messengers of the Lord. 'He that despised Moses' law, died without mercy; - of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God?' &c., He. x. 28. Wherefore, against these despisers God hath set himself, and foretold that they shall not believe, but perish: 'Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in nowise believe, though a man declare it unto you.' Ac. xiii. 41.

After that thou shalt cut it down.

Thus far we have treated of the barren fig-tree, or fruitless professor, with some signs to know him by; whereto is added also some signs of one who neither will nor can, by any means, be fruitful, but they must miserably perish. Now, being come to the time of execution, I shall speak a word to that also; 'After that thou shalt cut it down.'

[Proposition Second. The death or cutting down of such men will be dreadful.]

Christ, at last, turns the barren fig-tree over to the justice of God, shakes his hands of him, and gives him up to the fire for his unprofitableness. 'After that thou shalt cut it down.'

Two things are here to be considered:

First. The executioner; thou, the great, the dreadful, the eternal God. These words, therefore, as I have already said, signify that Christ the Mediator, through whom alone salvation comes, and by whom alone execution hath been deferred, now giveth up the soul, forbears to speak one syllable more for him, or to do the least act of grace further, to try for his recovery; but delivereth him up to that fearful dispensation, 'to fall into the hands of the living God.' He. x. 31.

Second. The second to be considered is, The instrument by which this execution is done, and that is death, compared here to an axe; and forasmuch as the tree is not felled at one blow, therefore the strokes are here continued, till all the blows be struck at it that are requisite for its felling: for now cutting time, and cutting work, is come; cutting must be his portion till he be cut down. 'After that thou shalt cut it down.' Death, I say, is the axe, which God often useth, therewith to take the barren fig-tree out of the vineyard, out of a profession, and also out of the world at once. But this axe is now new ground, it cometh well-edged to the roots of this barren fig-tree. It hath been whetted by sin, by the law, and by a formal profession, and therefore must, and will make deep gashes, not only in the natural life, but in the heart and conscience also of this professor: 'The wages of sin is death,' 'the sting of death is sin.' Ro. vi. 23. 1 Co. xv. 56. Wherefore death comes not to this man as he doth to saints, muzzled, or without his sting, but with open mouth, in all his strength; yea, he sends his first-born, which is guilt, to devour his strength, and to bring him to the king of terrors. Job xviii. 13, 14.

But to give you, in a few particulars, the manner of this man's dying.

1. Now he hath his *fruitless* fruits beleaguer him round his bed, together with all the bands and legions of his other wickedness. 'His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins.' Pr. v. 22.

2. Now some terrible discovery of God is made out unto him, to the perplexing and terrifying of his guilty conscience. '*God* shall cast upon him, and not spare;' and he shall be afraid of *that which is* high.' Job xxvii. 22. Ec. xii. 5.

3. The dark entry he is to go through will be a sore amazement to him; for 'fears *shall be* in the way.' Ec. xii. 5. Yea, terrors will take hold on him, when he shall see the yawning jaws of death to gape upon him, and the doors of the shadow of death open to give him passage out of the world. Now, who will meet me in this dark entry? how shall I pass through this dark entry into another world?

4. For by reason of guilt, and a shaking conscience, his life will hang in continual doubt before him, and he shall be afraid day and night, and shall have no assurance of his life. De. xxviii. 66, 67.

5. Now also want will come up against him; he will come up like an armed man. This is a terrible army to him that is graceless in heart, and fruitless in life. This WANT will continually cry in thine ears, Here is a new birth wanting, a new heart, and a new spirit wanting; here is faith wanting; here is love and repentance wanting; here is the fear of God wanting, and a good conversation wanting: 'Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.' Da. v. 27.

6. Together with these standeth by the companions of death, death and hell, death and devils, death and endless torment in the everlasting flames of devouring fire. 'When God cometh up unto the people he will invade them with his troops.' Hab. iii. 16.

But how will this man die? Can his heart now endure, or can his hands be strong? Eze. xxii. 14.

(1.) God, and Christ, and pity, have left him. Sin against light, against mercy, and the long-suffering of God, is come up against him; his hope and confidence now lie a-dying by him, and his conscience totters and shakes continually within him!

(2.) Death is at his work, cutting of him down, hewing both bark and heart, both body and soul asunder. The man groans, but death hears him not; he looks ghastly, carefully, dejectedly; he sighs, he sweats, he trembles, but death matters nothing.

(3.) Fearful cogitations haunt him, misgivings, direful apprehensions of God, terrify him. Now he hath time to think what the loss of heaven will be, and what the torments of hell will be: now he looks no way but he is frighted.

(4.) Now would he live, but may not; he would live, though it were but the life of a bed-rid man, but he must not. He that cuts him down sways him as the feller of wood sways the tottering tree; now this way, then that, at last a root breaks, a heart-string, an eye-string, sweeps asunder.

(5.) And now, could the soul be annihilated, or brought to nothing, how happy would it count itself, but it sees that may not be. Wherefore it is put to a wonderful strait; stay in the body it may not, go out of the body it dares not. Life is going, the blood settles in the flesh, and the lungs being no more able to draw breath through the nostrils, at last out goes the weary trembling soul, which is immediately seized by devils, who lay lurking in every hole in the chamber for that very purpose. His friends take care of the body, wrap it up in the sheet or coffin, but the soul is out of their thought and reach, going down to the chambers of death.

I had thought to have enlarged, but I forbear. God, who teaches man to profit, bless this brief and plain discourse to thy soul, who yet standest a professor in the land of the living, among the trees of his garden. Amen.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MR. BADMAN,

PRESENTED TO THE WORLD IN

A FAMILIAR DIALOGUE BETWEEN MR. WISEMAN AND MR. ATTENTIVE.

By JOHN BUNYAN,
The Author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.'

Printed by J. A. for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, near the Church, 1680

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

The life of Badman is a very interesting description, a true and lively portraiture, of the demoralized classes of the trading community in the reign of King Charles II.; a subject which naturally led the author to use expressions familiar among such persons, but which are now either obsolete or considered as vulgar. In fact it is the only work proceeding from the prolific pen and fertile imagination of Bunyan, in which he uses terms that, in this delicate and refined age, may give offence. So, in the venerable translation of the holy oracles, there are some objectionable expressions, which, although formerly used in the politest company, now point to the age in which it was written. The same ideas or facts would now be expressed by terms which could not give offence; and every reader must feel great pleasure in the improvement of our language, as seen in the contrast between the two periods, and especially in the recollection that the facts might be stated with equal precision, and reflections made with equal force, in terms at which the most delicate mind could not be offended.

Those who read the writings of Bunyan must feel continually reminded of his ardent attachment to his Saviour, and his intense love to the souls of sinners. He was as delicate in his expressions as any writer of his age, who addressed the openly vicious and profane—calling things by their most forcible and popular appellations. A wilful untruth is, with him, 'a lie.' To show the wickedness and extreme folly of swearing, he gives the words and imprecations then commonly in use; but which, happily for us, we never hear, except among the most degraded classes of society. Swearing was formerly considered to be a habit of gentility; but now it betrays the blackguard, even when disguised in genteel attire. Those dangerous diseases which are so surely engendered by filth and uncleanness, he calls not by Latin but by their plain English names. In every case, the Editor has not ventured to make the slightest alteration; but has reprinted the whole in the author's plain and powerful language.

The life of Badman forms a third part to the Pilgrim's Progress, not a delightful pilgrimage to heaven, but, on the contrary, a wretched downward journey to the infernal realms. The author's object is to warn poor thoughtless sinners, not with smooth words, to which they would take no heed; but to thunder upon their consciences the peril of their souls, and the increasing wretchedness into which they were madly hurrying. He who is in imminent, but unseen danger, will bless the warning voice if it reach his ears, however rough and startling the sound may be.

The life of Badman was written in an age when profligacy, vice, and debauchery, marched like a desolating army through our land, headed by the king, and officered by his polluted courtiers; led on with all the pomp and splendour which royalty could display. The king and his ministers well knew that the most formidable enemies to tyranny, oppression, and misgovernment, were the piety and stern morality of the Puritans, Nonconformists, and the small classes of virtuous citizens of other denominations; and therefore every effort was made by allurements and intimidation to debauch and demoralize their minds. p. 592. Well does Bunyan say that 'wickedness like a flood is like to drown our English world. It has almost swallowed up all our youth, our middle age, old age, and all are almost carried away of this flood. It reels to and fro like a drunkard, it is like to fall and rise no more.' p. 593. 'It is the very haunts and walks of the infernal spirits.' 'England shakes and makes me totter for its transgressions.'

The gradations of a wicked man in that evil age, from his cradle to his grave, are graphically set before the reader; it is all drawn from reality, and not from efforts of imagination. Every example is a picture of some real occurrence, either within the view of the author, or from the narratives of credible witnesses. 'All the things that

here I discourse of, have been acted upon the stage of this world, even many times before mine eyes.' Badman is represented as having had the very great advantage of pious parents, and a godly master, but run riot in wickedness from his childhood. Lying and pilfering mark his early days; followed in after life by swearing, cheating, drunkenness, hypocrisy, infidelity and atheism. His conscience became hardened to that awful extent, that he had no bands in his death. The career of wickedness has often been so pictured, as to encourage and cherish vice and profanity—to excite the unregenerate mind 'to ride post by other men's sins.'[1] Not so the life of Badman. The ugly, wretched, miserable consequences that assuredly follow a vicious career, are here displayed in biting words — alarming the conscience, and awfully warning the sinner of his destiny, unless happily he finds that repentance that needeth not to be repented of. No debauchee ever read the life of Badman to gratify or increase his thirst for sin. The tricks which in those days so generally accompanied trading, are unsparingly exposed; becoming bankrupt to make money, a species of robbery, which ought to be punished as felony; double weights, too heavy for buying, and light to sell by, overcharging those who take credit, and the taking advantage of the necessities of others, with the abuse of evil gains in debauchery, and its ensuing miseries, are all faithfully displayed.

In the course of the narrative, a variety of awful examples of divine vengeance are introduced; some from that singular compilation, Clarke's *Looking-glass for Saints and Sinners;* others from 'Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgments;* and many that happened under the author's own immediate knowledge. The faithfulness of his extracts from books has been fully verified. The awful death of Dorothy Mately, of Ashover, in Derbyshire, mentioned in p. 604, I had an opportunity of testing, by the aid of my kind friend, Thomas Bateman, Esq., of Yolgrave. He sent me the following extract from the *Ashover Register for* 1660:—'Dorothy Mately, supposed wife to John Flint of this parish, *forswore herself;* whereupon the ground opened, and she sunk over head, March 23, and being found dead, she was buried, March 25.' Thus fully confirming the facts, as stated by Bunyan. Solemn providences, intended, in the inscrutable wisdom of God, for wise purposes, must not be always called 'divine judgments.' A ship is lost, and the good with the bad, sink together; a missionary is murdered; a pious Malay is martyred; still no one can suppose that these are instances of divine vengeance. But when the atrocious bishop Bonner, in his old age, miserably perishes in prison, it reminds us of our Lord's saying, 'with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.'

Bunyan's pictures, of which the life of Badman is a continued series, are admirably painted from life. The extraordinary depths of hypocrisy, used in gaining the affections of a pious wealthy young woman, and entrapping her into a marriage, are admirably drawn, as is its companion or counterpart, when Badman, in his widower-hood, suffers an infamous strumpet to inveigle him into a miserable marriage, as he so richly deserved. The death-bed scene of the pious broken-hearted Mrs. Badman, is a masterpiece. In fact the whole is a series of pictures drawn by a most admirable artist, and calculated to warn and attract the sinner from his downward course.

In comparison with the times of Bunyan, England has now become wonderfully reformed from those grosser pollutions which disgraced her name. Persons of riper age, whose reminiscences go back to the times of the slave trade, slavery, and war, will call to mind scenes of vice, brutality, open debauchery and profligacy, which, in these peaceful and prosperous times, would be instantly repressed and properly punished. Should peace be preserved, domestic, social, and national purity and happiness must increase with still greater and more delightful rapidity. Civilization and Christianity will triumph over despotism, vice, and false religions, and the time be hastened on, in which the divine art of rendering each other happy will engross the attention of all mankind. Much yet remains to be done for the conversion of the still numerous family connections of Mr. Badman; but the leaven of Christianity must, in spite of all opposition, eventually spread over the whole mass.

Homely proverbs abound in this narrative, all of which are worthy of being treasured up in our memories. Is nothing so secret but it will be revealed? we are told that 'Hedges have eyes and pitchers have ears.'[2] They who encourage evil propensities are 'nurses to the devil's brats.' It is said of him who hurries on in a career of folly and sin, 'The devil rides him off his legs.' 'As the devil corrects vice,' refers to those who *pretend* to correct bad habits by means *intended* to promote them. 'The devil is a cunning schoolmaster.' Satan taking the wicked into his foul embraces is 'like to like, as the devil said to the collier.'

In two things the times have certainly improved. Bunyan describes all 'pawnbrokers' to have been 'vile wretches,' and, in extortion, the women to be worse than the men. p. 638. Happily for our days, good and even pious pawnbrokers may be found, who are honourable exceptions to Mr. Bunyan's sweeping rule; nor do our women in any respect

[1] Reynolds' preface to *God's Revenge against Murder.*

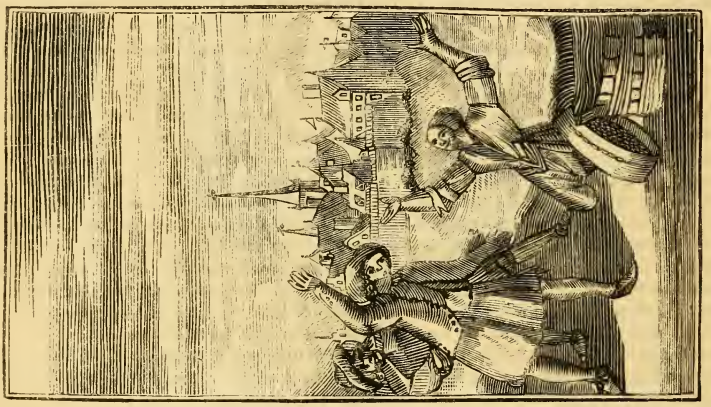
[2] See note on p. 606.

appear to be greater extortioners than our men. The instructions, exhortations, and scriptural precepts and examples to enforce honest dealing, interspersed as reflections throughout this narrative, are invaluable, and will, I trust, prove beneficial to every reader.

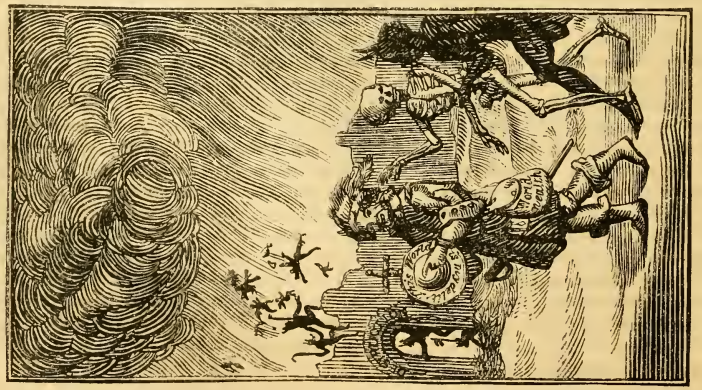
I have taken the liberty of dividing this long-continued dialogue into chapters, for the greater facility of reference, and as periods in the history, where the reader may conveniently rest in his progress through this deeply interesting narrative.

GEO. OFFOR.

As a curious and interesting illustration of the form and manner in which the *Life of Badman* was first published, *facsimiles* of the five engravings that accompanied the first edition are given on this and the following page. These woodcuts are accurately copied from a fine set in the first edition, in the Editor's library. Very few of these rare volumes are found with the cuts, the reverse of each being blank. They are in the later copies, with letter-press on the reverse; excepting the folio editions, which have the five engraved on one copper-plate, the designs being reversed.—ED.



You that do use to curse and swear,
God hears you, take heed, have a care.
This wretch the ground did swallow up,
Fear lest you drink the self-same cup.



FRONTISPIECE.

To be a bad man must be bad,
To die a badman is most sad,
Would bad men would consider this,
Lest they fall short of lasting bliss.

When parents take delight in children's evil,
The children send their parents to the devil.

Informer, art thou in the tree?
Take heed, lest there thou hanged be;
Look, likewise, to thy foot—hold well,
Lest, if thou slip, thou fall to hell.

Let Badman's broken leg put check
To Badman's course of evil,
Lest, next time, Badman breaks his neck,
And so goes to the devil.

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER

Courteous Reader,

As I was considering with myself what I had written concerning the Progress of the Pilgrim from this world to glory, and how it had been acceptable to many in this nation, it came again into my mind to write, as then, of him that was going to heaven, so now, of the life and death of the ungodly, and of their travel from this world to hell. The which in this I have done, and have put it, as thou seest, under the name and title of Mr. Badman, a name very proper for such a subject. I have also put it into the form of a dialogue, that I might with more ease to myself, and pleasure to the reader, perform the work. And although, as I said, I have put it forth in this method, yet have I as little as may be gone out of the road of mine own observation of things. Yea, I think I may truly say that to the best of my remembrance, all the things that here I discourse of, I mean as to matter of fact, have been acted upon the stage of this world, even many times before mine eyes.

Here therefore, courteous reader, I present thee with the life and death of Mr. Badman indeed; yea, I do trace him in his life, from his childhood to his death; that thou mayest, as in a glass, behold with thine own eyes the steps that take hold of hell; and also discern, while thou art reading of Mr. Badman's death, whether thou thyself art treading in his path thereto. And let me entreat thee to forbear quirking[1] and mocking, for that I say Mr. Badman is dead; but rather gravely inquire concerning thyself by the Word, whether thou art one of his lineage or no; for Mr. Badman has left many of his relations behind him; yea, the very world is overspread with his kindred. True, some of his relations, as he, are gone to their place and long home, but thousands of thousands are left behind; as brothers, sisters, cousins, nephews, besides innumerable of his friends and associates. I may say, and yet speak nothing but too much truth in so saying, that there is scarce a fellowship, a community, or fraternity of men in the world, but some of Mr. Badman's relations are there; yea, rarely can we find a family or household in a town, where he has not left behind him either a brother, nephew, or friend.

The butt[2] therefore, that at this time I shoot at, is wide; and it will be as impossible for this book to go into several families, and not to arrest some, as for the king's messenger to rush into a house full of traitors, and find none but honest men there.[3] I cannot but think that this shot will light upon many, since our fields are so full of this game; but how many it will kill to Mr. Badman's course, and make alive to the Pilgrim's Progress, that is not in me to determine; this secret is with the Lord our God only, and he alone knows to whom he will bless it to so good and so blessed an end. However, I have put fire to the pan,[4] and doubt not but the report will quickly be heard.

I told you before that Mr. Badman had left many of his friends and relations behind him, but if I survive them, as that is a great question to me, I may also write of their lives; however, whether my life be longer or shorter, this is my prayer at present, that God will stir up witnesses against them, that may either convert or confound them; for wherever they live, and roll in their wickedness, they are the pest and plague of that country. England shakes and totters already, by reason of the burden that Mr. Badman and his friends have wickedly laid upon it. Yea, our earth reels and staggereth to and fro like a drunkard, the transgression thereof is heavy upon it.

Courteous reader, I will treat thee now, even at the door and threshold of this house, but only with this intelligence, that Mr. Badman lies dead within. Be pleased therefore, if thy leisure will serve thee, to enter in, and behold the state in which he is laid, betwixt his death-bed and the grave. He is not buried as yet, nor doth he stink, as is designed he shall, before he lies down in oblivion. Now as others have had their funerals solemnized, according to their greatness and grandeur in the world, so likewise Mr. Badman, forasmuch as he deserveth not to go down to his grave with silence, has his funeral state according to his deserts.

Four things are usual at great men's funerals, which we will take leave, and I hope without offence, to allude to, in the funeral of Mr. Badman.

First. They are sometimes, when dead, presented to their friends, by their completely wrought images, as lively as by cunning men's hands they can be; that the remembrance of them may be renewed to their survivors, the remembrance of

[1] Quirk, an artful or subtle evasion of a truthful home-thrust. —(Ed.)

[2] Butt, a mark set up to shoot at. 'Some are always exposed to the wit and raillery of their wellwishers, pelted by friends and foes, in a word, stand as butts.'—*Spectator*, No. 47.—(Ed.)

[3] The office of a Christian minister is like that of a king's messenger, not only to comfort and reward the king's friends, but to arrest his enemies. England was then overrun with the latter 'game.' Alas! there are too many of them now. May the revival of this shot 'light upon many.'—(Ed.)

[4] 'Fire to the pan,' alluding to the mode of using fire-arms, by applying a lighted match to the pan, before the fire-lock was invented.—(Ed.)

them and their deeds; and this I have endeavoured to answer in my discourse of Mr. Badman, and therefore I have drawn him forth in his features and actions from his childhood to his grey hairs. Here therefore, thou hast him lively set forth as in cuts; both as to the minority, flower, and seniority of his age, together with those actions of his life, that he was most capable of doing, in and under those present circumstances of time, place, strength; and the opportunities that did attend him in these.

Second. There is also usual at great men's funerals, those badges and escutcheons of their honour, that they have received from their ancestors, or have been thought worthy of for the deeds and exploits they have done in their life; and here Mr. Badman has his, but such as vary from all men of worth, but so much the more agreeing with the merit of his doings. They all have descended in state, he only as an abominable branch. His deserts are the deserts of sin, and therefore the escutcheons of honour that he has, are only that he died without honour, 'and at his end became a fool.' 'Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial.' 'The seed of evil doers shall never be renowned.' Is. xiv. 20.

The funeral pomp therefore of Mr. Badman, is to wear upon his hearse the badges of a dishonourable and wicked life; since 'his bones are full *of the sin* of his youth, which shall lie down,' as Job says, 'with him in the dust.' Nor is it fit that any should be his attendants, now at his death, but such as with him conspired against their own souls in their life; persons whose transgressions have made them infamous to all that have or shall know what they have done.

Some notice therefore I have also here in this little discourse given the reader, of them who were his confederates in his life, and attendants at his death; with a hint, either of some high villany committed by them, as also of those judgments that have overtaken and fallen upon them from the just and revenging hand of God. All which are things either fully known by me, as being eye and ear-witness thereto, or that I have received from such hands, whose relation, as to this, I am bound to believe. And that the reader may know them from other things and passages herein contained, I have pointed at them in the margin, as with a finger, thus: ☞

Third. The funerals of persons of quality have been solemnized with some suitable sermon at the time and place of their burial; but that I am not come to as yet, having got no further than to Mr. Badman's death; but forasmuch as he must be buried, after he hath stunk out his time before his beholders, I doubt not but some such that we read are appointed to be at the burial of Gog, will do this work in my stead; such as shall leave him neither skin nor bone above ground, but shall set a sign by it till the buriers have buried it in the valley of Hamon-gog. Eze. xxxix.

Fourth. At funerals there does use to be mourning and lamentation, but here also Mr. Badman differs from others; his familiars cannot lament his departure, for they have not sense of his damnable state; they rather ring him, and sing him to hell in the sleep of death, in which he goes thither. Good men count him no loss to the world, his place can well be without him, his loss is only his own, and it is too late for him to recover that damage or loss by a sea of bloody tears, could he shed them. Yea, God has said he will laugh at his destruction; who then shall lament for him, saying, Ah! my brother. He was but a stinking weed in his life; nor was he better at all in his death; such may well be thrown over the wall without sorrow, when once God has plucked them up by the roots in his wrath.

Reader, if thou art of the race, lineage, stock, or fraternity of Mr. Badman, I tell thee, before thou readest this book, thou wilt neither brook the author nor it, because he hath writ of Mr. Badman as he has. For he that condemneth the wicked that dio so, passeth also the sentence upon the wicked that live. I therefore expect neither credit of, nor countenance from thee, for this narration of thy kinsman's life. For thy old love to thy friend, his ways, doings, &c., will stir up in thee enmity rather in thy very heart against me. I shall therefore incline to think of thee, that thou wilt rend, burn, or throw it away in contempt; yea, and wish also, that for writing so notorious a truth, some mischief may befal me. I look also to be loaded by thee with disdain, scorn, and contempt; yea, that thou shouldest railingly and vilifyingly say I lie, and am a bespatterer of honest men's lives and deaths. For Mr. Badman, when himself was alive, could not abide to be counted a knave, though his actions told all that went by, that indeed he was such an one. How then should his brethren that survive him, and that tread in his very steps, approve of the sentence that by this book is pronounced against him? Will they not rather imitate Korah, Dathan, and Abiram's friends, even rail at me for condemning him, as they did at Moses for doing execution?

I know it is ill puddling in the cockatrice's den, and that they run hazards that hunt the wild boar. The man also that writeth Mr. Badman's life had need be fenced with a coat of mail, and with the staff of a spear, for that his surviving friends will know what he doth; but I have adventured to do it, and to play, at this time, at the hole of these asps; if they bite, they bite; if they sting, they sting. Christ sends his lambs in the midst of wolves, not to do like them, but to suffer by them for bearing plain testimony against their bad deeds.

But had one not need to walk with a guard, and to have a sentinel stand at one's door for this? Verily, the flesh would be glad of such help; yea, a spiritual man, could he tell how to get it. Ac. xxiii. But I am stript naked of these, and yet am commanded to be faithful in my service for Christ. Well then, I have spoken what I have spoken, and now 'come on me what *will*.' Job xiii. 13. True, the text say, Rebuke a scorner and he will hate thee; and that he that reproveth a wicked man getteth himself a blot and shame. But what then? Open rebuke is better than secret love, and he that receives it shall find it so afterwards.

So then, whether Mr. Badman's friends shall rage or laugh at what I have writ, I know that the better end of the staff[1] is mine. My endeavour is to stop a hellish course of life, and to 'save a soul from death.' Ja. v. 20. And if for so doing I meet with envy from them, from whom in reason I should have thanks, I must remember the man in the dream,[2] that cut his way through his armed enemies, and so got into the beauteous palace; I must, I say, remember him, and do myself likewise.

Yet four things I will propound to the consideration of Mr. Badman's friends before I turn my back upon them.

1. Suppose that there be a hell in very deed; not that I do question it any more than I do whether there be a sun to shine, but I suppose it for argument sake with Mr. Badman's friends. I say, suppose there be a hell, and that too such an one as the Scripture speaks of, one at the remotest distance from God and life eternal, one where the worm of a guilty conscience never dies, and where the fire of the wrath of God is not quenched. Suppose, I say, that there is such a hell, prepared of God—as there is indeed—for the body and soul of the ungodly world after this life to be tormented in; I say, do but with thyself suppose it, and then tell me is it not prepared for thee, thou being a wicked man? Let thy conscience speak, I say, is it not prepared for thee, thou being an ungodly man? And dost thou think, wast thou there now, that thou art able to wrestle with the judgment of God? Why then do the fallen angels tremble there? Thy hands cannot be strong, nor can thy heart endure, in that day when God shall deal with thee. Eze. xxii. 14.

2. Suppose that some one that is now a soul in hell for sin, was permitted to come hither again to dwell, and that they had a grant also, that, upon amendment of life, next time they die, to change that place for heaven and glory. What sayst thou, O wicked man? Would such an one, thinkest thou, run again into the same course of life as before, and venture the damnation that for sin he had already been in? Would he choose again to lead that cursed life that afresh would kindle the flames of hell upon him, and that would bind him up under the heavy wrath of God? O! he would not, he would not; Lu. xvi. insinuates it; yea, reason itself awake would abhor it, and tremble at such a thought.

3. Suppose again, that thou that livest and rollest in thy sin, and that as yet hast known nothing but the pleasure thereof, shouldest be by an angel conveyed to some place, where, with convenience, from thence thou mightest have a view of heaven and hell, of the joys of the one and the torments of the other; I say, suppose that from thence thou mightest have such a view thereof as would convince thy reason that both heaven and hell are such realities as by the Word they are declared to be; wouldest thou, thinkest thou, when brought to thy home again, choose to thyself thy former life, to wit, to return to thy folly again? No; if belief of what thou sawest remained with thee thou wouldest eat fire and brimstone first.

4. I will propound again. Suppose that there was amongst us such a law, and such a magistrate to inflict the penalty, that for every open wickedness committed by thee, so much of thy flesh should with burning pincers be plucked from thy bones, wouldest thou then go on in thy open way of lying, swearing, drinking, and whoring, as thou with delight doest now? Surely, surely, no. The fear of the punishment would make thee forbear; yea, would make thee tremble, even then when thy lusts were powerful, to think what a punishment thou wast sure to sustain so soon as the pleasure was over. But O! the folly, the madness, the desperate madness that is in the hearts of Mr. Badman's friends, who, in despite of the threatenings of a holy and sin-revenging God, and of the outcries and warnings of all good men, yea, that will, in despite of the groans and torments of those that are now in hell for sin, go on in a sinful course of life, yea, though every sin is also a step of descent down to that infernal cave. Lu. xvi. 24, 28. O how true is that saying of Solomon, 'The heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness *is* in their heart while they live, and after that *they go* to the dead.' Ec. ix. 3. To the dead! that is, to the dead in hell, to the damned dead, the place to which those that have died bad men are gone, and that those that live bad men are like to go to, when a little more sin, like stolen waters, hath been imbibed by their sinful souls.

That which has made me publish this book is,

1. For that wickedness, like a flood, is like to

[1] In the single combat of quarter-staff, he who held the best end of the staff usually gained the victory.—(Ed.)

[2] *Pilgrim's Progress*, Interpreter's House, p. 100. This is a remarkable illustration of a difficult part of the allegory—faithful admonitions repaid by murderous revenge, but overcome by Christian courage.—(Ed.)

drown our English world. It begins already to be above the tops of the mountains; it has almost swallowed up all; our youth, middle age, old age, and all, are almost carried away of this flood. O debauchery, debauchery, what hast thou done in England! Thou hast corrupted our young men, and hast made our old men beasts; thou hast deflowered our virgins, and hast made matrons bawds. Thou hast made our earth 'to reel to and fro like a drunkard;' it is in danger to 'be removed like a cottage,' yea, it is, because transgression is so heavy upon it, like to fall and rise no more. Is. xxiv. 20. O! that I could mourn for England, and for the sins that are committed therein, even while I see that, without repentance, the men of God's wrath are about to deal with us, each having his 'slaughtering weapon in his hand.' Eze. ix. 1, 2. Well, I have written, and by God's assistance shall pray that this flood may abate in England; and could I but see the tops of the mountains above it, I should think that these waters were abating.

2. It is the duty of those that can to cry out against this deadly plague, yea, to lift up their voice as with a trumpet against it, that men may be awakened about it, fly from it, as from that which is the greatest of evils. Sin pulled angels out of heaven, pulls men down to hell, and overthroweth kingdoms. Who, that sees a house on fire, will not give the alarm to them that dwell therein? Who, that sees the land invaded, will not set the beacons on a flame. Who, that sees the devils as roaring lions, continually devouring souls, will not make an out-cry? But above all, when we see sin, sinful sin, a swallowing up a nation, sinking of a nation, and bringing its inhabitants to temporal, spiritual, and eternal ruin, shall we not cry out and cry, They are drunk, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with strong drink; they are intoxicated with the deadly poison of sin, which will, if its malignity be not by wholesome means allayed, bring soul and body, and estate, and country, and all, to ruin and destruction?

3. In and by this outcry I shall deliver myself from the ruins of them that perish; for a man can do no more in this matter—I mean a man in my capacity—than to detect and condemn the wickedness, warn the evil doer of the judgment, and fly therefrom myself. But O! that I might not only deliver myself! O that many would hear, and turn at this my cry from sin! that they may be secured from the death and judgment that attend it.

Why I have handled the matter in this method is best known to myself. And why I have concealed most of the names of the persons whose sins or punishments I here and there in this book make relation of is, (1.) For that neither the sins nor judgments were all alike open; the sins of some were committed, and the judgments executed for them, only in a corner. Not to say that I could not learn some of their names, for could I, I should not have made them public, for this reason, (2.) Because I would not provoke those of their relations that survive them; I would not justly provoke them; and yet, as I think, I should, should I have entailed their punishment to their sins, and both to their names, and so have turned them into the world. (3.) Nor would I lay them under disgrace and contempt, which would, as I think, unavoidably have happened unto them had I withal inserted their names.

As for those whose names I mention, their crimes or judgments were manifest; public almost as anything of that nature that happeneth to mortal men. Such therefore have published their own shame by their sin, and God his anger, by taking of open vengeance. As Job says, God has struck 'them as wicked men in the open sight of others.' Job xxxiv. 26. So that I cannot conceive, since their sin and judgment was so conspicuous, that my admonishing the world thereof should turn to their detriment. For the publishing of these things are, so far as relation is concerned, intended for remembrances, that they may also bethink themselves, repent and turn to God, lest the judgments for their sins should prove hereditary. For the God of heaven hath threatened to visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, if they hate him, to the third and fourth generation. Ex. xx. 5.

Nebuchadnezzar's punishment for his pride being open—for he was for his sin driven from his kingly dignity, and from among men too, to eat grass like an ox, and to company with the beasts—Daniel did not stick to tell Belshazzar his son to his face thereof; nor to publish it that it might be read and remembered by the generations to come. The same may be said of Judas and Ananias, &c., for their sin and punishment were known to all the dwellers at Jerusalem. Ac. i. 19. Nor is it a sign but of desperate impenitence and hardness of heart, when the offspring or relations of those who have fallen by open, fearful, and prodigious judgments, for their sin, shall overlook, forget, pass by, or take no notice of such high outgoings of God against them and their house. Thus Daniel aggravates Belshazzar's crime, for that he hardened his heart in pride, though he knew that for that very sin and transgression his father was brought down from his height, and made to be a companion for asses. 'And thou his son, O Belshazzar,' says he, 'hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this.' Da. v. 22. A home reproof, indeed, but home [reproof] is most fit for an open and a continued in transgression.

Let those, then, that are the offspring or relations of such, who by their own sin, and the dreadful judgments of God, are made to become a sign, De. xvi. 9–12, having been swept as dung from off the face of the earth, beware, lest when judgment knocks at their door, for their sins, as it did before at the door of their progenitors, it falls also with as heavy a stroke as on them that went before them. Nu. xvi. 38–40. Lest, I say, they in that day, instead of finding mercy, find for their high, daring, and judgment-affronting sins, judgment without mercy.

To conclude; let those that would not die Mr. Badman's death, take heed of Mr. Badman's ways; for his ways bring to his end. Wickedness will not deliver him that is given to it; though they should cloak all with a profession of religion. If it was a transgression of old for a man to wear a woman's apparel, surely it is a transgression now for a sinner to wear a Christian profession for a cloak. Wolves in sheep's clothing swarm in England this day; wolves both as to doctrine, and as to practice too. Some men make a profession, I doubt, on purpose that they may twist themselves into a trade; and thence into an estate; yea, and if need be, into an estate knavishly, by the ruins of their neighbour. Let such take heed, for those that do such things have the greater damnation. Christian, make thy profession shine by a conversation according to the gospel; or else thou wilt damnify religion, bring scandal to thy brethren, and give offence to the enemies; and it would be better that a millstone was hanged about thy neck, and that thou, as so adorned, was cast into the bottom of the sea, than so to do. Christian, a profession according to the gospel is, in these days, a rare thing; seek then after it, put it on, and keep it without spot, and, as becomes thee, white, and clean, and thou shalt be a rare Christian.

The prophecy of the last times is, that professing men, for so I understand the text, shall be many of them base, 2 Ti. iii; but continue thou in the things that thou hast learned, not of wanton men, nor of licentious times, but of the Word and doctrine of God, that is, according to godliness; and thou shalt walk with Christ in white. Now, God Almighty gave his people grace, not to hate or malign sinners, nor yet to choose any of their ways, but to keep themselves pure from the blood of all men, by speaking and doing according to that name and those rules that they profess to know and love; for Jesus Christ's sake.

JOHN BUNYAN.

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THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MR. BADMAN,

PRESENTED TO THE WORLD IN

A FAMILIAR DIALOGUE BETWIXT MR. WISEMAN AND MR. ATTENTIVE.

CHAPTER I.

[BADMAN'S DEATH AND ITS AWFUL CONSEQUENCES.]

WISEMAN. Good morrow, my good neighbour, Mr. Attentive; whither are you walking so early this morning? Methinks you look as if you were concerned about something more than ordinary. Have you lost any of your cattle, or what is the matter?

ATTENTIVE. Good Sir, good morrow to you, I have not as yet lost aught, but yet you give a right guess of me, for I am, as you say, concerned in my heart, but it is because of the badness of the times. And, Sir, you, as all our neighbours know, are a very observing man, pray, therefore, what do you think of them?

WISE. Why, I think, as you say, to wit, that they are bad times, and bad they will be, until men are better; for they are bad men that make bad times; if men, therefore, would mend, so would the times. It is a folly to look for good days so long as sin is so high, and those that study its nourishment so many. God bring it down, and those that nourish it, to repentance, and then, my good neighbour, you will be concerned, not as you are now; now you are concerned because times are so bad, but then you will be so because times are so good; now you are concerned so as to be perplexed, but then you will be concerned so as to lift up your voice with shouting, for I dare say, could you see such days, they would make you shout.

ATTEN. Ay, so they would; such times I have prayed for, such times I have longed for; but I fear they will be worse before they be better.

WISE. Make no conclusions, man; for he that hath the hearts of men in his hand can change them from worse to better, and so bad times into good. God give long life to them that are good, and especially to those of them that are capable of doing him service in the world. The ornament and beauty of this lower world, next to God and his wonders, are the men that spangle and shine in godliness.

Now as Mr. Wiseman said this, he gave a great sigh.

ATTEN. Amen, amen. But why, good Sir, do you sigh so deeply; is it for ought else than that for the which, as you have perceived, I myself am concerned?

WISE. I am concerned, with you, for the badness of the times; but that was not the cause of that sigh, of the which, as I see, you take notice. I sighed at the remembrance of the death of that man for whom the bell tolled at our town yesterday.

ATTEN. Why, I trow, Mr. Goodman your neighbour is not dead. Indeed I did hear that he had been sick.

WISE. No, no, it is not he. Had it been he, I could not but have been concerned, but yet not as I am concerned now. If he had died, I should only have been concerned for that the world had lost a light; but the man that I am concerned for now was one that never was good, therefore such an one who is not dead only, but damned. He died that he might die, he went from life to death, and then from death to death, from death natural to death eternal. And as he spake this, the water stood in his eyes.[1]

ATTEN. Indeed, to go from a death-bed to hell is a fearful thing to think on. But, good neighbour Wiseman, be pleased to tell me who this man was, and why you conclude him so miserable in his death?

WISE. Well, if you can stay, I will tell you who he was, and why I conclude thus concerning him.

ATTEN. My leisure will admit me to stay, and I am willing to hear you out. And I pray God your discourse may take hold on my heart, that I may be bettered thereby. So they agreed to sit down under a tree. Then Mr. Wiseman proceeded as followeth:—

WISE. The man that I mean is one Mr. Badman; he has lived in our town a great while, and now, as I said, he is dead. But the reason of my being so concerned at his death is, not for that he was at all related to me, or for that any good conditions died with him, for he was far from them, but for that, as I greatly fear, he hath, as was hinted before, died two deaths at once.

ATTEN. I perceive what you mean by two deaths at once; and to speak truth, it is a fearful thing thus to have ground to think of any: for although the death of the ungodly and sinners is laid to heart but of few, yet to die in such a state is more dreadful and fearful than any man can imagine. Indeed if a man had no soul, if his state was not truly immortal, the matter would not be so much; but for a man to be so disposed of by his Maker,

[1] 'The unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God.' 1 Co. vi. 9. Instead of Christ, the Prince of peace, being theirs, the prince of the power of the air is theirs; instead of the comforts of the gospel, the curses of the law are theirs; instead of heaven, hell is theirs, and an exclusion from God and happiness for ever! Sinner, think NOW on these things. —(Mason.)

as to be appointed a sensible being for ever, and for him too to fall into the hands of revenging justice, that will be always, to the utmost extremity that his sin deserveth, punishing of him in the dismal dungeon of hell, this must needs be unutterably sad, and lamentable.

WISE. There is no man, I think, that is sensible of the worth of one soul, but must, when he hears of the death of unconverted men, be stricken with sorrow and grief: because, as you said well, that man's state is such that he has a sensible being for ever. For it is sense that makes punishment heavy. But yet sense is not all that the damned have, they have sense and reason too; so then, as sense receiveth punishment with sorrow, because it feels, and bleeds under the same, so by reason, and the exercise thereof, in the midst of torment, all present affliction is aggravated, and that three manner of ways:—1. Reason will consider thus with himself. For what am I thus tormented? and will easily find it is for nothing but that base and filthy thing, sin; and now will vexation be mixed with punishment, and that will greatly heighten the affliction. 2. Reason will consider thus with himself. How long must this be my state? And will soon return to himself this answer: This must be my state for ever and ever. Now this will greatly increase the torment. 3. Reason will consider thus with himself. What have I lost more than present ease and quiet by my sins that I have committed? And will quickly return himself this answer: I have lost communion with God, Christ, saints, and angels, and a share in heaven and eternal life: and this also must needs greaten the misery of poor damned souls. And this is the case of Mr. Badman.

ATTEN. I feel my heart even shake at the thoughts of coming into such a state. Hell! who knows that is yet alive, what the torments of hell are? This word HELL gives a very dreadful sound.

WISE. Ay, so it does in the ears of him that has a tender conscience. But if, as you say, and that truly, the very name of hell is so dreadful, what is the place itself, and what are the punishments that are there inflicted, and that without the least intermission, upon the souls of damned men, for ever and ever.

ATTEN. Well, but passing this; my leisure will admit me to stay, and therefore pray tell me what it is that makes you think that Mr. Badman is gone to hell.

WISE. I will tell you. But first, do you know which of the Badmans I mean?

ATTEN. Why, was there more of them than one?

WISE. O yes, a great many, both brothers and sisters, and yet all of them the children of a godly parent, the more a great deal is the pity.

ATTEN. Which of them therefore was it that died?

WISE. The eldest, old in years, and old in sin; but the sinner that dies an hundred years old shall be accursed.

ATTEN. Well, but what makes you think he is gone to hell?

WISE. His wicked life, and fearful death, especially since the manner of his death was so corresponding with his life.

ATTEN. Pray let me know the manner of his death, if yourself did perfectly know it.

WISE. I was there when he died; but I desire not to see another such man, while I live, die in such sort as he did.

ATTEN. Pray therefore let me hear it.

WISE. You say you have leisure and can stay, and therefore, if you please, we will discourse even orderly of him. First, we will begin with his life, and then proceed to his death: because a relation of the first may the more affect you, when you shall hear of the second.

ATTEN. Did you then so well know his life?

WISE. I knew him of a child. I was a man, when he was but a boy, and I made special observation of him from first to last.

ATTEN. Pray then let me hear from you an account of his life; but be as brief as you can, for I long to hear of the manner of his death.

CHAPTER I

[BADMAN'S WICKED BEHAVIOUR IN CHILDHOOD.]

WISE. I will endeavour to answer your desires, and first, I will tell you, that from a child he was very bad; his very beginning was ominous, and presaged that no good end was, in likelihood, to follow thereupon. There were several sins that he was given to, when but a little one, that manifested him to be notoriously infected with original corruption; for I dare say he learned none of them of his father and mother; nor was he admitted to go much abroad among other children that were vile, to learn to sin of them: nay, contrariwise, if at any time he did get abroad amongst others, he would be as the inventor of bad words, and an example in bad actions. To them all he used to be, as we say, the ringleader, and master-sinner from a child.

ATTEN. This was a bad beginning indeed, and did demonstrate that he was, as you say, polluted, very much polluted with original corruption. For to speak my mind freely, I do confess that it is mine opinion that children come polluted with sin into the world, and that ofttimes the sins of their youth, especially while they are very young, are rather by virtue of indwelling sin, than by examples that are set before them by others. Not but that they learn to sin by example too, but example is not the root,

Original sin is the root of actual transgression.

but rather the temptation unto wickedness. The root is sin within; 'for from within, out of the heart of men,' proceedeth sin. Mar. vii. 21.

WISE. I am glad to hear that you are of this opinion, and to confirm what you have said by a few hints from the Word. Man in his birth is compared to an ass, an unclean beast, and to a wretched infant in its blood. Job xi. 12. Eze. xvi. Besides, all the first-born of old that were offered unto the Lord, were to be redeemed at the age of a month, and that was before they were sinners by imitation. Ex. xiii. 13; xxxiv. 20. The scripture also affirmeth, that by the sin of one, judgment came upon all; and renders this reason, 'for that all have sinned.' Ro. v. 12. Nor is that objection worth a rush, that Christ by his death hath taken away original sin. First. Because it is scriptureless. Secondly. Because it makes them incapable of salvation by Christ; for none but those that in their own persons are sinners are to have salvation by him. Many other things might be added, but between persons so well agreed as you and I are, these may suffice at present. But when an antagonist comes to deal with us about this matter, then we have for him often other strong arguments, if he be an antagonist worth the taking notice of.

ATTEN. But, as was hinted before, he used to be the ring-leading sinner, or the master of mischief among other children; yet these are but generals; pray therefore tell me in particular which were the sins of his childhood.

WISE. I will so. When he was but a child, he was so addicted to lying that his parents scarce knew when to believe he spake true; yea, he would invent, tell, and stand to the lies that he invented and told, and that with such an audacious face, that one might even read in his very countenance the symptoms of a hard and desperate heart this way.

Badman addicted to lying from a child.

ATTEN. This was an ill beginning indeed, and argueth that he began to harden himself in sin betimes. For a lie cannot be knowingly told and stood in, and I perceive that this was his manner of way in lying, but he must as it were force his own heart unto it. Yea, he must make his* heart hard, and bold to do it. Yea, he must be arrived to an exceeding pitch of wickedness thus to do, since all this he did against that good education, that before you seemed to hint he had from his father and mother.

* A lie knowingly told demonstrates that the heart is desperately hard.

WISE. The want of good education, as you have intimated, is many times a cause why children do so easily, so soon, become bad; especially when there is not only a want of that, but bad examples enough, as, the more is the pity, there is in many families; by virtue of which poor children are trained up in sin, and nursed therein for the devil and hell. But it was otherwise with Mr. Badman, for to my knowledge this his way of lying was a great grief to his parents, for their hearts were much dejected at this beginning of their son; nor did there want counsel and correction from them to him if that would have made him better. He wanted not to be told, in my hearing, and that over and over and over, that 'all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone;' and that 'whosoever loveth and maketh a lie,' should not have any part in the new and heavenly Jerusalem. Re. xxi. 8, 27; xxii. 15. But all availed nothing with him; when a fit, or an occasion to lie came upon him, he would invent, tell, and stand to his lie as stedfastly as if it had been the biggest of truths that he told, and that with that hardening of his heart and face, that it would be to those who stood by, a wonder. Nay, and this he would do when under the rod of correction, which is appointed by God for parents to use, that thereby they might keep their children from hell. Pr. xxii. 15; xxiii. 13, 14.[1]

The liar's portion.

ATTEN. Truly it was, as I said, a bad beginning, he served the devil betimes; yea, he became nurse to one of his brats,* for a spirit of lying is the devil's brat, 'for he is a liar and the father of it.' Jn. viii. 44.

* The devil's brat.

WISE. Right, he is the father of it indeed. A lie is begot by the devil as the father, and is brought forth by the wicked heart as the mother; wherefore another scripture also saith, 'Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie,' &c. Ac. v. 3, 4. Yea, he calleth the heart that is big with a lie, an heart that hath conceived, that is, by the devil. 'Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.' True, his lie was a lie of the highest nature, but every lie hath the* same father and mother as had the lie last spoken of. 'For he is a liar, and the father of it.' A lie then is the brat of hell, and it cannot be in the heart† before the person has committed a kind of spiritual adultery with the devil. That soul therefore that telleth a known lie, has lien with, and conceived it by lying with

* The father and mother of a lie.

† Mark.

[1] These Scriptures have often been perverted to justify the most cruel punishments inflicted on helpless children. The word שֵׁבֶט, translated 'a rod,' is derived from the Hebrew verb 'to govern,' and, as a noun, signifies a sceptre, a pen, or a staff, the emblems of government. Brutal punishments, as practised in our army, navy, and schools, are not only inhuman and indecent, but have one direct tendency, that of hardening the mind and instilling a vindictive ferocious disposition. After bringing up a very large family, who are a blessing to their parents, I have yet to learn what part of the human body was created to be beaten. There are infinitely better modes of instructing, correcting, and governing children, than that of bruising their flesh, or breaking their bones, or even of a box on the ear.—(ED.)

the devil, the only father of lies. For a lie has only one father and mother, the devil and the heart. No marvel therefore if the hearts that hatch and bring forth lies be so much of complexion with the devil. Yea, no marvel though God and Christ have so bent their word against liars.[1] A liar is wedded to the devil himself.

ATTEN. It seems a marvellous thing in mine eyes, that since a lie is the offspring of the devil, and since a lie brings the soul to the very den of devils, to wit, the dark dungeon of hell, that men should be so desperately wicked as to accustom themselves to so horrible a thing.

WISE. It seems also marvellous to me, especially when I observe for how little a matter some men will study, contrive, make, and tell a lie. You shall have some that will lie it over and over, and that for a penny profit. Yea, lie and stand in it, although they know that they lie. Yea, you shall have some men that will not stick to tell lie after lie, though themselves get nothing thereby. They will tell lies in their ordinary discourse with their neighbours, also their news, their jests, and their tales, must needs be adorned with lies; or else they seem to bear no good sound to the ear, nor show much to the fancy of him to whom they are told. But alas! what will these liars do, when, for their lies they shall be tumbled down into hell, to that devil that did beget those lies in their heart, and so be tormented by fire and brimstone, with him, and that for ever and ever, for their lies?

Some will tell a lie for a penny profit.

ATTEN. Can you not give one some example of God's judgments upon liars, that one may tell them to liars when one hears them lie, if perhaps they may by the hearing thereof, be made afraid, and ashamed to lie.

WISE. Examples! why, Ananias[2] and his wife are examples enough to put a stop, one would think, to a spirit addicted thereto, for they both were stricken down dead for telling a lie, and that by God himself, in the midst of a company of people. Ac. v. But if God's threatening of liars with hell-fire, and with the loss of the kingdom of heaven, will not prevail with them to leave off to lie and make lies, it cannot be imagined that a relation of temporal judgments that have swept liars out of the world heretofore, should do it. Now, as I said, this lying was one of the first sins that Mr. Badman was addicted to, and he could make them and tell them fearfully.

An example for liars.

ATTEN. I am sorry to hear this of him, and so much the more, because, as I fear, this sin did not reign in him alone; for usually one that is accustomed to lying, is also accustomed to other evils besides; and if it were not so also with Mr. Badman, it would be indeed a wonder.

A spirit of lying accompanied with other sins.

WISE. You say true, the liar is a captive slave of more than the spirit of lying; and therefore this Mr. Badman, as he was a liar from a child, so he was also much given to pilfer and steal, so that what he could, as we say, handsomely lay his hands on,[3] that was counted his own, whether they were the things of his fellow-children, or if he could lay hold of anything at a neighbour's house, he would take it away; you must understand me of trifles; for being yet but a child, he attempted no great matter, especially at first. But yet as he grew up in strength and ripeness of wit, so he attempted to pilfer and steal things still of more value than at first. He took at last great pleasure in robbing of gardens and orchards; and as he grew up, to steal pullen[4] from the neighbourhood. Yea, what was his father's could not escape his fingers, all was fish that came to his net, so hardened, at last, was he in this mischief also.

Badman given to pilfer.

Badman would rob his father.

ATTEN. You make me wonder more and more. What, play the thief too! What, play the thief so soon! He could not but know, though he was but a child, that what he took from others was none of his own. Besides, if his father was a good man, as you say, it could not be but he must also hear from him that to steal was to transgress the law of God, and so to run the hazard of eternal damnation.

WISE. His father was not wanting to use the means to reclaim him, often urging, as I have been told, that saying in the law of Moses, 'Thou shalt not steal.' Ex. xx. 15. And also that, 'This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth; for every one that stealeth shall be cut off,' &c. Zec. v. 3. The light of nature also, though he was little, must needs show him that what he took from others was not his own; and that he would not willingly have been served so himself. But all was to no purpose, let father and conscience say what they would to him, he would go on, he was resolved to go on in his wickedness.

[1] Peculiarly awful are the denunciations of the Scriptures against the crime of lying. The liar and the murderer are joined together to receive the curse. 'Thou shalt destroy them that speak lies - the man of blood and of deceit are abhorred of the Lord,' Ps. v. 6.

[2] The first edition has 'Sapphira and his wife.' It is not noticed in the errata, but was corrected in the later copies.—(Ed.)

[3] The solemn importance of instilling right principles into the mind, from the first dawn of reason, cannot be too strongly enforced. Many a wretched midnight burglar commenced his career of vice and folly by stealing fruit, followed by thieving anything that he could HANDSOMELY. Pilfering, unless severely checked, is a hotbed for the foulest crimes.—(Ed.)

[4] Poultry.—(Ed.)

ATTEN. But his father would, as you intimate, sometimes rebuke him for his wickedness; pray how would he carry it then?

WISE. How! why like to a thief that is found. Je. ii. 26. He would stand gloating,[1] and hanging down his head in a sullen, pouching manner; a body might read, as we used to say, the picture of ill-luck in his face; and when his father did demand his answer to such questions concerning his villainy, he would grumble and mutter at him, and that should be all he could get.

How Badman did use to carry it when his father used to chide him for his sins.

ATTEN. But you said that he would also rob his father, methinks that was an unnatural thing.

WISE. Natural or unnatural, all is one to a thief. Besides, you must think that he had likewise companions to whom he was, for the wickedness that he saw in them, more firmly knit, than either to father or mother. Yea, and what had he cared if father and mother had died for grief for him. Their death would have been, as he would have counted, great release and liberty to him; for the truth is, they and their counsel were his bondage; yea, and if I forget not, I have heard some say that when he was, at times, among his companions he would greatly rejoice to think that his parents were old, and could not live long, and then, quoth he, I shall be mine own man, to do what I list, without their control.

Badman more firmly knit to his companions than either to father or mother.

Badman would rejoice to think that his parents' death were at hand.

ATTEN. Then it seems he counted that robbing of his parents was no crime.

WISE. None at all; and therefore he fell directly under that sentence, 'Whoso robbeth his father or his mother, and saith it is no transgression, the same is the companion of a destroyer.' Pr. xxviii. 24. And for that he set so light by them as to their persons and counsels, it was a sign that at present he was of a very abominable spirit, and that some judgment waited to take hold of him in time to come. 1 Sa. ii. 25.

ATTEN. But can you imagine what it was, I mean, in his conceit, for I speak not now of the suggestions of Satan, by which doubtless he was put on to do these things; I say what it should be in his conceit, that should make him think that this his manner of pilfering and stealing was no great matter.

WISE. It was for that the things that he stole were small; to rob orchards, and gardens, and to steal pullen, and the like, these he counted tricks of youth, nor would he be beat out of it by all that his friends could say. They would tell him that he must not covet, or desire, and yet to desire is less than to take, even anything, the least thing that was his neighbour's; and that if he did, it would be a transgression of the law; but all was one to him; what through the wicked talk of his companions, and the delusion of his own corrupt heart, he would go on in his pilfering course, and where he thought himself secure, would talk of, and laugh at it when he had done.

Badman counted his thieving no great matter.

ATTEN. Well I heard a man once, when he was upon the ladder with the rope about his neck, confess, when ready to be turned off by the hangman, that that which had brought him to that end was his accustoming of himself, when young, to pilfer and steal small things. To my best remembrance he told us, that he began the trade of a thief by stealing of pins and points;[2] and therefore did forewarn all the youth that then were gathered together to see him die, to take heed of beginning, though but with little sins; because by tampering at first with little ones, way is made for the commission of bigger.[3]

WISE. Since you are entered upon stories, I also will tell you one; the which, though I heard it not with mine own ears, yet my author I dare believe. It is concerning one old Tod, that was hanged about twenty years ago, or more, at Hertford, for being a thief. The story is this:—

The story of old Tod.

Young thieves take notice.

At a summer assizes holden at Hertford, while the judge was sitting upon the bench, comes this old Tod into court, clothed in a green suit, with his leathern girdle in his hand, his bosom open, and all on a dung sweat, as if he had run for his life; and being come in, he spake aloud as follows:—My lord, said he, here is the veriest rogue that breathes upon the face of the earth. I have been a thief from a child. When I was but a little one, I gave myself to rob orchards, and to do other such like wicked things, and I have continued a thief ever since. My lord, there has not been a robbery committed these many years, within so many miles of this place, but I have either been at it, or privy to it.

Old Tod began his way to the gallows by robbing of orchards, and the like.

The judge thought the fellow was mad, but after some conference with some of the justices, they agreed to indict him; and so they did of several felonious actions; to all which he heartily con-

[1] 'Gloating,' staring sulkily; or with an evil eye—(ED.)

[2] Point, a tag or metal point fixed on the end of a lace. Fox narrates that a martyr, brought to the stake in his shirt, took *a point* from his hose, and trussed in his shirt between his legs. —(ED.)

[3] 'Sin will at first, just like a beggar, crave
One penny or one halfpenny to have;
And if you grant its first suit, 'twill aspire
From pence to pounds, and so will still mount higher
To the whole soul.'
—Bunyan's *Caution against Sin*, vol. II., p. 575.

fessed guilty, and so was hanged, with his wife at the same time.

ATTEN. This is a remarkable story indeed, and you think it is a true one.

WISE. It is not only remarkable, but pat to our purpose. This thief, like Mr. Badman, began his trade betimes; he began too where Mr. Badman began, even at robbing of orchards, and other such things, which brought him, as you may perceive, from sin to sin, till at last it brought him to the public shame of sin, which is the gallows.

As for the truth of this story, the relater told me that he was, at the same time, himself in the court, and stood within less than two yards of old Tod, when he heard him aloud to utter the words.

ATTEN. These two sins, of lying and stealing, were a bad sign of an evil end.

WISE. So they were, and yet Mr. Badman came not to his end like old Tod; though I fear to as bad, nay, worse than was that death of the gallows, though less discerned by spectators; but more of that by and by. But you talk of these two sins as if these were all that Mr. Badman was addicted to in his youth. Alas, alas, he swarmed with sins, even as a beggar does with vermin, and that when he was but a boy.

ATTEN. Why, what other sins was he addicted to, I mean while he was but a child?

WISE. You need not ask to what other sins was he, but to what other sins was he not addicted; that is, of such as suited with his age; for a man may safely say that nothing that was vile came amiss to him, if he was but capable to do it. Indeed, some sins there be that childhood knows not how to be tampering with; but I speak of sins that he was capable of committing, of which I will nominate two or three more. And, First, He could not endure the Lord's day, because of the holiness that did attend it; the beginning of that day was to him as if he was going to prison, except he could get out from his father and mother, and lurk in by-holes among his companions, until holy duties were over. Reading the Scriptures, hearing sermons, godly conference, repeating of sermons and prayers, were things that he could not away with; and, therefore, if his father on such days, as often he did, though sometimes, notwithstanding his diligence, he would be sure to give him the slip, did keep him strictly to the observation of the day, he would plainly show, by all carriages, that he was highly discontent therewith. He would sleep at duties, would talk vainly with his brothers, and, as it were, think every godly opportunity seven times as long as it was, grudging till it was over.

Badman could not abide the Lord's day.

ATTEN. This his abhorring of that day, was not, I think, for the sake of the day itself; for as it is a day, it is nothing else but as other days of the week. But I suppose that the reason of his loathing of it was for that God hath put sanctity and holiness upon it; also, because it is the day above all the days of the week that ought to be spent in holy devotion, in remembrance of our Lord's resurrection from the dead.

Why Badman could not abide the Lord's day.

WISE. Yes, it was therefore that he was such an enemy to it; even because more restraint was laid upon him on that day, from his own ways, than were possible should be laid upon him on all others.

ATTEN. Doth not God, by instituting of a day unto holy duties, make great proof how the hearts and inclinations of poor people do stand to holiness of heart, and a conversation in holy duties?

WISE. Yes, doubtless; and a man shall show his heart and his life what they are, more by one Lord's day than by all the days of the week besides. And the reason is, because on the Lord's day there is a special restraint laid upon men as to thoughts and life, more than upon other days of the week besides. Also, men are enjoined on that day to a stricter performance of holy duties, and restraint of worldly business, than upon other days they are; wherefore, if their hearts incline not naturally to good, now they will show it, now they will appear what they are. The Lord's day is a kind of an emblem of the heavenly Sabbath above, and it makes manifest how the heart stands to the perpetuity of holiness, more than to be found in a transient duty does.

God proves the heart what it is, by instituting of the Lord's day, and setting it apart to his service.

On other days, a man may be in and out of holy duties, and all in a quarter of an hour; but now, the Lord's day is, as it were, a day that enjoins to one perpetual duty of holiness. 'Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day;' which, by Christ, is not abrogated, but changed, into the first of the week, not as it was given in particular to the Jews, but as it was sanctified by him from the beginning of the world; Ge. ii. 2; Ex. xxxi. 13–17; Mar. xvi. 1; Ac. xx. 7; 1 Co. xvi. 1, 2; Mar. ii. 27, 28; Re. i. 10; and therefore is a greater proof of the frame and temper of a man's heart, and does more make manifest to what he is inclined, than doth his other performance of duties. Therefore, God puts great difference between them that truly call, and walk in, this day as holy, and count it honourable, upon the account that now they have an opportunity to show how they delight to honour him; in that they have not only an hour, but a whole day, to show it in. Is. lviii. 13. I say, he puts great difference between these, and that other sort that say, When will the Sabbath be gone, that we may be at our worldly business? Am. viii. 5. The first he calleth a blessed man, but brandeth the other for an unsanctified worldling. And, indeed, to delight ourselves in God's service upon his holy days, gives a better

proof of a sanctified nature than to grudge at the coming, and to be weary of the holy duties of such days, as Mr. Badman did.[1]

ATTEN. There may be something in what you say, for he that cannot abide to keep one day holy to God, to be sure he hath given a sufficient proof that he is an unsanctified man; and, as such, what should he do in heaven? That being the place where a perpetual Sabbath is to be kept to God; I say, to be kept for ever and ever. HE. iv. 9. And, for ought I know, one reason why one day in seven hath been by our Lord set apart unto holy duties for men, may be to give them conviction that there is enmity in the hearts of sinners to the God of heaven, for he that hateth holiness, hateth God himself. They pretend to love God, and yet love not a holy day, and yet love not to spend that day in one continued act of holiness to the Lord. They had as good say nothing as to call him Lord, Lord, and yet not do the things that he says. And this Mr. Badman was such a one, he could not abide this day, nor any of the duties of it. Indeed, when he could get from his friends, and so spend it in all manner of idleness and profaneness, then he would be pleased well enough; but what was this but a turning the day into night, or other than taking an opportunity at God's forbidding, to follow our callings, to solace and satisfy our lusts and delights of the flesh? I take the liberty to speak thus of Mr. Badman, upon a confidence of what you, Sir, have said of him is true.

How Badman did use to spend the Lord's day.

WISE. You needed not to have made that apology for your censuring of Mr. Badman, for all that knew him will confirm what you say of him to be true. He could not abide either that day, or anything else that had the stamp or image of God upon it. Sin, sin, and to do the thing that was naught, was that which he delighted in, and that from a little child.

ATTEN. I must say again I am sorry to hear it, and that for his own sake, and also for the sake of his relations, who must needs be broken to pieces with such doings as these. For, for these things' sake comes the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. EP. v. 6. And, doubtless, he must be gone to hell, if he died without repentance; and to beget a child for hell is sad for parents to think on.

WISE. Of his dying, as I told you, I will give you a relation anon; but now we are upon his life, and upon the manner of his life in his childhood, even of the sins that attended him then, some of which I have mentioned already; and, indeed, I have mentioned but some, for yet there are more to follow, and those not at all inferior to what you have already heard.

ATTEN. Pray what were they?

WISE. Why he was greatly given, and that while a lad, to grievous swearing and cursing; yea, he then made no more of swearing and cursing than I do of telling my fingers. Yea, he would do it without provocation thereto. He counted it a glory to swear and curse, and it was as natural to him as to eat, and drink, and sleep.

Badman given to swearing and cursing.

ATTEN. O what a young villain was this! Here is, as the apostle says, a yielding of 'members, *as* instruments of unrighteousness unto sin,' indeed! RO. vi. 13. This is proceeding from evil to evil with a witness. This argueth that he was a black-mouthed young wretch indeed.

WISE. He was so; and yet, as I told you, he he counted above all this kind of sinning to be a badge of his honour; he reckoned himself a man's fellow when he had learned to swear and curse boldly.

Swearing and cursing a badge of Mr. Badman's honour.

ATTEN. I am persuaded that many do think as you have said, that to swear is a thing that does bravely become them, and that it is the best way for a man, when he would put authority or terror into his words, to stuff them full of the sin of swearing.

WISE. You say right, else, as I am persuaded, men would not so usually belch out their blasphemous oaths as they do; they take a pride in it; they think that to swear is gentleman-like; and, having once accustomed themselves unto it, they hardly leave it all the days of their lives.[2]

ATTEN. Well, but now we are upon it, pray show me the difference between swearing and cursing; for there is a difference, is there not?

Difference betwixt swearing and cursing.

WISE. Yes; there is a difference between swearing and cursing. Swearing, vain swearing, such as young Badman accustomed himself unto. Now, vain and sinful swearing is a light and wicked calling of God, &c., to witness to our vain and foolish attesting of things, and those things are of two sorts. 1. Things that we swear, are or shall be done. 2. Things so sworn to, true or false.

What swearing is.

1. Things that we swear, are or shall be done. Thou swearest thou hast done such a thing, that such a thing is so, or shall be so; for it is no matter which of these it is that men swear about, if it be done lightly, and wickedly, and groundlessly, it is vain, because it is a sin against the

[1] Christian assemblies are the life, food, and nourishment of our souls; consequently the forsaking of them, and the profanation of the Sabbath, are usually the forerunners of apostacy.—(Mason.)

[2] Profane swearers use the language of hell before they arrive at their awful destination. Were God to answer their imprecations they would be miserable beyond conception. 'Because of swearing the land mourneth.'—(ED.)

third commandment, which says, 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.' Ex. xx. 7. For this is a vain using of that holy and sacred name, and so a sin for which, without sound repentance, there is not, nor can be rightly expected, forgiveness.

ATTEN. Then it seems, though as to the matter of fact, a man swears truly, yet if he sweareth lightly and groundlessly, his oath is evil, and he by it under sin.

A man may sin in swearing to a truth.

WISE. Yes, a man may say, 'The Lord liveth,' and that is true, and yet in so saying 'swear falsely;' because he sweareth vainly, needlessly, and without a ground. Je. v. 2. To swear groundedly and necessarily, which then a man does when he swears as being called thereto of God, that is tolerated by the Word.[1] But this was none of Mr. Badman's swearing, and therefore that which now we are not concerned about.

A man may sin in swearing to the truth.

ATTEN. I perceive by the prophet that a man may sin in swearing to a truth. They therefore must needs most horribly sin that swear to confirm their jests and lies; and, as they think, the better to beautify their foolish talking.

WISE. They sin with a high hand; for they presume to imagine that God is as wicked as themselves, to wit, that he is an avoucher of lies to be true. For, as I said before, to swear is to call God to witness; and to swear to a lie is to call God to witness that that lie is true. This, therefore, must needs offend; for it puts the highest affront upon the holiness and righteousness of God, therefore his wrath must sweep them away. Zec. v. 3. This kind of swearing is put in with lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery; and therefore must not go unpunished. Je. vii. 9; Ho. iv. 2, 3. For if God 'will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain,' which a man may do when he swears to a truth, as I have showed before, how can it be imagined that he should hold such guiltless, who, by swearing, will appeal to God for lies that be not true, or that swear out of their frantic and bedlam madness. It would grieve and provoke a sober man to wrath, if one should swear to a notorious lie, and avouch that that man would attest it for a truth; and yet thus do men deal with the holy God. They tell their jestings, tales, and lies, and then swear by God that they are true. Now, this kind of swearing was as common with young Badman, as it was to eat when he was an hungered, or to go to bed when it was night.

He that swears to a lie, concludes that God is as wicked as himself.

ATTEN. I have often mused in my mind, what it should be that should make men so common in the use of the sin of swearing, since those that be wise will believe them never the sooner for that.

WISE. It cannot be anything that is good, you may be sure; because the thing itself is abominable. 1. Therefore it must be from the promptings of the spirit of the devil within them. 2. Also it flows sometimes from hellish rage, when the tongue hath set on fire of hell even the whole course of nature. Ja. iii. 6–9. 3. But commonly, swearing flows from that daring boldness that biddeth defiance to the law that forbids it. 4. Swearers think, also, that by their belching of their blasphemous oaths out of their black and polluted mouths, they show themselves the more valiant men. 5. And imagine also, that by these outrageous kind of villanies, they shall conquer those that at such a time they have to do with, and make them believe their lies to be true. 6. They also swear frequently to get gain thereby, and when they meet with fools they overcome them this way. But if I might give advice in this matter, no buyer should lay out one farthing with him that is a common swearer in his calling; especially with such an oath-master that endeavoureth to swear away his commodity to another, and that would swear his chapman's money into his own pocket.

Six causes of vain swearing.

ATTEN. All these causes of swearing, so far as I can perceive, flow from the same root as do the oaths themselves, even from a hardened and desperate heart. But, pray, show me now how wicked cursing is to be distinguished from this kind of swearing.

WISE. Swearing, as I said, hath immediately to do with the name of God, and it calls upon him to be witness to the truth of what is said; that is, if they that swear, swear by him. Some, indeed, swear by idols, as by the mass, by our lady, by saints, beasts, birds, and other creatures;[2] but the usual way of our profane ones in England is to swear by God, Christ, faith, and the like. But, however, or by whatever they swear, cursing is distinguished from swearing thus.

How cursing is distinguished from swearing.

To curse, to curse profanely, it is to sentence another or ourself, for or to evil; or to wish that some evil might happen to the person or thing under the curse unjustly.

Of cursing, what it is.

[1] Profane cursing and swearing was awfully fashionable in Bunyan's days. This led many pious persons to denounce oaths altogether; and the time is fast coming when the world will agree with the Quakers that an affirmation is the best test of truth. It is like the controversy of the teetotallers; some who would be ashamed of taking intoxicating liquors, except as medicine, will soon throw such physics to the dogs or on the dunghill.—(ED.)

[2] This is one of Bunyan's home-thrusts at Popery. Classing the mass, our lady-saints, and beasts, among the idols or objects of divine worship. He omits an oath very common among Irish labourers, which much puzzled me when a boy, "bloodunoons," meaning the bleeding wounds of the Saviour. How thankful ought we to be that, in our days, profane swearing stamps, upon any one who uses it, the character of a blackguard.—(ED.)

It is to sentence for or to evil, that is, without a cause. Thus Shimei cursed David; he sentenced him for and to evil unjustly, when he said to him, 'Come out, come out, thou bloody man, and thou man of Belial. The Lord hath returned upon thee all the blood of the house of Saul, in whose stead thou hast reigned, and the Lord hath delivered the kingdom into the hand of Absalom thy son; and, behold, thou *art taken* in thy mischief, because thou *art* a bloody man.' 2 Sa. xvi. 7, 8.

This David calls 'a grievous curse.' 'And behold,' saith he to Solomon his son, '*thou hast* with thee Shimei, - a Benjamite, - which cursed me with a grievous curse in the day when I went to Mahanaim.' 1 Ki. ii. 8.

But what was this curse? Why, First, It was a wrong sentence past upon David; Shimei called him bloody man, man of Belial, when he was not. Secondly, He sentenced him to the evil that at present was upon him for being a bloody man, that is, against the house of Saul, when that present evil overtook David for quite another thing. And we may thus apply it to the profane ones of our times, who in their rage and envy have little else in their mouths but a sentence against their neighbour for and to evil unjustly. How common is it with many, when they are but a little offended with one, to cry, Hang him, Damn him, Rogue! This is both a sentencing of him for and to evil, and is in itself a grievous curse.

How the profane ones of our times curse.

2. The other kind of cursing is to wish that some evil might happen to, and overtake this or that person or thing. And this kind of cursing Job counted a grievous sin. 'Neither have I suffered (says he) my mouth to sin by wishing a curse to his soul;' or consequently to body or estate. Job xxxi. 30. This then is a wicked cursing, to wish that evil might either befall another or ourselves. And this kind of cursing young Badman accustomed himself unto. 1. He would wish that evil might befall others; he would wish their necks broken, or that their brains were out, or that the pox or plague was upon them, and the like; all which is a devilish kind of cursing, and is become one of the common sins of our age. 2. He would also as often wish a curse to himself, saying, Would I might be hanged, or burned, or that the devil might fetch me, if it be not so, or the like.

Badman's way of cursing.

The Damn-me-blade. We count the Damn-me-blades to be great swearers, but when in their hellish fury they say, God damn me, God perish me, or the like, they rather curse than swear; yea, curse themselves, and that with a wish that damnation might light upon themselves; which wish and curse of theirs in a little time they will see accomplished upon them, even in hell fire, if they repent them not of their sins.

Atten. But did this young Badman accustom himself to such filthy kind of language?

Wise. I think I may say that nothing was more frequent in his mouth, and that upon the least provocation. Yea, he was so versed in such kind of language, that neither father, nor mother, nor brother, nor sister, nor servant, no, nor the very cattle that his father had, could escape these curses of his. I say that even the brute beasts, when he drove them or rid upon them, if they pleased not his humour, they must be sure to partake of his curse. He would wish their necks broke, their legs broke, their guts out, or that the devil might fetch them, or the like; and no marvel, for he that is so hardy to wish damnation or other bad curses to himself, or dearest relations, will not stick to wish evil to the silly beast in his madness.

Badman would curse his father, &c.

Badman would curse his father's cattle.

Atten. Well, I see still that this Badman was a desperate villain. But pray, Sir, since you have gone thus far, now show me whence this evil of cursing ariseth, and also what dishonour it bringeth to God; for I easily discern that it doth bring damnation to the soul.

Wise. This evil of cursing ariseth in general from the desperate wickedness of the heart, but particularly from, 1. Envy, which is, as I apprehend, the leading sin to witchcraft. 2. It also ariseth from pride, which was the sin of the fallen angels. 3. It ariseth too, from scorn and contempt of others. 4. But for a man to curse himself, must needs arise from desperate madness. Job. xv. Ec. vii. 22.

Four causes of cursing.

The dishonour that it bringeth to God is this. It taketh away from him his authority, in whose power it is only to bless and curse; not to curse wickedly, as Mr. Badman, but justly and righteously, giving by his curse, to those that are wicked, the due reward of their deeds.

The dishonour it brings to God.

Besides, these wicked men, in their wicked cursing of their neighbour, &c., do even curse God himself in his handiwork. Ja. iii. 9. Man is God's image, and to curse wickedly the image of God is to curse God himself. Therefore as when men wickedly swear, they rend, and tear God's name, and make him, as much as in them lies, the avoucher and approver of all their wickedness; so he that curseth and condemneth in this sort his neighbour, or that wisheth him evil, curseth, condemneth, and wisheth evil to the image of God, and, consequently judgeth and condemneth God himself. Suppose that a man should say with his mouth, I wish that the king's picture was burned; would not this man's so saying render him as an enemy to the person of the king? Even so it is with them that, by cursing, wish evil to their

neighbour, or to themselves, they contemn the image, even the image of God himself.

ATTEN. But do you think that the men that do thus, do think that they do so vilely, so abominably?

WISE. The question is not what men do believe concerning their sin, but what God's Word says of it. If God's Word says that swearing and cursing are sins, though men should count them for virtues, their reward will be a reward for sin, to wit, the damnation of the soul. To curse another, and to swear vainly and falsely, are sins against the light of nature. 1. To curse is so, because whoso curseth another, knows that at the same time he would not be so served himself. 2. To swear also is a sin against the same law; for nature will tell me that I should not lie, and therefore much less swear to confirm it. Yea, the heathens have looked upon swearing to be a solemn ordinance of God, and therefore not to be lightly or vainly used by men, though to confirm a matter of truth. Ge. xxi. 43–55.

Swearing and cursing are sins against the light of nature.

ATTEN. But I wonder, since cursing and swearing are such evils in the eyes of God, that he doth not make some examples to others, for their committing such wickedness.

WISE. Alas! so he has, a thousand times twice told, as may be easily gathered by any observing people in every age and country. I could present you with several myself; but waving the abundance that might be mentioned, I will here present you with two. One was that dreadful judgment of God upon one N. P. at Wimbleton in Surrey; who, after a horrible fit of swearing at and cursing of some persons that did not please him, suddenly fell sick, and in little time died raving, cursing, and swearing.

Examples of God's anger against them that swear and curse.

But above all, take that dreadful story of Dorothy Mately, an inhabitant of Ashover, in the county of Derby. This Dorothy Mately, saith the relater, was noted by the people of the town to be a great swearer, and curser, and liar, and thief; just like Mr. Badman. And the labour that she did usually follow was to wash the rubbish that came forth of the lead mines, and there to get sparks of lead ore; and her usual way of asserting of things was with these kind of imprecations: I would I might sink into the earth if it be not so; or, I would God would make the earth open and swallow me up. Now upon the 23d of March, 1660, this Dorothy was washing of ore upon the top of a steep hill, about a quarter of a mile from Ashover, and was there taxed by a lad for taking of two single pence out of his pocket, for he had laid his breeches by, and was at work in his drawers; but she violently denied it; wishing that the ground might swallow her up if she had them: she also used the same wicked words on several other occasions that day.

Now one George Hodgkinson, of Ashover, a man of good report there, came accidentally by where this Dorothy was, and stood still awhile to talk with her, as she was washing her ore; there stood also a little child by her tub-side, and another a distance from her, calling aloud to her to come away; wherefore the said George took the girl by the hand to lead her away to her that called her: but behold, they had not gone above ten yards from Dorothy, but they heard her crying out for help; so looking back, he saw the woman, and her tub, and sieve twirling round, and sinking into the ground. Then said the man, Pray to God to pardon thy sin, for thou are never like to be seen alive any longer. So she and her tub twirled round and round, till they sunk about three yards into the earth, and then for a while staid. Then she called for help again; thinking, as she said, she should stay there. Now the man, though greatly amazed, did begin to think which way to help her; but immediately a great stone which appeared in the earth, fell upon her head, and broke her skull, and then the earth fell in upon her, and covered her. She was afterwards digged up, and found about four yards within ground, with the boy's two single pence in her pocket, but her tub and sieve could not be found.

ATTEN. You bring to my mind a sad story, the which I will relate unto you. The thing is this:—About a bow-shot from where I once dwelt, there was a blind ale-house,[1] and the man that kept it had a son, whose name was Edward. This Edward was, as it were, a half fool, both in his words and manner of behaviour. To this blind ale-house certain jovial companions would once or twice a week come, and this Ned, for so they called him, his father would entertain his guests withal; to wit, by calling for him to make them sport by his foolish words and gestures. So when these boon blades came to this man's house, the father would call for Ned. Ned, therefore, would come forth; and the villain was devilishly addicted to cursing, yea, to cursing his father and mother, and any one else that did cross him. And because, though he was a half fool, he saw that his practice was pleasing, he would do it with the more audaciousness.

Well, when these brave fellows did come at their times to this tippling-house, as they call it, to fuddle and make merry, then must Ned be called out; and because his father was best acquainted with Ned, and best knew how to provoke him,

[1] Out of public view—obscure, contemptible. *See Imperial Dictionary.*—(ED.)

therefore he would usually ask him such questions, or command him such business, as would be sure to provoke him indeed. Then would he, after his foolish manner, curse his father most bitterly; at which the old man would laugh, and so would the rest of the guests, as at that which pleased them best, still continuing to ask that Ned still might be provoked to curse, that they might still be provoked to laugh. This was the mirth with which the old man did use to entertain his guests.

The curses wherewith this Ned did use to curse his father, and at which the old man would laugh, were these, and such like; the devil take you—the devil fetch you; he would also wish him plagues and destructions many. Well, so it came to pass, through the righteous judgment of God, that Ned's wishes and curses were in a little time fulfilled upon his father; for not many months passed between them after this manner, but the devil did indeed take him, possess him, and also in a few days carried him out of this world by death; I say Satan did take him and possess him; I mean, so it was judged by those that knew him, and had to do with him in that his lamentable condition. He could feel him like a live thing go up and down in his body; but when tormenting time was come, as he had often tormenting fits, then he would lie like an hard bump in the soft place of his chest, I mean I saw it so, and so would rent and tear him, and make him roar till he died away.

I told you before that I was an ear and eye-witness of what I here say; and so I was. I have heard Ned in his roguery cursing his father, and his father laughing thereat most heartily; still provoking of Ned to curse, that his mirth might be increased. I saw his father also, when he was possessed, I saw him in one of his fits, and saw his flesh, as it was thought, by the devil gathered up on a heap, about the bigness of half an egg, to the unutterable torture and affliction of the old man. There was also one Freeman, who was more than an ordinary doctor, sent for, to cast out this devil; and I was there when he attempted to do it; the manner thereof was this:—They had the possessed into an out-room, and laid him on his belly upon a form, with his head hanging over the form's end. Then they bound him down thereto; which done, they set a pan of coals under his mouth, and put something therein which made a great smoke; by this means, as it was said, to fetch out the devil. There, therefore, they kept the man till he was almost smothered in the smoke, but no devil came out of him; at which Freeman was somewhat abashed, the man greatly afflicted, and I made to go away wondering and fearing.[1] In a little time, therefore, that which possessed the man, carried him out of the world, according to the cursed wishes of his son. And this was the end of this hellish mirth.

WISE. These were all sad judgments.

ATTEN. These were dreadful judgments indeed.

WISE. Ay, and they look like the threatening of that text, though chiefly it concerned Judas, 'As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him; as he delighteth not in blessing, so let it be far from him. As he clothed himself with cursing, like as with a garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.' Ps. cix. 17, 18.

ATTEN. It is a fearful thing for youth to be trained up in a way of cursing and swearing.

WISE. Trained up in them! that I cannot say Mr. Badman was, for his father hath ofttimes in my hearing bewailed the badness of his children, and of this naughty boy in particular. I believe that the wickedness of his children made him, in the thoughts of it, go many a night with heavy heart to bed, and with as heavy a one to rise in the morning. But all was one to his graceless son, neither wholesome counsel, nor fatherly sorrow, would make him mend his manners.

There are some indeed that do train up their children to swear, curse, lie, and steal, and great is the misery of such poor children whose hard hap it is to be ushered into the world by, and to be under the tuition too of such ungodly parents. It had been better for such parents had they not begat them, and better for such children had they not been born. O! methinks for a father or a mother to train up a child in that very way that leadeth to hell and damnation, what thing so horrible! But Mr. Badman was not by his parents so brought up.

A grievous thing to bring up children wickedly.

ATTEN. But methinks, since this young Badman would not be ruled at home, his father should have tried what good could have been done of him abroad, by putting him out to some man of his acquaintance, that he knew to be able to command him, and to keep him pretty hard to some employ; so should he, at least, have been prevented of time to do those wickednesses that could not be done without time to do them in.

CHAPTER III.

[BADMAN'S APPRENTICESHIP TO A PIOUS MASTER.]

WISE. Alas! his father did so; he put him out betimes to one of his own acquaintance, and entreated him of all love that he would take care of his son, and keep

Badman put to be an apprentice.

[1] Thank Heaven such enormous brutalities have fled before the benign enlightening influence of the gospel. To suffocate a man, in order to drive out an imaginary evil spirit, was like the popular trial for witchcraft. The poor woman, if cross, and old, and ugly, her hands and legs being tied together, was thrown into deep water; if she floated, it was a proof of guilt to hang her, if she sunk and was drowned, she was declared to be innocent!—(ED.)

him from extravagant ways. His trade also was honest and commodious; he had besides a full employ therein, so that this young Badman had no vacant seasons nor idle hours yielded him by his calling, therein to take opportunities to do badly; but all was one to him, as he had begun to be vile in his father's house, even so he continued to be when he was in the house of his master.

ATTEN. I have known some children, who, though they have been very bad at home, yet have altered much when they have been put out abroad; especially when they have fallen into a family where the governors thereof have made conscience of maintaining of the worship and service of God therein; but perhaps that might be wanting in Mr. Badman's master's house.

WISE. Indeed some children do greatly mend when put under other men's roofs; but, as I said, this naughty boy did not so; nor did his badness continue because he wanted a master that both could and did correct it. For his master was a very good man, a very devout person; one that frequented the best soul means, that set up the worship of God in his family, and also that walked himself thereafter. He was also a man very meek and merciful, one that did never over-drive young Badman in business, nor that kept him at it at unseasonable hours.

Young Badman's master and his qualifications.

ATTEN. Say you so! This is rare. I for my part can see but few that can parallel, in these things, with Mr. Badman's master.

WISE. Nor I neither, yet Mr. Badman had such an one; for, for the most part, masters are now-a-days such as mind nothing but their worldly concerns, and if apprentices do but answer their commands therein, soul and religion may go whither they will. Yea, I much fear that there have been many towardly lads put out by their parents to such masters, that have quite undone them as to the next world.

A bad master a bad thing.

ATTEN. The more is the pity. But, pray, now you have touched upon this subject, show me how many ways a master may be the ruin of his poor apprentice.

WISE. Nay, I cannot tell you of all the ways, yet some of them I will mention. Suppose, then, that a towardly lad be put to be an apprentice with one that is reputed to be a godly man, yet that lad may be ruined many ways; that is, if his master be not circumspect in all things that respect both God and man, and that before his apprentice.

1. If he be not moderate in the use of his apprentice; if he drives him beyond his strength; if he holds him to work at unseasonable hours; if he will not allow him convenient time to read the Word, to pray, &c. This is the way to destroy him; that is, in those tender beginnings of good thoughts, and good beginnings about spiritual things.

How many ways a master may be the ruin of an apprentice.

2. If he suffers his house to be scattered with profane and wicked books, such as stir up to lust, to wantonness, such as teach idle, wanton, lascivious discourse, and such as have a tendency to provoke to profane drollery and jesting; and lastly, such as tend to corrupt and pervert the doctrine of faith and holiness. All these things will eat as doth a canker, and will quickly spoil, in youth, &c. those good beginnings that may be putting forth themselves in them.

3. If there be a mixture of servants, that is, if some very bad be in the same place, that is a way also to undo such tender lads; for they that are bad and sordid servants will be often, and they have an opportunity too, to be distilling and fomenting of their profane and wicked words and tricks before them, and these will easily stick in the flesh and minds of youth, to the corrupting of them.

4. If the master have one guise for abroad, and another for home; that is, if his religion hangs by in his house as his cloak does, and he be seldom in it, except he be abroad; this young beginners will take notice of, and stumble at. We say, hedges have eyes, and little pitchers have ears;[1] and, indeed, children make a greater inspection into the lives of fathers, masters, &c., than ofttimes they are aware of. And therefore should masters be careful, else they may soon destroy good beginnings in their servants.

Children are great observers of what older folks do.

5. If the master be unconscionable in his dealing, and trades with lying words; or if bad commodities be avouched to be good, or if he seeks after unreasonable gain, or the like; his servant sees it, and it is enough to undo him. Eli's sons being bad before the congregation, made men despise the sacrifices of the Lord. 1 Sa. ii.

But these things, by the by, only they may serve for a hint to masters to take heed that they take not apprentices to destroy their souls. But young Badman had none of these hinderances; his father took care, and provided well for him, as to this. He had a good master, he wanted not good books, nor good instruction, nor good sermons, nor good examples, no nor good fellow-servants neither; but all would not do.

Badman had all advantages to be good, but continued Badman still.

[1] Parallels to these important proverbs are found in all languages derived from the Hebrew. 'There is nothing hid from God,' and 'There is nothing hid that shall not be known.' Jc. xxxii. Mat. x. In French, 'Leo murailles ont des oreilles —Walls have ears.' Shakspeare, alluding to a servant bringing in a pitcher, as a pretence to enable her to overhear a conversation, uses the proverb, 'pitchers have ears and I have many servants.' May that solemn truth be impressed upon every heart, that however screened from human observation, 'Thou God seest me.'—(ED.)

ATTEN. It is a wonder that in such a family, amidst so many spiritual helps, nothing should take hold of his heart! What! not good books, nor good instructions, nor good sermons, nor good examples, nor good fellow-servants, nor nothing do him good!

WISE. You talk, he minded none of these things; nay, all these were abominable to him.

All good things abominable to Badman.

1. For good books, they might lie in his master's house till they rotted for him, he would not regard to look into them; but contrariwise, would get all the bad and abominable books that he could, as beastly romances, and books full of ribaldry, even such as immediately tended to set all fleshly lusts on fire.[1] True, he durst not be known to have any of these to his master; therefore would he never let them be seen by him, but would keep them in close places, and peruse them at such times as yielded him fit opportunities thereto.

2. For good instruction, he liked that much as he liked good books; his care was to hear but little thereof, and to forget what he heard as soon as it was spoken. Yea, I have heard some that knew him then say, that one might evidently discern by the show of his countenance and gestures that good counsel was to him like little ease, even a continual torment to him; nor did he ever count himself at liberty but when farthest off of wholesome words. PR. xv. 12. He would hate them that rebuked him, and count them his deadly enemies. PR. ix. 8.

Good counsel to Badman like little ease.

3. For good example, which was frequently set him by his master, both in religious and civil matters, these young Badman would laugh at, and would also make a by-word of them when he came in place where he with safety could.

4. His master indeed would make him go with him to sermons, and that where he thought the best preachers were, but this ungodly young man, what shall I say, was, I think, a master of art in all mischief, he had these wicked ways to hinder himself of hearing, let the preacher thunder never so loud.

How Badman used to behave himself at sermons.

1. His way was, when come into the place of hearing, to sit down in some corner and then to fall fast asleep. 2. Or else to fix his adulterous eyes upon some beautiful object that was in the place, and so all sermon-while therewith to be feeding of his fleshly lusts. 3. Or, if he could get near to some that he had observed would fit his humour, he would be whispering, giggling, and playing with them till such time as sermon was done.

[1] No period in English history was so notorious for the publication of immoral books, calculated to debauch the mind, as the reign of Charles II. It must have been most painfully conspicuous to Bunyan, who had lived under the moral discipline of the Commonwealth.—(ED.)

ATTEN. Why! he was grown to a prodigious height of wickedness.

WISE. He was so, and that which aggravates all was, this was his practice as soon as he was come to his master—he was as ready at all these things as if he had, before he came to his master, served an apprenticeship to learn them.

ATTEN. There could not but be added, as you relate them, rebellion to his sin. Methinks it is as if he had said, I will not hear, I will not regard, I will not mind good, I will not mend, I will not turn, I will not be converted.

WISE. You say true, and I know not to whom more fitly to compare him than to that man who, when I myself rebuked him or his wickedness, in this great huff replied, What would the devil do for company if it was not for such as I?

The desperate words of one H.S., who once was my companion. He was own brother to Ned, of whom you read before.

ATTEN. Why, did you ever hear any man say so?

WISE. Yes, that I did, and this young Badman was as like him as an egg is like an egg. Alas! the Scripture makes mention of many that by their actions speak the same, 'They say unto God, Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways.' JOB xxi. 14. Again, 'They refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears. Yea, they make their hearts' hard 'as an adamant-stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent.' ZEC. vii. 11, 12. What are all these but such as Badman, and such as the young man but now mentioned? That young man was my play-fellow when I was solacing myself in my sins; I may make mention of him to my shame, but he has a great many fellows.

ATTEN. Young Badman was like him indeed, and he trod his steps as if his wickedness had been his very copy; I mean as to his desperateness, for had he not been a desperate one he would never have made you such a reply when you was rebuking of him for his sin. But when did you give him such a rebuke?

WISE. A while after God had parted him and I, by calling of me, as I hope, by his grace, still leaving him in his sins; and so far as I could ever gather, as he lived, so he died, even as Mr. Badman did; but we will leave him and return again to our discourse.

ATTEN. Ha! poor obstinate sinners! Do they think that God cannot be even with them?

WISE. I do not know what they think, but I know that God hath said, 'That *as* he cried, and they would not hear; so they cried and I would not hear, saith the Lord.' ZEC. vii. 13. Doubtless there is a time coming when Mr. Badman will cry for this.

ATTEN. But I wonder that he should be so expert in wickedness so soon! Alas, he was but a stripling, I suppose he was as yet not twenty.

WISE. No, nor eighteen either; but, as with Ishmael, and with the children that mocked the prophet, the seeds of sin did put forth themselves betimes in him. Ge. xxi. 9, 10. 2 Ki. ii. 23, 24.

ATTEN. Well, he was as wicked a young man as commonly one shall hear of.

WISE. You will say so when you know all.

ATTEN. All, I think, here is a great all; but if there is more behind, pray let us hear it.

WISE. Why then, I will tell you, that he had not been with his master much above a year and a half, but he came acquainted with three young villains, who here shall be nameless, that taught him to add to his sin much of like kind, and he as aptly received their instructions. One of them was chiefly given to uncleanness, another to drunkenness, and the third to purloining, or stealing from his master.

Badman's acquaintance.

ATTEN. Alas! poor wretch, he was bad enough before, but these, I suppose, made him much worse.

WISE. That they made him worse you may be sure of, for they taught him to be an arch, a chief one in all their ways.

ATTEN. It was an ill hap that he ever came acquainted with them.

WISE. You must rather word it thus—it was the judgment of God that he did, that is, he came acquainted with them through the anger of God. He had a good master, and before him a good father; by these he had good counsel given him for months and years together, but his heart was set upon mischief, he loved wickedness more than to do good, even until his iniquity came to be hateful, therefore, from the anger of God it was that these companions of his and he did at last so acquaint together. Says Paul, 'They did not like to retain God in *their* knowledge;' and what follows? wherefore 'God gave them over,' or up to their own hearts' lusts. Ro. i. 28. And again, 'As for such as turn aside unto *their* crooked ways, the Lord shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity.' Ps. cxxv. 5. This therefore was God's hand upon him, that he might be destroyed, be damned, 'because he received not the love of the truth that he might be saved.' 2 Th. ii. 10. He chose his delusions and deluders for him, even the company of base men, of fools, that he might be destroyed. Pr. xii. 20.

A sign of God's anger.

ATTEN. I cannot but think indeed that it is a great judgment of God for a man to be given up to the company of vile men; for what are such but the devil's decoys, even those by whom he draws the simple into his net? A whoremaster, a drunkard, a thief, what are they but the devil's baits by which he catcheth others?

The devil's decoys.

WISE. You say right; but this young Badman was no simple one, if by simple you mean one uninstructed; for he had often good counsel given him: but, if by simple you mean him that is a fool as to the true knowledge of, and faith in Christ, then he was a simple one indeed; for he chose death rather than life, and to live in continual opposition to God, rather than to be reconciled unto him; according to that saying of the wise man, 'The fools *hated* knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord.' Pr. i. 29. And what judgment more dreadful can a fool be given up to, than to be delivered into the hands of such men, that have skill to do nothing but to ripen sin, and hasten its finishing unto damnation? And, therefore, men should be afraid of offending God, because he can in this manner punish them for their sins. I knew a man that once was, as I thought, hopefully awakened about his condition; yea, I knew two that were so awakened, but in time they began to draw back, and to incline again to their lusts; wherefore, God gave them up to the company of three or four men, that in less than three years' time, brought them roundly to the gallows, where they were hanged like dogs, because they refused to live like honest men.

This was done at Bedford.

ATTEN. But such men do not believe that thus to be given up of God is in judgment and anger; they rather take it to be their liberty, and do count it their happiness; they are glad that their cord is loosed, and that the reins are on their neck; they are glad that they may sin without control, and that they may choose such company as can make them more expert in an evil way.

WISE. Their judgment is, therefore, so much the greater, because thereto is added blindness of mind, and hardness of heart in a wicked way. They are turned up to the way of death, but must not see to what place they are going. They must go as the ox to the slaughter, 'and as a fool to the correction of the stocks, till a dart strike through his liver,' not knowing 'that it is for his life.' Pr. vii. 22, 23. This, I say, makes their judgment double; they are given up of God for a while, to sport themselves with that which will assuredly make them 'mourn at the last, when their flesh and their body are consumed.' Pr. v. 11. These are those that Peter speaks, that shall utterly perish in their own corruptions; these, I say, who 'count it pleasure to riot in the day-time,' and that sport 'themselves with their own deceivings,' are 'as natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed.' 2 Pe. ii. 12, 13.

ATTEN. Well, but I pray now concerning these three villains that were young Badman's com-

panions; tell me more particularly how he carried it then.

WISE. How he carried it? why, he did as they. I intimated so much before, when I said they made him an arch,[1] a chief one in their ways.

First, he became a frequenter of taverns and tippling-houses, and would stay there until he was even as drunk as a beast. And if it was so that he could not get out by day, he would, be sure, get out by night. Yea, he became so common a drunkard at last, that he was taken notice of to be a drunkard even by all.

Badman becomes a frequenter of taverns.

ATTEN. This was swinish, for drunkenness is so beastly a sin, a sin so much against nature, that I wonder that any that have but the appearance of men can give up themselves to so beastly, yea, worse than beastly, a thing.

WISE. It is a swinish vanity indeed. I will tell you another story. There was a gentleman that had a drunkard to be his groom, and coming home one night very much abused with beer, his master saw it. Well, quoth his master within himself, I will let thee alone to night, but to-morrow morning I will convince thee that thou art worse than a beast by the behaviour of my horse. So, when morning was come, he bids his man go and water his horse, and so he did; but, coming up to his master, he commands him to water him again; so the fellow rode into the water the second time, but his master's horse would now drink no more, so the fellow came up and told his master. Then, said his master, thou drunken sot, thou art far worse than my horse; he will drink but to satisfy nature, but thou wilt drink to the abuse of nature; he will drink but to refresh himself, but thou to thy hurt and damage; he will drink that he may be more serviceable to his master, but thou till thou art incapable of serving either God or man. O thou beast, how much art thou worse than the horse that thou ridest on!

A story for a drunkard.

ATTEN. Truly, I think that his master served him right; for, in doing as he did, he showed him plainly, as he said, that he had not so much government of himself as his horse had of himself; and, consequently, that his beast did live more according to the law of his nature by far than did his man. But, pray, go on with what you have further to say.

WISE. Why, I say, that there are four things, which, if they were well considered, would make drunkenness to be abhorred in the thoughts of the children of men. 1. It greatly tendeth to impoverish and beggar a man. 'The drunkard,' says Solomon, 'shall come to poverty.' Pr. xxiii. 21. Many that have begun the world with plenty, have gone out of it in rags, through drunkenness. Yea, many children that have been born to good estates, have yet been brought to a flail and a rake, through this beastly sin of their parents. 2. This sin of drunkenness it bringeth upon the body many, great, and incurable diseases, by which men do, in little time, come to their end, and none can help them. So, because they are overmuch wicked, therefore they die before their time. Ec. vii. 17. 3. Drunkenness is a sin that is oftentimes attended with abundance of other evils. 'Who hath woe? Who hath sorrow? Who hath contentions? Who hath babbling? Who hath wounds without cause? Who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine, they that go to seek mixed wine;' that is, the drunkard. Pr. xxiii. 29, 30. 4. By drunkenness, men do oftentimes shorten their days; go out of the ale-house drunk, and break their necks before they come home. Instances, not a few, might be given of this, but this is so manifest a man need say nothing.

Four evils attend drunkenness.

ATTEN. But that which is worse than all is, it also prepares men for everlasting burnings. 1 Co. vi. 10.

The fifth evil the worst.

WISE. Yea, and it so stupifies and besots the soul, that a man that is far gone in drunkenness is hardly ever recovered to God. Tell me, when did you see an old drunkard converted? No, no, such an one will sleep till he dies, though he sleeps on the top of a mast; let his dangers be never so great, and death and damnation never so near, he will not be awaked out of his sleep. Pr. xxiii. 34, 35. So that if a man have any respect either to credit, health, life, or salvation, he will not be a drunken man. But the truth is, where this sin gets the upper hand, men are, as I said before, so intoxicated and bewitched with the seeming pleasures and sweetness thereof, that they have neither heart nor mind to think of that which is better in itself; and would, if embraced, do them good.

ATTEN. You said that drunkenness tends to poverty, yet some make themselves rich by drunken bargains.

WISE. I said so, because the Word says so. And as to some men's getting thereby, that is indeed but rare and base; yea, and base will be the end of such gettings. The Word of God is against such ways, and the curse of God will be the end of such doings. An inheritance may sometimes thus be hastily gotten at the beginning, but the end thereof shall not be blessed. Hark what the prophet saith, 'Woe to him that coveteth an evil covetousness, that he may set his nest on high.' Hab. ii. 5, 9–12, 15. Whether he makes drunkenness, or ought else, the engine and decoy to get it; for that man doth but con-

An objection answered.

[1] From *αρχων* chief, 'my worthy *arch* and patron.'—King Lear; or from the Teutonic 'arg,' a rogue. It usually denotes roguish, knavish, sly, artful.—(ED.)

sult the shame of his own house, the spoiling of his family, and the damnation of his soul; for that which he getteth by working of iniquity is but a getting by the devices of hell; therefore he can be no gainer neither for himself or family, that gains by an evil course. But this was one of the sins that Mr. Badman was addicted to after he came acquainted with these three fellows, nor could all that his master could do break him off this beastly sin.

ATTEN. But where, since he was but an apprentice, could he get money to follow this practice; for drunkenness, as you have intimated, is a very costly sin.

WISE. His master paid for all. For, as I told you before, as he learned of these three villains to be a beastly drunkard, so he learned of them to pilfer and steal from his master. Sometimes he would sell off his master's goods, but keep the money, that is, when he could; also, sometimes he would beguile his master by taking out of his cash box; and when he could do neither of these, he would convey away of his master's wares, what he thought would be least missed, and send or carry them to such and such houses, where he knew they would be laid up to his use; and then appoint set times there, to meet and make merry with these fellows.

Badman's master's purse paid for his drunkenness.

ATTEN. This was as bad, nay, I think, worse than the former; for by thus doing he did not only run himself under the wrath of God, but has endangered the undoing of his master and his family.

WISE. Sins go not alone, but follow one the other as do the links of a chain; he that will be a drunkard, must have money, either of his own or of some other man's; either of his father's, mother's, master's, or at the highway, or some way.

ATTEN. I fear that many an honest man is undone by such kind of servants.

WISE. I am of the same mind with you, but this should make the dealer the more wary what kind of servants he keeps, and what kind of apprentices he takes. It should also teach him to look well to his shop himself; also to take strict account of all things that are bought and sold by his servants. The master's neglect herein may embolden his servant to be bad, and may bring him too in short time to rags and a morsel of bread.

A caution for masters.

ATTEN. I am afraid that there is much of this kind of pilfering among servants in these bad days of ours.

WISE. Now while it is in my mind, I will tell you a story. When I was in prison, there came a woman to me that was under a great deal of trouble.[1] So I asked her, she being a stranger to me, what she had to say to me. She said she was afraid she should be damned. I asked her the cause of those fears. She told me that she had, some time since, lived with a shopkeeper at Wellingborough, and had robbed his box in the shop several times of money, to the value of more than now I will say; and pray, says she, tell me what I shall do. I told her I would have her go to her master, and make him satisfaction. She said she was afraid; I asked her, why? She said, she doubted he would hang her. I told her that I would intercede for her life, and would make use of other friends too to do the like; but she told me she durst not venture that. Well, said I, shall I send to your master, while you abide out of sight, and make your peace with him, before he sees you; and with that I asked her her master's name. But all that she said, in answer to this, was, Pray let it alone till I come to you again. So away she went, and neither told me her master's name nor her own. This is about ten or twelve years since, and I never saw her again. I tell you this story for this cause; to confirm your fears that such kind of servants too many there be; and that God makes them sometimes like old Tod, of whom mention was made before, through the terrors that he lays upon them, to betray themselves.

I could tell you of another, that came to me with a like relation concerning herself, and the robbing of her mistress; but at this time let this suffice.

ATTEN. But what was that other villain addicted to; I mean young Badman's third companion.

WISE. Uncleanness; I told you before, but it seems you forgot.

Badman's third companion addicted to uncleanness.

ATTEN. Right, it was uncleanness. Uncleanness is also a filthy sin.

WISE. It is so; and yet it is one of the most reigning sins in our day.[2]

ATTEN. So they say, and that too among those that one would think had more wit, even among the great ones.

WISE. The more is the pity; for usually examples that are set by them that are great and chief, spread sooner, and more universally, than do the sins of other men; yea, and when such men are at the head in transgressing, sin walks with a bold face through the land. As

Sins of great men dangerous.

[1] This is one among a multitude of proofs of the popularity and high esteem in which Bunyan was held, even while a prisoner for Christ's sake.—(ED.)

[2] Reader, bless God that you live in a happier day than that of Bunyan. The reign of Charles II. was pre-eminently distinguished for licentiousness and debauchery. Still there were some who crucified the flesh, with its lusts, and held every obscene word in detestation and abhorrence; because it is written 'be ye holy, for I am holy.' Such must have sorely dazzled the owls of debauchery. Can we wonder that they tormented and imprisoned them?—(ED.)

Jeremiah saith of the prophets, so may it be said of such, 'From them is profaneness gone forth into all the land:' that is, with bold and audacious face. Je. xxiii. 15.

ATTEN. But pray let us return again to Mr. Badman and his companions. You say one of them was very vile in the commission of uncleanness.

WISE. Yes, so I say; not but that he was a drunkard and also thievish, but he was most arch in this sin of uncleanness: this roguery was his masterpiece, for he was a ringleader to them all in the beastly sin of whoredom. He was also best acquainted with such houses where they were, and so could readily lead the rest of his gang unto them. The strumpets also, because they knew this young villain, would at first discover themselves in all their whorish pranks to those that he brought with him.

ATTEN. That is a deadly thing: I mean, it is a deadly thing to young men, when such beastly queens shall, with words and carriages that are openly tempting, discover themselves unto them; it is hard for such to escape their snare.

WISE. That is true, therefore the wise man's counsel is the best: 'Come not nigh the door of her house.' Pr. v. 8. For they are, as you say, very tempting, as is seen by her in the Proverbs. 'I looked,' says the wise man, 'through my casement, and behold among the simple ones I discerned a young man void of understanding, passing through the street near her corner, and he went the way to her house, in the twilight, in the evening, in the black and dark night. And, behold, there met him a woman *with* the attire of an harlot, and subtle of heart; she is loud and stubborn; her feet abide not in her house; now is she without, now in the streets, and lieth in wait at every corner. So she caught him, and kissed him, *and*, with an impudent face, said unto him, I *have* peace-offerings with me; this day have I paid my vows. Therefore came I forth to meet thee diligently to seek thy face, and I have found thee. I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry, with carved works, with fine linen of Egypt. I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon. Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning; let us solace ourselves with loves.' Pr. vii. 6–18. Here was a bold beast. And, indeed, the very eyes, hands, words, and ways of such, are all snares and bands to youthful, lustful fellows. And with these was young Badman greatly snared.

Signs of a whore.

ATTEN. This sin of uncleanness is mightily cried out against both by Moses, the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; and yet, as we see, for all that, how men run headlong to it!

The sin of uncleanness cried out against.

WISE. You have said the truth, and I will add, that God, to hold men back from so filthy a sin, has set such a stamp of his indignation upon it, and commanded such evil effects to follow it, that, were not they that use it bereft of all fear of God, and love to their own health, they could not but stop and be afraid to commit it. For besides the eternal damnation that doth attend such in the next world, for these have no 'inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God,' Eph. v. 5; the evil effects thereof in this world are dreadful.

ATTEN. Pray show me some of them, that as occasion offereth itself, I may show them to others for their good.

WISE. So I will. 1. It bringeth a man, as was said of the sin before, to want and poverty; 'For by means of a whorish woman, *a man is brought* to a piece of bread.' Pr. vi. 26. The reason is, for that a whore will not yield without hire; and men, when the devil and lust is in them, and God and his fear far away from them, will not stick, so they may accomplish their desire, to lay their signet, their bracelets, and their staff to pledge, rather than miss of the fulfilling of their lusts. Ge. xxxviii. 18. 2. Again, by this sin men diminish their strength, and bring upon themselves, even upon the body a multitude of diseases. This King Lemuel's mother warned him of. 'What, my son?' said she, 'and what the son of my womb? And what the son of my vows? Give not thy strength unto women, nor thy ways to that which destroyeth kings.' Pr. xxxi. 2, 3. This sin is destructive to the body. Give me leave to tell you another story. I have heard of a great man that was a very unclean person, and he had lived so long in that sin that he had almost lost his sight. So his physicians were sent for, to whom he told his disease; but they told him that they could do him no good, unless he would forbear his women. Nay then, said he, farewell sweet sight. Whence observe, that this sin, as I said, is destructive to the body; and also, that some men be so in love therewith, that they will have it, though it destroy their body.[1]

What evils attend this sin.

A story for unclean persons to take notice of.

ATTEN. Paul says also, that he that sins this sin, sins against his own body. But what of that? He that will run the hazard of eternal damnation of his soul, but he will commit this sin, will for it run the hazard of destroying his body. If young Badman feared not the damnation of his soul, do you think that the consideration of impairing of his body would have deterred him therefrom?

WISE. You say true. But yet, methinks, there

[1] How often is suicide committed without poison, suffocation, the knife, or firearms. About forty years ago one of my neighbours was told by his doctor that, unless he gave up the bottle, it would send him into another world. He called his servant and ordered wine, saying, I had rather die than give up all my enjoyments. In about six months I saw his splendid funeral. —(ED.)

are still such bad effects follow, often upon the commission of it, that if men would consider them, it would put, at least, a stop to their career therein.

Atten. What other evil effects attend this sin?

Wise. Outward shame and disgrace, and that in these particulars:—

More evils attend this sin.

First, There often follows this foul sin the foul disease, now called by us the pox. A disease so nauseous and stinking, so infectious to the whole body, and so entailed to this sin, that hardly are any common with unclean women, but they have more or less a touch of it to their shame.

Atten. That is a foul disease indeed! I know a man once that rotted away with it; and another that had his nose eaten off, and his mouth almost quite sewed up thereby.

Wise. It is a disease, that where it is it commonly declares that the cause thereof is uncleanness. It declares to all that behold such a man, that he is an odious, a beastly, unclean person. This is that strange punishment that Job speaks of, that is appointed to seize on these workers of iniquity. Job xxxi. 1–3.

Atten. Then it seems you think, that the strange punishment that Job there speaks of should be the foul disease.

Wise. I have thought so indeed, and that for this reason. We see that this disease is entailed, as I may say, to this most beastly sin, nor is there any disease so entailed to any other sin as this to this. That this is the sin to which the strange punishment is entailed, you will easily perceive when you read the text. 'I made a covenant with mine eyes,' said Job, 'why then should I think upon a maid? For what portion of God *is there*,' for that sin, 'from above, and *what* inheritance of the Almighty from on high?' And then he answers himself: 'Is not destruction to the wicked, and a strange punishment to the workers of iniquity?' This strange punishment is the pox. Also, I think that this foul disease is that which Solomon intends when he saith, speaking of this unclean and beastly creature, 'A wound and dishonour shall he get, and his reproach shall not be wiped away.' Pr. vi. 33. A punishment Job calls it; a wound and dishonour Solomon calls it; and they both do set it as a remark upon this sin; Job calling it a 'strange punishment,' and Solomon a 'reproach that shall not be wiped away,' from them that are common in it.

Atten. What other things follow upon the commission of this beastly sin?

Wise. Why, oftentimes it is attended with murder, with the murder of the babe begotten on the defiled bed. How common it is for the bastard-getter and bastard-bearer to consent together to murder their children, will be better known at the day of judgment, yet something is manifest now.

I will tell you another story. An ancient man, one of mine acquaintance, a man of good credit in our country, had a mother that was a midwife, who was mostly employed in laying great persons. To this woman's house, upon a time, comes a brave young gallant on horseback, to fetch her to lay a young lady. So she addresses herself to go with him, wherefore he takes her up behind him, and away they ride in the night. Now they had not rid far, but the gentleman litt off his horse, and, taking the old midwife in his arms from the horse, turned round with her several times, and then set her up again, then he got up and away they went till they came at a stately house, into which he had her, and so into a chamber where the young lady was in her pains. He then bid the midwife do her office, and she demanded help, but he drew out his sword, and told her if she did not make speed to do her office without, she must look for nothing but death. Well, to be short, this old midwife laid the young lady, and a fine sweet babe she had. Now there was made in a room hard by a very great fire; so the gentleman took up the babe, went and drew the coals from the stock, cast the child in and covered it up, and there was an end of that. So when the midwife had done her work he paid her well for her pains, but shut her up in a dark room all day, and when night came took her up behind him again, and carried her away till she came almost at home, then he turned her round and round as he did before, and had her to her house, set her down, bid her farewell, and away he went, and she could never tell who it was. This story the midwife's son, who was a minister, told me, and also protested that his mother told it him for a truth.

Atten. Murder doth often follow indeed, as that which is the fruit of this sin. But sometimes God brings even these adulterers and adulteresses to shameful ends. I heard of one, I think a doctor of physic, and his whore, who had three or four bastards betwixt them and had murdered them all, but at last themselves were hanged for it, in or near to Colchester. It came out after this manner,—the whore was so afflicted in her conscience about it that she could not be quiet until she had made it known. Thus God many times makes the actors of wickedness their own accusers, and brings them, by their own tongues, to condign punishment for their own sins.

Wise. There has been many such instances, but we will let that pass. I was once in the presence of a woman, a married woman, that lay sick of the sickness whereof she died, and being smitten in her conscience for the sin of uncleanness, which

she had often committed with other men, I heard her, as she lay upon her bed, cry out thus, I am a whore, and all my children are bastards, and I must go to hell for my sin, and look, there stands the devil at my bed's feet to receive my soul when I die.

ATTEN. These are sad stories, tell no more of them now, but if you please show me yet some other of the evil effects of this beastly sin.

WISE. This sin is such a snare to the soul, that, unless a miracle of grace prevents, it unavoidably perishes in the enchanting and bewitching pleasures of it. This is manifest by these and such like texts—'The adulteress will hunt for the precious life.' Pr. vi. 26. 'Whoso committeth adultery with a woman lacketh understanding. He *that* doeth it destroyeth his own soul.' Pr. vi. 32. 'A whore *is* a deep ditch, and a strange woman *is* a narrow pit.' Pr. xxiii. 27. 'Her house inclineth unto death, and her paths unto the dead. None that go unto her return again, neither take they hold of the paths of life.' Pr. ii. 18, 19. 'She hath cast down many wounded; yea, many strong *men* have been slain by her. Her house *is* the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death.' Pr. vii. 26, 27.

ATTEN. These are dreadful sayings, and do show the dreadful state of those that are guilty of this sin.

WISE. Verily so they do. But yet that which makes the whole more dreadful is, that men are given up to this sin because they are abhorred of God, and because abhorred, therefore they shall fall into the commission of it, and shall live there. 'The mouth,' that is, the flattering lips, 'of strange women *is* a deep pit, *he* that is abhorred of the Lord shall fall therein.' Pr. xxii. 14. Therefore it saith again of such, that they have none 'inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.' Ep. v. 5.

ATTEN. Put all together, and it is a dreadful thing to live and die in this transgression.

WISE. True, but suppose that instead of all these judgments this sin had attending of it all the felicities of this life, and no bitterness, shame, or disgrace mixed with it, yet one hour in hell will spoil all. O! this hell, hell-fire, damnation in hell, it is such an inconceivable punishment that, were it but thoroughly believed, it would nip this sin, with others, in the head. But here is the mischief, those that give up themselves to these things do so harden themselves in unbelief and atheism about the things, the punishments that God hath threatened to inflict upon the committers of them, that at last they arrive to almost an absolute and firm belief that there is no judgment to come hereafter; else they would not, they could not, no not attempt to commit this sin by such abominable language as some do.

I heard of one that should say to his miss when he tempted her to the committing of this sin, If thou wilt venture thy body I will venture my soul. And I myself heard another say, when he was tempting of a maid to commit uncleanness with him—it was in Oliver's days—that if she did prove with child he would tell her how she might escape punishment—and that was then somewhat severe—Say, saith he, when you come before the judge, that you are with child by the Holy Ghost. I heard him say thus, and it greatly afflicted me; I had a mind to have accused him for it before some magistrate, but he was a great man, and I was poor and young, so I let it alone, but it troubled me very much.

Desperate words.

ATTEN. It was the most horrible thing that ever I heard in my life. But how far off are these men from that spirit and grace that dwelt in Joseph. Ge. xxxix. 10.

WISE. Right; when Joseph's mistress tempted him, yea, tempted him daily, yea, she laid hold on him and said, with her whore's forehead, Come, '*lie with me*,' but he refused; he hearkened not to lie with her or to be with her. Mr. Badman would have taken the opportunity.

Of chaste Joseph.

And a little to comment upon this of Joseph. 1. Here is a miss, a great miss, the wife of the captain of the guard, some beautiful dame I'll warrant you. 2. Here is a miss won, and in her whorish affections come over to Joseph without his speaking of a word. 3. Here is her unclean desire made known, Come, 'lie with me,' said she. 4. Here was a fit opportunity, there was none of the men of the house there within. 5. Joseph was a young man, full of strength, and therefore the more in danger to be taken. 6. This was to him a temptation from her that lasted days. 7. And yet Joseph refused, (1.) Her daily temptation; (2.) Her daily solicitation; (3.) Her daily provocation, heartily, violently, and constantly. For when she got him by the garment, saying, 'Lie with me,' he left his garment in her hand and gat him out. Ay, and although contempt, treachery, slander, accusation, imprisonment, and danger of death followed—for a whore careth not what mischief she does when she cannot have her end—yet Joseph will not defile himself, sin against God, and hazard his own eternal salvation.

ATTEN. Blessed Joseph! I would thou hadst more fellows!

WISE. Mr. Badman has more fellows than Joseph, else there would not be so many whores as there are; for though I doubt not but that that sex is bad enough this way, yet I verily believe that many of them are made whores at first by the flatteries of Badman's fellows. Alas! there is

many a woman plunged into this sin at first even by promises of marriage. I say by these promises they are flattered, yea, forced into a consenting to these villainies, and so being in, and growing hardened in their hearts, they at last give themselves up, even as wicked men do, to act this kind of wickedness with greediness.[1] But Joseph you see, was of another mind, for the fear of God was in him.

Many are made whores by the promises of marriage.

I will, before I leave this, tell you here two notable stories; and I wish Mr. Badman's companions may hear of them. They are found in Clark's *Looking-glass for Sinners;* and are these:—Mr. Cleaver, says Mr. Clark, reports of one whom he knew that had committed the act of uncleanness, whereupon he fell into such horror of conscience that he hanged himself, leaving it thus written in a paper:—'Indeed,' saith he, 'I do acknowledge it to be utterly unlawful for a man to kill himself, but I am bound to act the magistrate's part, because the punishment of this sin is death.'

Clark's *Looking-Glass for Sinners.*—Ch. ii. p. 12.

Clark doth also, in the same page, make mention of two more, who, as they were committing adultery in London, were immediately struck dead with fire from heaven, in the very act. Their bodies were so found, half burned up, and sending out a most loathsome savour.

ATTEN. These are notable stories indeed.

WISE. So they are, and I suppose they are as true as notable.

ATTEN. Well, but I wonder if young Badman's master knew him to be such a wretch, that he would suffer him in his house.

WISE. They liked one another even as fire and water do. Young Badman's ways were odious to his master, and his master's ways were such as young Badman could not endure. Thus, in these two, were fulfilled that saying of the Holy Ghost: 'An unjust man *is* an abomination to the just; and *he that is* upright in the way *is* an abomination to the wicked.' Pr. xxix. 27. The good man's ways, Mr. Badman could not abide, nor could the good man abide the bad ways of his base apprentice. Yet would his master, if he could, have kept him, and also have learned him his trade.

Badman and his master abhor one another.

ATTEN. If he could! Why, he might, if he would, might he not?

WISE. Alas, Badman ran away from him once and twice, and would not at all be ruled. So the next time he did run away from him, he did let him go indeed. For he gave him no occasion to run away, except it was by holding of him as much as he could, and that he could do but little, to good and honest rules of life. And had it been one's own case, one should have let him go. For what should a man do that had either regard to his own peace, his children's good, or the preservation of the rest of his servant's from evil, but let him go? Had he staid, the house of correction had been most fit for him, but thither his master was loth to send him, because of the love that he bore to his father. A house of correction, I say, had been the fittest place for him, but his master let him go.

Young Badman runs away from his master.

ATTEN. He ran away, you say, but whither did he run?

CHAPTER IV.

[HE GETS A NEW MASTER BAD AS HIMSELF.]

WISE. Why, to one of his own trade, and also like himself. Thus the wicked joined hand in hand, and there he served out his time.

He gets a new master like himself.

ATTEN. Then, sure, he had his heart's desire when he was with one so like himself.

WISE. Yes, so he had, but God gave it him in his anger.

ATTEN. How do you mean?

WISE. I mean as before, that for a wicked man to be by the providence of God turned out of a good man's doors, into a wicked man's house to dwell, is a sign of the anger of God. For God by this, and such judgments, says thus to such an one. Thou wicked one, thou lovest not me, my ways, nor my people; thou castest my law and good counsel behind thy back. Come, I will dispose of thee in my wrath; thou shalt be turned over to the ungodly, thou shalt be put to school to the devil, I will leave thee to sink and swim in sin, till I shall visit thee with death and judgment. This was, therefore, another judgment that did come upon this young Badman.

A sign of God's anger upon young Badman.

ATTEN. You have said the truth, for God by such a judgment as this, in effect says so indeed; for he takes them out of the hand of the just, and binds them up in the hand of the wicked, and whither they then shall be carried a man may easily imagine.

WISE. It is one of the saddest tokens of God's anger that happens to such kind of persons: and that for several reasons. 1. Such a one, by this judgment, is put out of the way, and from under the means which ordinarily are made use of to do good to the soul. For a family, where godliness is professed, and practised, is God's ordinance, the place which he has appointed to teach young ones the way and fear of God. Ge. xviii. 18, 19. Now, to be put out of

Demonstration of God's anger towards him.

[1] The remorse and stings of conscience seducers will feel in the next life, for being the instruments of so much wickedness and desolation in others, will prove to them a thousand hells.—(Mason.)

such a family, into a bad, a wicked one, as Mr. Badman was, must needs be in judgment, and a sign of the anger of God. For in ungodly families men learn to forget God, to hate goodness, and to estrange themselves from the ways of those that are good.[1] 2. In bad families they have continually fresh examples, and also incitements to evil, and fresh encouragements to it too. Yea, moreover, in such places evil is commended, praised, well-spoken of, and they that do it are applauded; and this, to be sure, is a drowning judgment. 3. Such places are the very haunts and walks of the infernal spirits, who are continually poisoning the cogitations and minds of one or other in such families, that they may be able to poison others. Therefore observe it, usually in wicked families, some one or two are more arch for wickedness than are any other that are there. Now such are Satan's conduit pipes, for by them he conveys of the spawn of hell, through their being crafty in wickedness, into the ears and souls of their companions. Yea, and when they have once conceived wickedness, they travail with it, as doth a woman with child, till they have brought it forth; 'Behold, he travaileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood.' Ps. vii. 14. Some men, as here is intimated in the text, and as was hinted also before, have a kind of mystical but hellish copulation with the devil, who is the father, and their soul the mother of sin and wickedness; and they, so soon as they have conceived by him, finish, by bringing forth sin, both it and their own damnation. Ja. i. 15.

It concerns parents to put their children into good families.

ATTEN. How much then doth it concern those parents that love their children, to see, that if they go from them, they be put into such families as be good, that they may learn there betimes to eschew evil, and to follow that which is good!

Masters should also beware what servants they entertain.

WISE. It doth concern them indeed; and it doth also concern them that take children into their families, to take heed what children they receive. For a man may soon, by a bad boy, be damaged both in his name, estate, and family, and also hindered in his peace and peaceable pursuit after God and godliness; I say, by one such vermin as a wicked and filthy apprentice.

ATTEN. True, for one sinner destroyeth much good, and a poor man is better than a liar. But many times a man cannot help it; for such as at the beginning promise very fair are by a little time proved to be very rogues, like young Badman.

WISE. That is true also; but when a man has done the best he can to help it, he may with the more confidence expect the blessing of God to follow, or he shall have the more peace if things go contrary to his desire.

ATTEN. Well, but did Mr. Badman and his master agree so well? I mean his last master, since they were birds of a feather, I mean since they were so well met for wickedness.

Young Badman and his second master cannot agree.

WISE. This second master was, as before I told you, bad enough; but yet he would often fall out with young Badman, his servant, and chide, yea and sometimes beat him too, for his naughty doings.

ATTEN. What! for all he was so bad himself! This is like the proverb, The devil corrects vice.

WISE. I will assure you it is as I say. For you must know that Badman's ways suited not with his master's gains. Could he have done as the damsel that we read of, Ac. xvi. 16, did, to wit, fill his master's purse with his badness, he had certainly been his white-boy, but it was not so with young Badman; and, therefore, though his master and he did suit well enough in the main, yet in this and that point they differed. Young Badman was for neglecting of his master's business, for going to the whore-house, for beguiling of his master, for attempting to debauch his daughters, and the like. No marvel then if they disagreed in these points. Not so much for that his master had an antipathy against the fact itself, for he could do so when he was an apprentice; but for that his servant by his sin made spoil of his commodities, &c., and so damnified his master.

Reasons of their disagreeing.

Had, as I said before, young Badman's wickedness had only a tendency to his master's advantage, as could he have sworn, lied, cozened, cheated, and defrauded customers for his master—and indeed sometimes he did so—but had that been all that he had done, he had not had, no, not a wry word from his master; but this was not always Mr. Badman's way.

ATTEN. That was well brought in, even the maid that we read of in the Acts, and the distinction was as clear betwixt the wickedness and wickedness of servants.

WISE. Alas! men that are wicked themselves, yet greatly hate it in others, not simply because it is wickedness, but because it opposeth their interest. Do you think that that maid's master would have been troubled at the loss of her, if he had not lost, with her, his gain? No, I'll warrant you; she might have gone to the devil for him; but 'when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone,' then, then he fell to persecuting Paul. Ac. xvi. 17–20. But Mr. Badman's master did sometimes lose by Mr. Badman's sins, and then Badman and his master were at odds.

[1] Ungodly, Christless, prayerless families are little hells—filthy fountains, whose waters cast up mire and dirt; they are the blind and willing captives of sin and Satan, going down to the chambers of death and endless despair.—(ED.)

ATTEN. Alas, poor Badman! Then it seems thou couldest not at all times please thy like.

WISE. No, he could not, and the reason I have told you.

ATTEN. But do not bad masters condemn themselves in condemning the badness of their servants?

WISE. Yes; in that they condemn that in another which they either have, or do allow in themselves. RO. xiv. 22. And the time will come when that very sentence that hath gone out of their own mouths against the sins of others, themselves living and taking pleasure in the same, shall return with violence upon their own pates. The Lord pronounced judgment against Baasha, as for all his evils in general, so for this in special, because he was 'like the house of Jeroboam and' yet 'killed him.' 1 KI. xvi. 7. This is Mr. Badman's master's case; he is like his man, and yet he beats him. He is like his man, and yet he rails at him for being bad.

Bad masters condemn themselves, when they for badness beat their servants.

ATTEN. But why did not young Badman run away from this master, as he ran away from the other?

WISE. He did not. And if I be not mistaken, the reason why was this. There was godliness in the house of the first, and that young Badman could not endure. For fare, for lodging, for work, and time, he had better, and more by this master's allowance, than ever he had by his last; but all this would not content, because godliness was promoted there. He could not abide this praying, this reading of Scriptures, and hearing, and repeating of sermons; he could not abide to be told of his transgressions in a sober and godly manner.

Why young Badman did not run away from this master, though he did beat him.

ATTEN. There is a great deal in the manner of reproof; wicked men both can and cannot abide to hear their transgressions spoken against.

WISE. There is a great deal of difference indeed. This last master of Mr. Badman's would tell Mr. Badman of his sins in Mr. Badman's own dialect; he would swear, and curse, and damn, when he told him of his sins, and this he could bear better, than to be told of them after a godly sort. Besides, that last master would, when his passions and rage were over, laugh at and make merry with the sins of his servant Badman; and that would please young Badman well. Nothing offended Badman but blows, and those he had but few of now, because he was pretty well grown up. For the most part when his master did rage and swear, he would give him oath for oath, and curse for curse, at least secretly, let him go on as long as he would.

Why Badman could bear his last master's reproof better than he could the first.

ATTEN. This was hellish living.

WISE. It was hellish living indeed; and a man might say, that with this master, young Badman completed himself yet more and more in wickedness, as well as in his trade: for by that he came out of his time, what with his own inclination to sin, what with his acquaintance with his three companions, and what with this last master, and the wickedness he saw in him; he became a sinner in grain.[1] I think he had a bastard laid to his charge before he came out of his time.

By what means Badman came to be completed in wickedness.

ATTEN. Well, but it seems he did live to come out of his time, but what did he then?

Badman out of his time.

WISE. Why, he went home to his father, and he, like a loving and tender-hearted father, received him into his house.

He goes home to his father.

ATTEN. And how did he carry it there?

WISE. Why, the reason why he went home, was for money to set up for himself; he stayed but a little at home, but that little while that he did stay, he refrained himself as well as he could, and did not so much discover himself to be base, for fear his father should take distaste, and so should refuse, or for a while forbear to give him money. Yet even then he would have his times, and companions, and the fill of his lusts with them, but he used to blind all with this, he was glad to see his old acquaintance, and they as glad to see him, and he could not in civility but accommodate them with a bottle or two of wine, or a dozen or two of drink.

He refrains himself for money.

CHAPTER V.

[BADMAN IN BUSINESS, THE TRICKS OF A WICKED TRADESMAN.]

ATTEN. And did the old man give him money to set up with?

WISE. Yes, above two hundred pounds.

ATTEN. Therein, I think, the old man was out. Had I been his father, I would have held him a little at staves-end, till I had had far better proof of his manners to be good; for I perceive that his father did know what a naughty boy he had been, both by what he used to do at home, and because he changed a good master for a bad, &c. He should not therefore have given him money so soon. What if he had pinched a little, and gone to journey-work for a time, that he might have known what a penny was, by his earning of it? Then, in all probability, he had known better how to have spent it: yea, and by that time perhaps, have better considered with himself, how to have lived in the world. Ay,

Severity, what it inclines to.

[1] 'In grain,' material dyed before it is manufactured, so that every *grain* receives the colour, which becomes indelible. —(ED.)

and who knows but he might have come to himself with the prodigal, and have asked God and his father forgiveness for the villainies that he had committed against them.

WISE. If his father could also have blessed this manner of dealing to him, and have made it effectual for the ends that you have propounded, then I should have thought as you. But alas, alas, you talk as if you never knew, or had at this present forgot what the bowels and compassions of a father are. Why, did you not serve your own son so? But it is evident enough that we are better at giving good counsel to others, than we are at taking good counsel ourselves. But mine honest neighbour, suppose that Mr. Badman's father had done as you say, and by so doing had driven his son to ill courses, what had he bettered either himself or his son in so doing?

We are better at giving than taking good counsel.

ATTEN. That is true, but it doth not follow that if the father had done as I said, the son would have done as you suppose. But if he had done as you have supposed, what had he done worse than what he hath done already?

This is to be considered.

WISE. He had done bad enough, that is true. But suppose his father had given him no money, and suppose that young Badman had taken a pet thereat, and in an anger had gone beyond sea, and his father had neither seen him, nor heard of him more. Or suppose that of a mad and headstrong stomach, he had gone to the highway for money, and so had brought himself to the gallows, and his father and family to great contempt, or if by so doing he had not brought himself to that end, yet he had added to all his wickedness such and such evils besides; and what comfort could his father have had in this? Besides, when his father had done for him what he could, with desire to make him an honest man, he would then, whether his son had proved honest or no, have laid down his head with far more peace than if he had taken your counsel.

ATTEN. Nay I think I should not have been forward to have given advice in the cause; but truly you have given me such an account of his villainies, that the hearing thereof has made me angry with him.

WISE. In an angry mood we may soon outshoot ourselves, but poor wretch as he is, he is gone to his place. But, as I said, when a good father hath done what he can for a bad child, and that child shall prove never the better, he will lie down with far more peace, than if through severity, he had driven him to inconveniences.[1]

I remember that I have heard of a good woman, that had, as this old man, a bad and ungodly son, and she prayed for him, counselled him, and carried it motherly to him for several years together; but still he remained bad. At last, upon a time, after she had been at prayer, as she was wont, for his conversion, she comes to him, and thus, or to this effect, begins again to admonish him. Son, said she, thou hast been and art a wicked child, thou hast cost me many a prayer and tear, and yet thou remainest wicked. Well, I have done my duty, I have done what I can to save thee; now I am satisfied, that if I shall see thee damned at the day of judgment, I shall be so far off from being grieved for thee, that I shall rejoice to hear the sentence of thy damnation at that day; and it converted him.

A good woman and a bad son.

I tell you that if parents carry it lovingly towards their children, mixing their mercies with loving rebukes, and their loving rebukes with fatherly and motherly compassions, they are more likely to save their children, than by being churlish and severe towards them: but if they do not save them, if their mercy do them no good, yet it will greatly ease them at the day of death, to consider; I have done by love as much as I could, to save and deliver my child from hell.

ATTEN. Well I yield. But pray let us return again to Mr. Badman. You say, that his father gave him a piece of money that he might set up for himself.[2]

WISE. Yes, his father did give him a piece of money, and he did set up, and almost as soon set down again: for he was not long set up, but by his ill managing of his matters at home, together with his extravagant expenses abroad, he was got so far into debt, and had so little in his shop to pay, that he was hard put to it to keep himself out of prison. But when his creditors understood that he was about to marry, and in a fair way to get a rich wife, they said among themselves, We will not be hasty with him; if he gets a rich wife he will pay us all.

Mr. Badman sets up for himself, and quickly runs to the land's end.

ATTEN. But how could he so quickly run out, for I perceive it was in little time, by what you say?

WISE. It was in little time indeed, I think he was not above two years and a half in doing of it; but the reason is apparent, for he being a wild young man, and now having the bridle loose before him, and being wholly subjected to his lusts and vices, he gave himself up to the way of his heart, and to the sight of his eye, forgetting that for all these things God would bring him to judgment. Ec. xi. 9. And he that doth thus, you may be sure, shall not be

The reason of his running out.

[1] See the note on p. 597.

[2] By 'a piece of money' is here meant two hundred pounds (see p. 616). It probably means a portion or *piece* of his fortune.—(ED.)

able long to stand on his legs. Besides he had now an addition of new companions; companions New companions. you must think most like himself in manners, and so such that cared not who sunk, if they themselves might swim. These would often be haunting of him, and of his shop too when he was absent. They would commonly egg[1] him to the alehouse, but yet make him jack-pay-for-all; they would also be borrowing money of him, but take no care to pay again, except it was with more of their company, which also he liked very well; and so his poverty came like 'one that travelleth, and his want as an armed man.' Pr. vi. 11. But all the while they studied his temper; Mr. Badman's temper. he loved to be flattered, praised, and commended for wit, manhood, and personage; and this was like stroking him over the face. Thus they colleagued with him, and got yet more and more into him, and so, like horse leeches, they drew away that little that his father had given him, and brought him quickly down, almost to dwell next door to the beggar.

Atten. Then was the saying of the wise man fulfilled, 'He that keepeth company with harlots,' and 'a companion of fools, shall be destroyed.' Pr. xxix. 3; xiii. 20.

Wise. Ay, and that too, 'A companion of riotous *persons* shameth his father.'[2] Pr. xxviii. 7. For he, poor man, had both grief and shame, to see how his son, now at his own hand, behaved himself in the enjoyment of those good things, in and under the lawful use of which he might have lived to God's glory, his own comfort, and credit among his neighbours. 'But he that followeth after vain *persons*, shall have poverty enough.' Pr. xxviii. 19. The way that he took, led him directly into this condition; for who can expect other things of one that follows such courses? Besides, when he was in his shop, he could not abide to be doing; he was naturally given to idleness. He loved to live high, but his hands refused to labour; and what else can the end of such an one be but that which the wise man saith? 'The drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty, and drowsiness shall clothe *a man* with rags.' Pr. xxiii. 21.[3]

Atten. But now, methinks, when he was brought thus low, he should have considered the hand of God that was gone out against him, and should have smote upon the breast, and have returned.

Wise. Consideration, good consideration, was far from him, he was as stout and proud now as ever in all his life, and was as high too in the pursuit of his sin, as when he was in the midst of his fulness; only he went now like a tired jade, the devil had rid him almost off of his legs. His behaviour under his decays.

Atten. Well, but what did he do when all was almost gone?

Wise. Two things were now his play. 1. He bore all in hand by swearing, and cracking, and lying, that he was as well to pass as he was the first day he set up for himself, yea that he had rather got than lost; and he had at his beck some of his companions that would swear to confirm it as fast as he. How he covered his decays.

Atten. This was double wickedness, it was a sin to say it, and another to swear it.

Wise. That is true, but what evil is that that he will not do, that is left of God, as I believe Mr. Badman was?

CHAPTER VI.

[HIS HYPOCRITICAL COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE TO A PIOUS RICH YOUNG LADY.]

Atten. And what was the other thing?

Wise. Why that which I hinted before, he was for looking out for a rich wife: and now I am come to some more of his invented, devised, designed, and abominable roguery, such that will yet declare him to be a most desperate sinner. Badman is for a rich wife.

The thing was this: a wife he wanted, or rather money; for as for a woman, he could have whores enow at his whistle. But, as I said, he wanted money, and that must be got by a wife or no way; nor could he so easily get a wife neither, except he became an artist at the way of dissembling; nor would dissembling do among that people that could dissemble as well as he. But there dwelt a maid not far from him, that was both godly, and one that had a good portion, but how to get her, there lay all the craft. Well, he calls a council of some of his most trusty and cunning companions, and breaks his mind to them; to wit, that he had a mind to marry: and he also told them to whom; but, said he, how shall I accomplish my end; she is religious, and I am not? Then one of them made reply, saying, Since she is religious, you must pretend to be so likewise, and that for some time before you go to her. Mark therefore whither she goes daily to hear, and do you go thither also; but there you must be sure to behave yourself soberly, and make as if you liked the Word wonderful well; stand also where she may see you, and when you come home, be sure that you walk the street very so- Badman has a godly maid in his eye. He seeks to get her, why, and how. He calls his companions together, and they advise him how to get her.

[1] From the Anglo-Saxon 'Eggian,' to incite, urge.—(Ed.)

[2] The Genevan or Puritan version of this passage is very striking: 'he that feedeth the gluttons, shameth his father.'—(Ed.)

[3] This is one of the numerous passages of Holy Writ which are more expressive without than with the words supplied in italics: *women* are not exempt from the 'rags' which must ever follow drowsiness.—(Ed.)

berly, and go within sight of her. This done for a while, then go to her, and first talk of how sorry you are for your sins, and show great love to the religion that she is of, still speaking well of her preachers and of her godly acquaintance, bewailing your hard hap that it was not your lot to be acquainted with her and her fellow-professors sooner; and this is the way to get her. Also you must write down sermons, talk of scriptures, and protest that you came a-wooing to her, only because she is godly, and because you should count it your greatest happiness if you might but have such a one. As for her money, slight it, it will be never the further off, that is the way to come soonest at it, for she will be jealous at first that you come for her money; you know what she has, but make not a word about it. Do this, and you shall see if you do not entangle the lass. Thus was the snare laid for this poor honest maid, and she was quickly catched in his pit.

ATTEN. Why, did he take this counsel?

WISE. Did he! yes, and after a while, went as boldly to, and that under a vizard of religion, as if he had been for honesty and godliness one of the most sincere and upright-hearted in England. He observed all his points, and followed the advice of his counsellors, and quickly obtained her too; for natural parts he had; he was tall, and fair, and had plain, but very good clothes on his back; and his religion was the more easily attained; for he had seen something in the house of his father, and first master, and so could the more readily put himself into the form and show thereof.

Badman goes to the damsel as his counsel advised him.

So he appointed his day, and went to her, as that he might easily do, for she had neither father nor mother to oppose. Well, when he was come, and had given her a civil compliment, to let her understand why he was come, then he began and told her that he had found in his heart a great deal of love to her person; and that of all the damsels in the world he had pitched upon her, if she thought fit, to make her his beloved wife. The reasons, as he told her, why he had pitched upon her were her religious and personal excellencies; and therefore entreated her to take his condition into her tender and loving consideration. As for the world, quoth he, I have a very good trade, and can maintain myself and family well, while my wife sits still on her seat; I have got thus and thus much already, and feel money come in every day, but that is not the thing that I aim at; it is an honest and godly wife. Then he would present her with a good book or two, pretending how much good he had got by them himself. He would also be often speaking well of godly ministers, especially of those that he perceived she liked, and loved most.

Badman's compliment, his lying compliment.

Besides he would be often telling of her what a godly father he had, and what a new man he was also become himself; and thus did this treacherous dealer deal with this honest and good girl, to her great grief and sorrow, as afterward you shall hear.

ATTEN. But had the maid no friend to look after her?

WISE. Her father and mother were dead, and that he knew well enough, and so she was the more easily overcome by his naughty lying tongue. But if she had never so many friends, she might have been beguiled by him. It is too much the custom of young people now, to think themselves wise enough to make their own choice; and that they need not ask counsel of those that are older, and also wiser than they; but this is a great fault in them, and many of them have paid dear for it. Well, to be short, in little time Mr. Badman obtains his desire, gets this honest girl, and her money, is married to her, brings her home, makes a feast, entertains her royally, but her portion must pay for all.

Neglect of counsel about marriage dangerous.

Badman obtains his desire, is married, &c.

ATTEN. This was wonderful deceitful doings, a man shall seldom hear of the like.

WISE. By this his doing, he showed how little he feared God, and what little dread he had of his judgments. For all this carriage, and all these words were by him premeditated evil; he knew he lied, he knew he dissembled; yea, he knew that he made use of the name of God, of religion, good men, and good books, but as a stalking-horse, thereby the better to catch his game. In all this his glorious pretence of religion, he was but a glorious painted hypocrite, and hypocrisy is the highest sin that a poor carnal wretch can attain unto; it is also a sin that most dareth God, and that also bringeth the greater damnation. Now was he a whited wall, now was he a painted sepulchre. Mat. xxiii. 27. Now was he a grave that appeared not. Lu. xi. 44. For this poor, honest, godly damsel, little thought that both her peace and comfort, and estate, and liberty, and person, and all, were going to her burial, when she was going to be married to Mr. Badman; and yet so it was, she enjoyed herself but little afterwards; she was as if she was dead and buried to what she enjoyed before.

His carriage judged ungodly and wicked.

The great alteration that quickly happened to Badman's wife.

ATTEN. Certainly some wonderful judgment of God must attend and overtake such wicked men as these.

WISE. You may be sure that they shall have judgment to the full, for all these things, when the day of judgment is come. But as for judgment upon them in this life, it doth not always come, no not upon those that are worthy thereof.

'They that tempt God are delivered, and they that work wickedness are set up.' Mal. iii. 15. But they are reserved to the day of wrath; and then, for their wickedness, God will repay them to their faces. 'The wicked is reserved to the day of destruction; they shall be brought forth to the day of wrath. Who shall declare his way to his face? and who shall repay him what he hath done? Yet shall he be brought to the grave, and shall remain in the tomb.' Job xxi. 30–32. That is, ordinarily they escape God's hand in this life, save only a few examples are made, that others may be cautioned, and take warning thereby. But at the day of judgment they must be rebuked for their evil with the lashes of devouring fire.

Expectation of judgment is for such things.

ATTEN. Can you give me no examples of God's wrath upon men that have acted this tragical wicked deed of Mr. Badman.

WISE. Yes; Hamor and Shechem, and all the men of their city, for attempting to make God and religion the stalking-horse to get Jacob's daughters to wife, were together slain with the edge of the sword. A judgment of God upon them, no doubt, for their dissembling in that matter. Ge. xxxiv. 1. All manner of lying and dissembling is dreadful, but to make God and religion a disguise, therewith to blind thy dissimulation from others' eyes, is highly provoking to the Divine majesty. I knew one that dwelt not far off from our town, that got him a wife as Mr. Badman got his; but he did not enjoy her long; for one night as he was riding home from his companions, where he had been at a neighbouring town, his horse threw him to the ground, where he was found dead at break of day; frightfully and lamentably mangled with his fall, and besmeared with his own blood.

An example of God's anger on such as have heretofore committed this sin of Mr. Badman.

ATTEN. Well, but pray return again to Mr. Badman; how did he carry it to his wife, after he was married to her?

WISE. Nay, let us take things along as we go. He had not been married but a little while, but his creditors came upon him for their money. He deferred them a little while, but at last things were come to that point that pay he must, or must do worse; so he appointed them a time, and they came for their money, and he payed them down with her money, before her eyes, for those goods that he had profusely spent among his whores long before, besides the portion that his father gave him, to the value of two hundred pounds.

After Badman is married his creditors come upon him, and his wife's portion pays for that which his whores were feasted with before his marriage.

ATTEN. This beginning was bad, but what shall I say? It was like Mr. Badman himself. Poor woman! this was but a bad beginning for her; I fear it filled her with trouble enough, as I think such a beginning would have done one perhaps much stronger than she.

WISE. Trouble, aye, you may be sure of it, but now it was too late to repent; she should have looked better to herself when being wary would have done her good; her harms may be an advantage to others that will learn to take heed thereby, but for herself, she must take what follows, even such a life now as Mr. Badman her husband will lead her, and that will be bad enough.

Now she reaps the fruit of her unadvisedness.

ATTEN. This beginning was bad, and yet I fear it was but the beginning of bad.

WISE. You may be sure that it was but the beginning of badness, for other evils came on apace; as, for instance, it was but a little while after he was married, but he hangs his religion upon the hedge, or rather dealt with it as men deal with their old clothes, who cast them off, or leave them to others to wear; for his part he would be religious no longer.

Now Badman has got him a wife by religion, he hangs it by as a thing out of use, & entertains his old companions.

Now therefore he had pulled off his vizard, and began to show himself in his old shape, a base, wicked, debauched fellow; and now the poor woman saw that she was betrayed indeed, now also his old companions begin to flock about him, and to haunt his house and shop as formerly. And who with them but Mr. Badman? And who with him again but they?

Now those good people that used to company with his wife began to be amazed and discouraged, also he would frown and glout[1] upon them as if he abhorred the appearance of them, so that in little time he drove all good company from her, and made her sit solitary by herself. He also began now to go out a-nights to those drabs who were his familiars before, with whom he would stay sometimes till midnight, and sometimes till almost morning, and then would come home as drunk as a swine: and this was the course of Mr. Badman.

He drives good company from his wife.

He goes to his whores.

CHAPTER VII.

[HE THROWS OFF THE MASK AND CRUELLY TREATS HIS WIFE.]

Now when he came home in this case, if his wife did but speak a word to him about where he had been and why he had so abused himself, though her words were spoken in never so much meekness and love, then she was whore, and bitch, and jade! and it was well if she missed his fingers and heels. Sometimes

He rails at his wife.

[1] 'Glout,' to pout or look sulky; obsolete.—(ED.)

also he would bring his punks home to his house, and woe be to his wife when they were gone if she did not entertain them with all varieties possible, and also carry it lovingly to them. Thus this good woman was made by Badman, her husband, to possess nothing but disappointments as to all that he had promised her, or that she hoped to have at his hands.

But that that added pressing weight to all her sorrow was that, as he had cast away all religion himself, so he attempted, if possible, to make her do so too. He would not suffer her to go out to the preaching of the word of Christ, nor to the rest of his appointments, for the health and salvation of her soul. He would now taunt at and reflectingly speak of her preachers, and would receive, yea, raise scandals of them, to her very great grief and affliction.

He seeks to force his wife from her religion.

He mocks at her preachers.

Now she scarce durst go to an honest neighbour's house, or have a good book in her hand, especially when he had his companions in his house, or had got a little drink in his head. He would also, when he perceived that she was dejected, speak tauntingly and mockingly to her in the presence of his companions, calling of her his religious wife, his demure dame, and the like, also he would make a sport of her among his wanton ones abroad.

He mocks his wife in her dejection.

If she did ask him, as sometimes she would, to let her go out to a sermon, he would in a churlish manner reply, Keep at home, keep at home and look to your business, we cannot live by hearing of sermons. If she still urged that he would let her go, then he would say to her, Go if you dare. He would also charged her with giving of what he had to her ministers, when, vile wretch, he had spent it on his vain companions before. This was the life that Mr. Badman's good wife lived, within few months after he had married her.

He refuses to let her go out to good company.

ATTEN. This was a disappointment indeed.

WISE. A disappointment indeed, as ever I think poor woman had. One would think that the knave might a little let her have had her will since it was nothing but to be honest, and since she brought him so sweet, so lumping a portion—for she brought hundreds into his house—I say, one would think he should have let her had her own will a little, since she desired it only in the service and worship of God; but could she win him to grant her that? No, not a bit, if it would have saved her life. True, sometimes she would steal out when he was from home, or on a journey, or among his drunken companions, but with all privacy imaginable; and, poor woman, this advantage she had she carried it so to all her neighbours that, though many of them were but carnal, yet they would not betray her, or tell of her going out to the Word if they saw it, but would rather endeavour to hide it from Mr. Badman himself.

She gets out sometimes by stealth.

ATTEN. This carriage of his to her was enough to break her heart.

WISE. It was enough to do it indeed, yea, it did effectually do it. It killed her in time, yea, it was all the time a killing of her. She would oftentimes, when she sat by herself, thus mournfully bewail her condition:—'Woe is me that I sojourn in Meshech,' and '*that* I dwell in the tents of Kedar! My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.' O 'what shall be given unto thee,' thou 'deceitful tongue?' 'or what shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue?' PS. CXX. I am a woman grieved in spirit, my husband has bought me and sold me for his lusts. It was not me, but my money that he wanted; O that he had had it, so I had had my liberty! This she said, not of contempt of his person, but of his conditions,[1] and because she saw that, by his hypocritical tongue, he had brought her not only almost to beggary, but robbed her of the Word of God.

Her repentance and complaint.

ATTEN. It is a deadly thing, I see, to be unequally yoked with unbelievers. If this woman had had a good husband, how happily might they have lived together! Such an one would have prayed for her, taught her, and also would have encouraged her in the faith and ways of God; but now, poor creature, instead of this there is nothing but the quite contrary.

The evil of being unequally yoked together.

WISE. It is a deadly thing indeed, and therefore, by the Word of God, his people are forbid to be joined in marriage with them. 'Be ye not,' saith it, 'unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?' 2 CO. VI. 14–16. There can be no agreement where such matches are made; even God himself hath declared the contrary from the beginning of the world. 'I,' says he, 'will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed.' GE. III. 15. Therefore he saith in another place they can mix no better than iron and clay. DA II. 43. I say they cannot agree, they cannot be one, and therefore they should be aware at first, and not lightly receive such into their affections. God has

[1] This is one of the hardest lessons a disciple has to learn in the school of Christ; not to hate the sinner, but the sin; especially under circumstances of such cruel deception.—(ED.)

often made such matches bitter, especially to his own. Such matches are, as God said of Eli's sons that were spared, to consume the eyes and to grieve the heart. O! the wailing and lamentation that they have made that have been thus yoked, especially if they were such as would be so yoked against their light and good counsel to the contrary.

ATTEN. Alas! he deluded her with his tongue, and feigned reformation.

WISE. Well, well, she should have gone more warily to work. What if she had acquainted some of her best, most knowing, and godly friends therewith? What if she had engaged a godly minister or two to have talked with Mr. Badman? Also, what if she had laid wait round about him, to espy if he was not otherwise behind her back than he was before her face? And besides I verily think—since in the multitude of counsellors there is safety—that if she had acquainted the congregation with it, and desired them to spend some time in prayer to God about it, and if she must have had him, to have received him as to his godliness upon the judgment of others, rather than her own—she knowing them to be godly and judicious and unbiassed men—she had had more peace all her life after, than to trust to her own poor, raw, womanish judgment as she did. Love is blind, and will see nothing amiss where others may see a hundred faults. Therefore I say she should not have trusted to her own thoughts in the matter of his goodness.

Good counsel to those godly maids that are to marry.

As to his person, there she was fittest to judge, because she was to be the person pleased, but as to his godliness, there the Word was the fittest judge, and they that could best understand it, because God was therein to be pleased. I wish that all young maidens will take heed of being beguiled with flattering words, with feigning and lying speeches, and take the best way to preserve themselves from being bought and sold by wicked men as she was, lest they repent with her, when, as to this, repentance will do them no good, but for their unadvisedness go sorrowing to their graves.

A caution to young maidens.

ATTEN. Well things are past with this poor woman and cannot be called back, let others beware by her misfortunes, lest they also fall into her distress.

Let Mr. Badman's wife be your example.

WISE. That is the thing that I say, let them take heed, lest for their unadvisedness they smart, as this poor woman has done. And ah! methinks, that they that yet are single persons, and that are tempted to marry to such as Mr. Badman, would, to inform and warn themselves in this matter before they entangle themselves, but go to some that already are in the snare, and ask them how it is with them, as to the suitable or unsuitableness of their marriage, and desire their advice. Surely they would ring such a peal in their ears about the unequality, unsuitableness, disadvantages, and disquietments, and sins that attend such marriages, that would make them beware as long as they live. But the bird in the air knows not the notes of the bird in the snare until she comes thither herself. Besides, to make up such marriages, Satan and carnal reason, and lust, or at least inconsiderateness, has the chiefest hand; and where these things bear sway, designs, though never so destructive, will go headlong on; and therefore I fear that but little warning will be taken by young girls at Mr. Badman's affliction.

ATTEN. But are there no dissuasive arguments to lay before such, to prevent their future misery?

WISE. Yes: there is the law of God, that forbiddeth marriage with unbelievers. These kind of marriages also are condemned even by irrational creatures. 1. It is forbidden by the law of God, both in the Old Testament and in the New. 1. In the Old. Thou shalt not 'make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son.' De. vii. 3. 2. In the New Testament it is forbidden. 'Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers,' let them marry to whom they will, 'only in the Lord.' 2 Co. vi. 14–16. 1 Co. vii. 39.

Here now is a prohibition, plainly forbidding the believer to marry with the unbeliever, therefore they should not do it. Again, these unwarrantable marriages are, as I may so say, condemned by irrational creatures, who will not couple but with their own sort. Will the sheep couple with a dog, the partridge with a crow, or the pheasant with an owl? No, they will strictly tie up themselves to those of their own sort only. Yea, it sets all the world a wondering, when they see or hear the contrary. Man only is most subject to wink at, and allow of these unlawful mixtures of men and women; because man only is a sinful beast, a sinful bird, therefore he, above all, will take upon him, by rebellious actions, to answer, or rather to oppose and violate the law of his God and Creator; nor shall these or other interrogatories, What fellowship? what concord? what agreement? what communion can there be in such marriages? be counted of weight or thought worth the answering by him,

Rules for those that are to marry.

But further, the dangers that such do commonly run themselves into, should be to others a dissuasive argument to stop them from doing the like: for besides the distresses of Mr. Badman's wife, many that have had very hopeful beginnings for heaven, have, by virtue of the mischiefs that have attended these unlawful marriages, miserably and fearfully miscarried. Soon after such marriages, conviction, the first step towards heaven, hath ceased; prayer, the next step towards

If you love your soul take heed.

heaven, hath ceased; hungerings and thirstings after salvation, another step towards the kingdom of heaven, hath ceased. In a word, such marriages have estranged them from the Word, from their godly and faithful friends, and have brought them again into carnal company, among carnal friends, and also into carnal delights, where, and with whom, they have in conclusion both sinfully abode, and miserably perished.

And this is one reason why God hath forbidden this kind of unequal marriages. 'For they,' saith he, meaning the ungodly, 'will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods; so will the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and destroy thee suddenly.' De. vii. 4. Now mark, there were some in Israel, that would notwithstanding this prohibition, venture to marry to the heathens and unbelievers. But what followed? 'They served their idols, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils. Thus were they defiled with their own works, and went a whoring with their own inventions; therefore was the wrath of the Lord kindled against his people, insomuch that he abhorred his own inheritance.' Ps. cvi. 36–40.

ATTEN. But let us return again to Mr. Badman; had he any children by his wife?

WISE. Yes, seven.

ATTEN. I doubt they were but badly brought up.

WISE. One of them loved its mother dearly, and would constantly hearken to her voice. Now that child she had the opportunity to instruct in the principles of Christian religion, and it became a very graceous child. But that child Mr. Badman could not abide, he would seldom afford it a pleasant word, but would scowl and frown upon it, speak churlishly and doggedly to it, and though, as to nature, it was the most feeble of the seven, yet it oftenest felt the weight of its father's fingers. Three of his children did directly follow his steps, and began to be as vile as, in his youth, he was himself. The other that remained became a kind of mongrel[1] professors, not so bad as their father, nor so good as their mother, but were betwixt them both. They had their mother's notions, and their father's actions, and were much like those that you read of in the book of Nehemiah; these children were half of Ashdod, 'and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people.' Ne. xiii. 24.

Badman's children that he had by this good woman.

ATTEN. What you say in this matter is observable, and if I take not my mark amiss, it often happeneth after this manner where such unlawful marriages are contracted.

WISE. It sometimes doth so, and the reason, with respect to their parents, is this. Where the one of the parents is godly, and the other ungodly and vile, though they can agree in begetting of children, yet they strive for their children when they are born. The godly parent strives for the child, and by prayers, counsel, and good examples, labours to make it holy in body and soul, and so fit for the kingdom of heaven; but the ungodly would have it like himself, wicked, and base, and sinful; and so they both give instructions accordingly. Instructions did I say? yea, and examples too according to their minds. Thus the godly, as Hannah, is presenting her Samuel unto the Lord: but the ungodly, like them that went before them, are for offering their children to Moloch, to an idol, to sin, to the devil, and to hell. Thus one hearkeneth to the law of their mother and is preserved from destruction, but as for the other, as their fathers did, so do they. Thus did Mr. Badman and his wife part some of their children betwixt them; but as for the other three that were, as it were, mongrels, betwixt both, they were like unto those that you read of in Kings, they feared the Lord, but served their own idols. 2 Ki. xvii. They had, as I said, their mother's notions, and I will add, profession too; but their father's lusts, and something of his life. Now their father did not like them, because they had their mother's tongue; and the mother did not like them because they had still their father's heart and life; nor were they indeed fit company for good or bad. The good would not trust them because they were bad, the bad would not trust them because they were good; namely, the good would not trust them because they were bad in their lives, and the bad would not trust them because they were good in their words. So they were forced with Esau to join in affinity with Ishmael; to wit, to look out a people that were hypocrites like themselves, and with them they matched, and lived, and died.

How the ungodly father, and godly mother do strive for the children that God doth give them.

ATTEN. Poor woman, she could not but have much perplexity.

WISE. Yea, and poor children, that ever they were sent into the world as the fruit of the loins, and under the government of such a father as Mr. Badman.

ATTEN. You say right, for such children lie almost under all manner of disadvantages: but we must say nothing, because this also is the sovereign will of God.

WISE. We may not by any means object against God; yet we may talk of the advantages and disadvantages that children have by having for their parents such as are either godly or the contrary.

ATTEN. You say right, we may so, and pray now, since we are about it, speak something in brief unto it, that is, unto this: what advantage

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[1] Mixed, impure.

'Tis true, the cause is in the lurch
Between the right and *mongrel* church.'—*Hudibras.*—(ED.)

those children have above others, that have for their parents such as indeed are godly?

WISE. So I will, only I must first premise these two or three things. 1. They have not the advantage of election for their fathers' sakes. 2. They are born as others, the children of wrath, though they come of godly parents. 3. Grace comes not unto them as an inheritance, because they have godly parents. These things premised I shall now proceed.

The advantages that children have whose parents are both godly.

1. The children of godly parents are the children of many prayers. They are prayed for before, and prayed for after they are born; and the prayer of a godly father and godly mother doth much. 2. They have the advantage of what restraint is possible, from what evils their parents see them inclinable to, and that is a second mercy. 3. They have the advantage of godly instruction, and of being told which be and which be not the right ways of the Lord. 4. They have also those ways commended unto them, and spoken well of in their hearing, that are good. 5. Such are also, what may be kept out of evil company, from evil books, and from being taught the way of swearing, lying, and the like, as sabbath-breaking, and mocking at good men and good things, and this is a very great mercy. 6. They have also the benefit of a godly life set before them doctrinally by their parents, and that doctrine backed with a godly and holy example. And all these are very great advantages.

Now all these advantages the children of ungodly parents want; and so are more in danger of being carried away with the error of the wicked. For ungodly parents neither pray for their children, nor do nor can they heartily instruct them; they do not after a godly manner restrain them from evil, nor do they keep them from evil company. They are not grieved at, nor yet do they forewarn their children to beware of such evil actions that are abomination to God and to all good men. They let their children break the sabbath, swear, lie, be wicked and vain. They commend not to their children a holy life, nor set a good example before their eyes. No, they do in all things contrary: estranging of their children what they can, from the love of God and all good men, so soon as they are born. Therefore it is a very great judgment of God upon children, to be the offspring of base and ungodly men. Job xxx. 8.

The disadvantages that the children of ungodly parents have.

ATTEN. Well, but before we leave Mr. Badman's wife and children, I have a mind, if you please, to inquire a little more after one thing, the which I am sure you can satisfy me in.

WISE. What is that?

ATTEN. You said a while ago that this Mr. Badman would not suffer his wife to go out to hear such godly ministers as she liked, but said, if she did, she had as good never come home any more. Did he often carry it thus to her?

WISE. He did say so, he did often say so. This I told you then, and had also then told you more, but that other things put me out.

ATTEN. Well said; pray, therefore, now go on.

WISE. So I will. Upon a time, she was, on a Lord's day, for going to hear a sermon, and Mr. Badman was unwilling she should; but she at that time, as it seems, did put on more courage than she was wont; and, therefore, after she had spent upon him a great many fair words and entreaties, if perhaps she might have prevailed by them, but all to no purpose at all, at last she said she would go, and rendered this reason for it: I have a husband, but also a God; my God has commanded me, and that upon pain of damnation, to be a continual worshipper of him, and that in the way of his own appointments. I have a husband, but also a soul, and my soul ought to be more unto me than all the world besides. This soul of mine I will look after, care for, and, if I can, provide it a heaven for its habitation. You are commanded to love me, as you love your own body, and so do I love you; but I tell you true, I prefer my soul before all the world, and its salvation I will seek.[1] Ep. v. 28.

A contest betwixt Mr. Badman and his wife.

At this, first he gave her an ugly wish, and then fell into a fearful rage, and sware moreover that if she did go, he would make both her and all her damnable brotherhood, for so he was pleased to call them, to repent their coming thither.

Now with what weapons Badman did deal with his wife.

ATTEN. But what should he mean by that?

WISE. You may easily guess what he meant. He meant he would turn informer,[2] and so either weary out those that she loved from meeting together to worship God, or make them pay dearly for their so doing, the which, if he did, he knew it would vex every vein of her tender heart.

ATTEN. But do you think Mr. Badman would have been so base?

WISE. Truly he had malice and enmity enough in his heart to do it, only he was a tradesman; also he knew that he must live by his neighbours, and so he had that little wit in his anger, that he re-

[1] Such were the sound reasons which animated the martyrs to resist unjust human laws, interfering with or directing the mode of divine worship; and such are the reasons which prevent conformity to national religions, to the payment of church rates, and similar ungodly impositions.—(ED.)

[2] The Quakers braved the storm, met in public, and appeared to court persecution. Not so the Baptists; they met in woods and caves, and with such secrecy that it was not possible to detect them, unless by an informer. William Penn taunted them in these words: 'they resolve to keep their old haunt of creeping into garrets, cheese-lofts, coalholes, and such like nice walks.' And so would I, rather than be disturbed by constables.—(ED.)

frained himself and did it not. But, as I said, he had malice and envy enough in his heart to have made him to do it, only he thought it would worst him in his trade; yet these three things he would be doing: 1. He would be putting of others on to molest and abuse her friends. 2. He would be glad when he heard that any mischief befel them. 3. And would laugh at her when he saw her troubled for them. And now I have told you Mr. Badmau's way as to this.

Mr. Badman's heart discovered as to its enmity against the friends of his wife.

ATTEN. But was he not afraid of the judgments of God that did fly about at that time?

WISE. He regarded not the judgment nor mercy of God, for had he at all done that he could not have done as he did. But what judgments do you mean?

ATTEN. Such judgments, that if Mr. Badman himself had taken but sober notice of, they might have made him a hung down his ears.

WISE. Why, have you heard of any such persons that the judgments of God have overtaken.

ATTEN. Yes, and so, I believe, have you too, though you make so strange about it.

WISE. I have so indeed, to my astonishment and wonder.

ATTEN. Pray, therefore, if you please, tell me what it is, as to this, that you know; and then, perhaps, I may also say something to you of the same.

Mark.

WISE. In our town there was one W. S., a man of a very wicked life; and he, when there seemed to be countenance given to it, would needs turn informer. Well, so he did, and was as diligent in his business as most of them could be; he would watch of nights, climb trees, and range the woods of days, if possible, to find out the meeters, for then they were forced to meet in the fields; yea, he would curse them bitterly, and swear most fearfully what he would do to them when he found them. Well, after he had gone on like a bedlam in his course awhile, and had done some mischiefs to the people, he was stricken by the hand of God, and that in this manner: 1. Although he had his tongue naturally at will, now he was taken with a faltering in his speech, and could not for weeks together speak otherwise than just like a man that was drunk. 2. Then he was taken with a drauling, or slabbering at his mouth, which slabber sometimes would hang at his mouth well nigh half-way down to the ground. 3. Then he had such a weakness in the back sinews of his neck, that ofttimes he could not look up before him, unless he clapped his hand hard upon his forehead, and held up his head that way, by strength of hand. 4. After this his speech went quite away, and he could speak no more than a swine or a bear. Therefore, like one of them, he would gruntle and make an ugly noise, according as he was offended, or pleased, or would have anything done, &c.

In this posture he continued for the space of half a year or thereabouts, all the while otherwise well, and could go about his business, save once that he had a fall from the bell as it hangs in our steeple, which it was a wonder it did not kill him. But after that he also walked about, until God had made a sufficient spectacle of his judgment for his sin, and then on a sudden he was stricken, and died miserably; and so there was an end of him and his doings.

I will tell you of another. About four miles from St. Neots, there was a gentleman had a man, and he would needs be an informer, and a lusty young man he was. Well, an informer he was, and did much distress some people, and had perfected his informations so effectually against some, that there was nothing further to do but for the constables to make distress on the people, that he might have the money or goods; and, as I heard, he hastened them much to do it. Now, while he was in the heat of his work, as he stood one day by the fire-side, he had, it should seem, a mind to a sop in the pan, for the spit was then at the fire, so he went to make him one; but behold, a dog, some say his own dog, took distaste at something, and bit his master by the leg; the which bite, notwithstanding all the means that was used to cure him, turned, as was said, to a gangrene; however, that wound was his death, and that a dreadful one too. For my relator said that he lay in such a condition by this bite, as the beginning, until his flesh rotted from off him before he went out of the world. But what need I instance in particular persons; when the judgment of God against this kind of people was made manifest, I think I may say, if not in all, yet in most of the counties in England where such poor creatures were. But I would, if it had been the will of God, that neither I nor anybody else. could tell you more of these stories; true stories, that are neither lie nor romance.

ATTEN. Well, I also heard of both these myself, and of more too, as remarkable in their kind as these, if I had any list to tell them; but let us leave those that are behind to others, or to the coming of Christ, who then will justify or condemn them, as the merit of their work shall require; or if they repented, and found mercy, I shall be glad when I know it, for I wish not a curse to the soul of mine enemy.

WISE. There can be no pleasure in the telling of such stories, though to hear of them may do us a pleasure. They may put us in mind that there is a God that judgeth in the earth, and that doth not always forget nor defer to hear the cry of the destitute; they also carry along with them both cau-

tion and counsel to those that are the survivors of such. Let us tremble at the judgments of God, and be afraid of sinning against him, and it shall be our protection. It shall go well with them that fear God, that fear before him.

ATTEN. Well, Sir, as you have intimated, so I think we have, in this place, spoken enough about these kind of men; if you please, let us return again to Mr. Badman himself, if you have any more to say of him.

WISE. More! we have yet scarce thoroughly begun with anything that we have said. All the particulars are in themselves so full of badness, that we have rather only looked in them, than indeed said anything to them; but we will pass them and proceed. You have heard of the sins of his youth, of his apprenticeship, and how he set up, and married, and what a life he hath led his wife; and now I will tell you some more of his pranks.

New discourse of Mr. Badman.

He had the very knack of knavery; had he, as I said before, been bound to serve an apprenticeship to all these things, he could not have been more cunning, he could not have been more artificial at it.

ATTEN. Nor perhaps so artificially neither. For as none can teach goodness like to God himself, so, concerning sin and knavery, none can teach a man it like the devil, to whom, as I perceive, Mr. Badman went to school from his childhood to the end of his life. But, pray, Sir, make a beginning.

WISE. Well, so I will. You may remember that I told you what a condition he was in for money before he did marry, and how he got a rich wife, with whose money he paid his debts. Now, when he had paid his debts, he having some money left, he sets up again as briskly as ever, keeps a great shop, drives a great trade, and runs again a great way into debt; but now not into the debt of one or two, but into the debt of many, so that at last he came to owe some thousands, and thus he went on a good while. And, to pursue his ends the better, he began now to study to please all men, and to suit himself to any company; he could now be as they, say as they, that is, if he listed; and then he would list, when he perceived that by so doing he might either make them his customers or creditors for his commodities. If he dealt with honest men, as with some honest men he did, then he would be as they, talk as they, seem to be sober as they, talk of justice and religion as they, and against debauchery as they; yea, and would too seem to show a dislike of them that said, did, or were otherwise than honest.

Mr. Badman plays a new prank.

Again, when he did light among those that were bad, then he would be as they, but yet more close and cautiously, except he were sure of his company. Then he would carry it openly, be as they, say, damn them and sink them[1] as they. If they railed on good men, so could he; if they railed on religion, so could he; if they talked beastly, vainly, idly, so would he; if they were for drinking, swearing, whoring, or any the like villainies, so was he. This was now the path he trod in, and could do all artificially as any man alive. And now he thought himself a perfect man, he thought he was always a boy till now. What think you now of Mr. Badman?

Mr. Badman's perfections.

ATTEN. Think! why I think he was an atheist; for no man but an atheist can do this. I say it cannot be but that the man that is such as this Mr. Badman must be a rank and stinking atheist, for he that believes that there is either God or devil, heaven or hell, or death and judgment after, cannot do as Mr. Badman did: I mean if he could do these things without reluctancy and check of conscience, yea, if he had not sorrow and remorse for such abominable sins as these.

WISE. Nay, he was so far off from reluctances and remorse of conscience for these things, that he counted them the excellency of his attainments, the quintessence of his wit, his rare and singular virtues, such as but few besides himself could be the masters of. Therefore, as for those that made boggle and stop at things, and that could not in conscience, and for fear of death and judgment, do such things as he, he would call them fools and noddies,[2] and charge them for being frighted with the talk of unseen bugbears, and would encourage them, if they would be men indeed, to labour after the attainment of this his excellent art. He would oftentimes please himself with the thoughts of what he could do in this matter, saying within himself, I can be religious and irreligious, I can be anything or nothing; I can swear, and speak against swearing; I can lie, and speak against lying; I can drink, wench, be unclean, and defraud, and not be troubled for it. Now I enjoy myself, and am master of mine own ways, and not they of me. This I have attained with much study, great care, and more pains. But this his talk should be only with himself, to his wife, who he knew durst not divulge it, or among his intimates, to whom he knew he might say any thing

How Mr. Badman came to enjoy himself.

ATTEN. Did I call him before an atheist? I may call him now a devil, or a man possessed with one, if not with many. I think that there cannot be found in every corner such a one as this. True, it is said of king Ahaz that he sinned more and

[1] *Sink them* is an unusual kind of oath, wishing that body or mind might be depressed. Shakspeare uses the word in reference to mental suffering: 'If I have a conscience, let it *sink* me.'—(ED.)

[2] Noddy, a simpleton; *see Imperial Dictionary*.—(ED.)

more. 2 Ch. xxviii. 22. And of Ahab, that he sold 'himself to work wickedness.' 1 Ki. xxi. 25. And of the men of Sodom, that they 'were sinners before the Lord exceedingly.' Ge. xiii. 13.

WISE. An atheist he was no doubt, if there be such a thing as an atheist in the world; but for all his brags of perfection and security in his wickedness, I believe that at times God did let down fire from heaven into his conscience. Job xxi. 17. True, I believe he would quickly put it out again, and grow more wicked and desperate afterward, but this also turned to his destruction, as afterward you may hear.

But I am not of your mind to think that there are but few such in the world, except you mean as to the degree of wickedness unto which he had attained. For otherwise, no doubt, there is abundance of such as he; men of the same mind, of the same principles, and of the same conscience too, to put them into practice. Yea, I believe that there are many that are endeavouring to attain to the same pitch of wickedness, and all them are such as he in the judgment of the law, nor will their want of hellish wit to attain thereto excuse them at the day of judgment. You know that in all science some are more arch than some, and so it is in the art as well as in the practice of wickedness, some are two-fold and some seven-fold more the children of hell than others—and yet all the children of hell—else they would all be masters, and none scholars in the school of wickedness. But there must be masters, and there must be learners; Mr. Badman was a master in this art, and therefore it follows that he must be an arch and chief one in that mystery.

There are abundance like Mr. Badman.

ATTEN. You are in the right, for I perceive that some men, though they desire it, are not so arch in the practice thereof as others, but are, as I suppose they call them, fools and dunces to the rest, their heads and capacities will not serve them to act and do so wickedly. But Mr. Badman wanted not a wicked head to contrive, as well as a wicked heart to do his wickedness.

WISE. True, but yet I say such men shall at the day of judgment be judged, not only for what they are, but also for what they would be. For if 'the thought of foolishness *is* sin,' doubtless the desire of foolishness is more sin; and if the desire be more, the endeavour after it must needs be more and more. Ps. xxiv. 9. He then that is not an artificial atheist and transgressor, yet if he desires to be so, if he endeavoureth to be so, he shall be judged and condemned to hell for such a one. For the law judgeth men, as I said, according to what they would be. He that 'looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.' Mat. v. 28. By the same rule, he that would steal doth steal; he that would cheat, doth cheat; he that would swear, doth swear; and he that would commit adultery, doth do so. For God judgeth men according to the working of their minds, and saith, 'As he thinketh, so *is* he.' Pr. xxiii. 7. That is, so is he in his heart, in his intentions, in his desires, in his endeavours; and God's law, I say, lays hold of the desires, intentions, and endeavours, even as it lays hold of the act of wickedness itself. Mat. v. Ro. vii. 7. A man then that desires to be as bad as Mr. Badman, and desires to be so wicked have many in their hearts, though he never attains to that proficiency in wickedness as he, shall be judged for as bad a man as he, because it was in his desires to be such a wicked one.

He that would be bad is bad.

ATTEN. But this height of wickedness in Mr. Badman will not yet out of my mind. This hard, desperate, or, what shall I call it, diabolical frame of heart, was in him a foundation, a ground-work to all acts and deeds that were evil.

WISE. The heart, and the desperate wickedness of it, is the foundation and ground-work of all. Atheism, professed and practical, spring both out of the heart, yea, and all manner of evil besides. For they be not bad deeds that make a bad man, but he is already a bad man that doth bad deeds. A man must be wicked before he can do wickedness. 'Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked.' 1 Sa. xxiv. 13. It is an evil tree that bears evil fruit. Men gather no grapes of thorns; the heart therefore must be evil before the man can do evil, and good before the man doth good. Mat. vii. 16–18.

A bad heart makes a bad man.

ATTEN. Now I see the reason why Mr. Badman was so base as to get a wife by dissimulation, and to abuse her so like a villain when he had got her, it was because he was before, by a wicked heart, prepared to act wickedness.

WISE. You may be sure of it, 'For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these things come from within and defile the man.' Mar. vii. 20–23. And a man, as his naughty mind inclines him, makes use of these, or any of these, to gratify his lust, to promote his designs, to revenge his malice, to enrich, or to wallow himself in the foolish pleasures and pastimes of this life. And all these did Mr. Badman do, even to the utmost, if either opportunity, or purse, or perfidiousness, would help him to the obtaining of his purpose.

ATTEN. Purse! why he could not but have purse to do almost what he would, having married a wife with so much money.

WISE. Hold you there; some of Mr. Badman's

sins were costly, as his drinking, and whoring, and keeping other bad company; though he was a man that had ways too many to get money, as well as ways too many to spend it.

ATTEN. Had he then such a good trade, for all he was such a bad man? Or was his calling so gainful to him as always to keep his purse's belly full, though he was himself a great spender?

WISE. No, it was not his trade that did it, though he had a pretty trade too. He had another way to get money, and that by hatfuls and pocketfuls at a time.

ATTEN. Why I trow he was no highwayman, was he?

WISE. I will be sparing in my speech as to that, though some have muttered as if he could ride out now and then, about nobody but himself knew what, over night, and come home all dirty and weary next morning. But that is not the thing I aim at.

ATTEN. Pray let me know it, if you think it convenient that I should.

CHAPTER VIII.

[BADMAN IS A BANKRUPT, AND GETS BY IT 'HATFULS OF MONEY.']

WISE. I will tell you; it was this, he had an art to break, and get hatfuls of money by breaking.

Mr. Badman had an art to break, and to get money that way.

ATTEN. But what do you mean by Mr. Badman's breaking? You speak mystically, do you not?

WISE. No, no, I speak plainly. Or, if you will have it in plainer language, it is this;—when Mr. Badman had swaggered and whored away most of his wife's portion, he began to feel that he could not much longer stand upon his legs in this course of life and keep up his trade and repute—such as he had—in the world, but by the new engine of breaking. Wherefore upon a time he gives a great and sudden rush into several men's debts, to the value of about four or five thousand pounds, driving at the same time a very great trade, by selling many things for less than they cost him, to get him custom, therewith to blind his creditors' eyes. His creditors therefore seeing that he had a great employ, and dreaming that it must needs at length turn to a very good account to them, trusted him freely without mistrust, and so did others too, to the value of what was mentioned before. Well, when Mr. Badman had well feathered his nest with other men's goods and money, after a little time he breaks. And by and by it was noised abroad that Mr. Badman had shut up shop, was gone, and could trade no longer. Now by that time his breaking was come to his creditors' ears, he had by craft and knavery made so sure of what he had, that his creditors could not touch a penny. Well, when he had done, he sends his mournful sugared letters to his creditors, to let them understand what had happened unto him, and desired them not to be severe with him, for he bore towards all men an honest mind, and would pay so far as he was able. Now he sends his letters by a man confederate with him, who could make both the worst and best of Mr. Badman's case; the best for Mr. Badman and the worst for his creditors. So when he comes to them he both bemoans them and condoles Mr. Badman's condition, telling of them that, without a speedy bringing of things to a conclusion, Mr. Badman would be able to make them no satisfaction, but at present he both could and would, and that to the utmost of his power, and to that end he desired that they would come over to him. Well, his creditors appoint him a time and come over, and he, meanwhile, authorizes another to treat with them, but will not be seen himself, unless it was on a Sunday, lest they should snap him with a writ. So his deputed friend treats with them about their concern with Mr. Badman, first telling them of the great care that Mr. Badman took to satisfy them and all men for whatsoever he owed, as far as in him lay, and how little he thought a while since to be in this low condition. He pleaded also the greatness of his charge, the greatness of taxes, the badness of the times, and the great losses that he had by many of his customers; some of which died in his debt, others were run away, and for many that were alive he never expected a farthing from them. Yet nevertheless he would show himself an honest man, and would pay as far as he was able; and if they were willing to come to terms, he would make a composition with them, for he was not able to pay them all. The creditors asked what he would give? It was replied, Half-a-crown in the pound. At this they began to huff, and he to renew his complaint and entreaty, but the creditors would not hear, and so for that time their meeting without success broke up. But after his creditors were in cool blood, and admitting of second thoughts, and fearing lest delays should make them lose all, they admit of a second debate, come together again, and, by many words and great ado, they obtained five shillings in the pound. So the money was produced, releases and discharges drawn, signed, and sealed, books crossed, and all things confirmed; and then Mr. Badman can put his head out a doors again, and be a better man than when he shut up shop, by several thousands of pounds.[1]

How he managed things in order to his breaking.

He breaks.

Mr. Badman's sugar words to his creditors.

Badman's friend.

What Mr. Badman propounds to his creditors.

They at last agree, and Mr. Badman gains by breaking.

[1] Fraudulent bankruptcy is a sore and prevailing evil. It

ATTEN. And did he do thus indeed?

WISE. Yes, once and again. I think he brake twice or thrice.

ATTEN. And did he do it before he had need to do it?

WISE. Need! What do you mean by need? There is no need at any time for a man to play the knave. He did it of a wicked mind, to defraud and beguile his creditors. He had wherewithal of his father, and also by his wife, to have lived upon, with lawful labour, like an honest man. He had also, when he made this wicked break, though he had been a profuse and prodigal spender, to have paid his creditors their own to a farthing. But had he done so, he had not done like himself, like Mr. Badman; had he, I say, dealt like an honest man, he had then gone out of Mr. Badman's road. He did it therefore of a dishonest mind, and to a wicked end; to wit, that he might have wherewithal, howsoever unlawfully gotten, to follow his cups and queans,[1] and to live in the full swing of his lusts, even as he did before.

There is no plea for his dishonesty.

ATTEN. Why this was a mere cheat.

WISE. It was a cheat indeed. This way of breaking, it is nothing else but a more neat way of thieving, of picking of pockets, of breaking open of shops, and of taking from men what one has nothing to do with. But though it seem easy, it is hard to learn; no man that has conscience to God or man, can ever be his crafts-master in this hellish art.

ATTEN. O! Sir! What a wicked man was this!

WISE. A wicked man indeed. By this art he could tell how to make men send their goods to his shop, and then be glad to take a penny for that which he had promised, before it came thither, to give them a groat: I say, he could make them glad to take a crown for a pound's worth, and a thousand for that for which he had promised before to give them four thousand pounds.

ATTEN. This argueth that Mr. Badman had but little conscience.

WISE. This argued that Mr. Badman had no conscience at all; for conscience, the least spark of a good conscience, cannot endure this.

ATTEN. Before we go any further in Mr. Badman's matters, let me desire you, if you please, to give me an answer to these two questions. 1. What do you find in the Word of God against such a practice as this of Mr. Badman's is? 2. What would you have a man do that is in his creditor's debt, and can neither pay him what he owes him, nor go on in a trade any longer?

WISE. I will answer you as well as I can. And first, to the first of your questions; to wit, What I find in the Word of God against such a practice as this of Mr. Badman's is.

An answer to two questions.

The Word of God doth forbid this wickedness; and to make it the more odious in our eyes, it joins it with theft and robbery. 'Thou shalt not,' says God, 'defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him.' LE. xix. 13. Thou shalt not defraud, that is, deceive or beguile. Now thus to break, is to defraud, deceive and beguile; which is, as you see, forbidden by the God of heaven: 'Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him.' It is a kind of theft and robbery, thus to defraud, and beguile. It is a vilely robbing of his shop, and picking of his pocket; a thing odious to reason and conscience, and contrary to the law of nature. It is a designed piece of wickedness, and therefore a double sin. A man cannot do this great wickedness on a sudden, and through a violent assault of Satan. He that will commit this sin, must have time to deliberate, that by invention he may make it formidable, and that with lies and high dissimulations. He that commits this wickedness, must first hatch it upon his bed, beat his head about it, and lay his plot strong. So that to the completing of such a wickedness, there must be adjoined many sins, and they too must go hand in hand until it be completed. But what saith the scripture? 'Let no *man* go beyond and defraud his brother in *any* matter: because *that* the Lord *is* the avenger of all such.' 1 THES. iv. 6. But this kind of breaking is a going beyond my brother; this is a compassing of him about, that I may catch him in my net; and as I said, an art to rob my brother, and to pick his pocket, and that with his consent. Which doth not therefore mitigate, but so much the more greaten, and make odious the offence. For men that are thus wilily abused, cannot help themselves; they are taken in a deceitful net. But God will here concern himself, he will be the avenger, he will be the avenger of all such either here, or in another world.

The first question answered.

The heinousness of this sin.

Fair warning.

And this, the apostle testifies again, where he saith, 'But he that doeth wrong, shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons.' COL. iii. 25. That is, there is no man, be he what he will, if he will be guilty of this sin, of going beyond, of beguiling of, and doing wrong to his brother, but God will call him to an account for it, and will pay him with vengeance for it too; for 'there is no respect of persons.'

Fair warning.

I might add, that this sin of wronging, of going beyond, and defrauding of my neighbour, it is like that first prank that the devil played with our first parents, as the altar that Uriah built for Ahaz,

is thieving under the protection of the law. How many live in state, until their creditors get a few shillings in the pound, and the bankrupt gets the curse of God upon his soul!—(ED.)

[1] Quean, a slut, a strumpet; *see Imperial Dict.*—(ED.)

was taken from the fashion of that that stood at Damascus, to be the very pattern of it. The serpent beguiled me, says Eve; Mr. Badman beguiles his creditors. The serpent beguiled Eve with lying promises of gain; and so did Mr. Badman beguile his creditors. The serpent said one thing and meant another, when he beguiled Eve; and so did Mr. Badman when he beguiled his creditors.

He that designedly commits this sin is like the devil.

That man therefore that doth thus deceive and beguile his neighbour, imitateth the devil; he taketh his examples from him, and not from God, the Word, or good men; and this did Mr. Badman.

And now to your second question; to wit, what I would have a man do that is in his creditor's debt, and that can neither pay him, nor go on in a trade any longer?

The second question.

Answ. First of all. If this be his case, and he knows it, let him not run one penny further in his creditors' debt, for that cannot be done with good conscience. He that knows he cannot pay, and yet will run into debt; does knowingly wrong and defraud his neighbour, and falls under that sentence of the Word of God, 'The wicked borroweth, and payeth not again.' Ps. xxxvii. 21. Yea, worse, he borrows, though at the very same time he knows that he cannot pay again. He doth also craftily take away what is his neighbour's. That is therefore the first thing that I would propound to such; let him not run any farther into his creditors' debt.

How those that are bankrupts should deal with their consciences.

Secondly, After this, let him consider, how, and by what means he was brought into such a condition that he could not pay his just debts. To wit, whether it was by his own remissness in his calling, by living too high in diet or apparel, by lending too lavishingly that which was none of his own, to his loss; or whether by the immediate hand and judgment of God.

Good advice.

If by searching he finds that this is come upon him through remissness in his calling, extravagancies in his family, or the like; let him labour for a sense of his sin and wickedness, for he has sinned against the Lord. First, in his being slothful in business, and in not providing, to wit, of his own, by the sweat of his brow, or other honest ways, for those of his own house. Ro. xii. 11. 1 Ti. v. 8. And, secondly, in being lavishing in diet and apparel in the family, or in lending to others that which was none of his own. This cannot be done with good conscience. It is both against reason and nature, and therefore must be a sin against God. I say therefore, if thus this debtor hath done, if ever he would live quietly in conscience, and comfortably in his condition for the future, let him humble himself before God, and repent of this his wickedness. For 'he that is slothful in his work, is brother to him that is a great waster.' Pr. xviii. 9. To be slothful and a waster too, is to be as it were a double sinner.

But again, as this man should inquire into these things, so he should also into this, How came I into this way of dealing in which I have now miscarried? Is it a way that my parents brought me up in, put me apprentice to, or that by providence I was first thrust into? Or is it a way into which I have twisted myself, as not being contented with my first lot, that by God and my parents I was cast into? This ought duly to be considered, and if upon search a man shall find that he is out of the place and calling into which he was put by his parents, or the providence of God, and has miscarried in a new way, that through pride and dislike of his first state he has chose rather to embrace; his miscarriage is his sin, the fruit of his pride, and a token of the judgment of God upon him for his leaving of his first state. And for this he ought, as for the former, to be humble and penitent before the Lord,

Good counsel again.

But if by search, he finds that his poverty came by none of these; if by honest search, he finds it so, and can say with good conscience, I went not out of my place and state in which God by his providence had put me; but have abode with God in the calling wherein I was called, and have wrought hard, and fared meanly, been civilly apparelled, and have not directly nor indirectly made away with my creditors' goods; then has his fall come upon him by the immediate hand of God, whether by visible or invisible ways. For sometimes it comes by visible ways, to wit, by fire, by thieves, by loss of cattle, or the wickedness of sinful dealers, &c. And sometimes by means invisible, and then no man knows how; we only see things are going, but cannot see by what way they go. Well, now suppose that a man, by an immediate hand of God, is brought to a morsel of bread, what must he do now?

How to find that thy decay came by the judgment of God, or by thy miscarriage.

I answer: His surest way is still to think, that this is the fruit of some sin, though possibly not sin in the management of his calling, yet of some other sin. 'God casteth away the substance of the wicked.' Pr. x. 3. Therefore let him still humble himself before his God, because his hand is upon him, and say, What sin is this, for which this hand of God is upon me? 1 Pe. v. 6. And let him be diligent to find it out, for some sin is the cause of this judgment; for God 'doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men.' La. iii. 33. Either the heart is too much set upon the world, or religion is too much neglected in thy family, or something. There is a snake in the grass, a worm in the gourd; some sin in thy bosom, for the sake of which God doth thus deal with thee.

Another question.

Thirdly, This thus done, let that man again consider thus with himself: perhaps God is now changing of my condition and state in the world; he has let me live in fashion, in fulness, and abundance of worldly glory; and I did not to his glory improve, as I should, that his good dispensation to me. But when I lived in full and fat pasture, I did there lift up the heel. De. xxxii. 15. Therefore he will now turn me into hard commons, that with leanness, and hunger, and meanness, and want, I may spend the rest of my days. But let him do this without murmuring and repining; let him do it in a godly manner, submitting himself to the judgment of God. 'Let the rich rejoice in that he is made low.' Ja. i. 9, 10.

Good advice again.

This is duty, and it may be privilege to those that are under this hand of God. And for thy encouragement to this hard work, for this is a hard work, consider of these four things. 1. This is right lying down under God's hand, and the way to be exalted in God's time. When God would have Job embrace the dunghill, he embraces it, and says, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.' Job i. 21. 2. Consider, that there are blessings also that attend a low condition, more than all the world are aware of.[1] A poor condition has preventing mercy attending of it. The poor, because they are poor, are not capable of sinning against God as the rich man does. Ps. xlix. 6. 3. The poor can more clearly see himself preserved by the providence of God than the rich, for he trusteth in the abundance of his riches. 4. It may be God has made thee poor, because he would make thee rich. 'Hearken, my beloved brethren, hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love him?' Ja. ii. 5.

Consider four things.

I am persuaded if men upon whom this hand of God is, would thus quietly lie down and humble themselves under it, they would find more peace, yea more blessing of God attending them in it, than the most of men are aware of. But this is a hard chapter, and therefore I do not expect that many should either read it with pleasure, or desire to take my counsel.

Having thus spoken to the broken man, with reference to his own self, I will now speak to him as he stands related to his creditors. In the next place therefore, let him fall upon the most honest way of dealing with his creditors, and that I think must be this:

Honest dealing with creditors.

First, Let him timely make them acquainted with his condition, and also do to them these three things. 1. Let him heartily and unfeignedly ask them forgiveness for the wrong that he has done them. 2. Let him proffer them ALL, and the whole ALL that ever he has in the world; let him hide nothing, let him strip himself to his raiment for them; let him not keep a ring, a spoon, or anything from them. 3. If none of these two will satisfy them, let him proffer them his body, to be at their dispose, to wit, either to abide imprisonment at their pleasure, or to be at their service, till by labour and travel he hath made them such amends as they in reason think fit, only reserving something for the succour of his poor and distressed family out of his labour, which in reason, and conscience, and nature, he is bound also to take care of. Thus shall he make them what amends he is able, for the wrong that he hath done them in wasting and spending of their estates.

By thus doing, he submits himself to God's rod, commits himself to the dispose of his providence; yea, by thus doing, he casteth the lot of his present and future condition into the lap[2] of his creditors, and leaves the whole dispose thereof to the Lord, even as he shall order and incline their hearts to do with him. Pr. xvi. 33. And let that be either to forgive him, or to take that which he hath for satisfaction, or to lay his body under affliction, this way or that, according to law; can he, I say, thus leave the whole dispose to God, let the issue be what it will, that man shall have peace in his mind afterward. And the comforts of that state, which will be comforts that attend equity, justice, and duty, will be more unto him, because more according to godliness, than can be the comforts that are the fruits of injustice, fraudulency, and deceit. Besides, this is the way to engage God to favour him by the sentence of his creditors; for HE can entreat them to use him kindly, and he will do it when his ways are pleasing in his sight. Je. xv. 10, 11. When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him. Pr. xvi. 7. And surely, for a man to seek to make restitution for wrongs done to the utmost of his power, by what he is, has, and enjoys in this world, is the best way, in that capacity, and with reference to that thing, that a man can at this time be found active in.

But he that doth otherwise, abides in his sin, refuses to be disposed of by the providence of God, chooseth an high estate, though not attained in God's way; when God's will is that he should descend into a low one. Yea, he desperately saith

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[1] Witness the shepherd boy's song in the *Pilgrim*, p. 206:—

He that is down need fear no fall,
He that is low, no pride;
He that is humble ever shall
Have God to be his guide.

This poor boy, in his very mean clothes, carried more *heart's ease* in his bosom, than he that was clad in silk and velvet.—(ED.)

[2] For this use of the word *lap*, see Pr. xvi. 33.—(ED.)

in his heart and actions, I will be mine own chooser, and that in mine own way, whatever happens or follows thereupon.

ATTEN. You have said well; in my mind. But suppose now that Mr. Badman was here, could he not object as to what you have said, saying, Go and teach your brethren, that are professors, this lesson, for they as I am are guilty of breaking; yea, I am apt to think, of that which you call my knavish way of breaking, to wit, of breaking before they have need to break. But if not so, yet they are guilty of neglect in their calling, of living higher, both in fare and apparel, than their trade or income will maintain. Besides that they do break all the world very well knows, and that they have the art to plead for a composition, is very well known to men; and that is usual with them to hide their linen, their plate, their jewels, and it is to be thought, sometimes money and goods besides, is as common as four eggs a penny.[1] And thus they beguile men, debauch their consciences, sin against their profession, and make, it is to be feared, their lusts in all this, and the fulfilling of them their end. I say, if Mr. Badman was here to object thus unto you, what would be your reply?

A heavy blot upon religion.

WISE. What? Why I would say, I hope no good man, no man of good conscience, no man that either feareth God, regardeth the credit of religion, the peace of God's people, or the salvation of his own soul, will do thus. Professors such, perhaps, there may be, and who upon earth can help it? Jades there be of all colours. If men will profess, and make their profession a stalking-horse to beguile their neighbours of their estates, as Mr. Badman himself did, when he beguiled her that now is with sorrow his wife, who can help it? The churches of old were pestered with such, and therefore no marvel if these perilous difficult times be so. But mark how the apostle words it: 'Nay, ye do wrong, and defraud, and that *your* brethren. Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived, neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.' 1 Co. vi. 8–10. 2 Ti. iii. 1–5.

If knaves will make profession their cloak to be vile, who can help it?

None of these shall be saved in this state, nor shall profession deliver them from the censure of the godly, when they shall be manifest such to be. But their profession we cannot help. How can we help it, if men should ascribe to themselves the title of holy ones, godly ones, zealous ones, self-denying ones, or any other such glorious title? and while they thus call themselves, they should be the veriest rogues for all evil, sin, and villainy imaginable, who could help it? True, they are a scandal to religion, a grief to the honest-hearted, an offence to the world, and a stumbling-stone to the weak, and these offences have come, do come, and will come, do what all the world can; but woe be to them through whom they come. Mat. xviii. 6–8. Let such professors therefore be disowned by all true Christians, and let them be reckoned among those base men of the world, which, by such actions, they most resemble. They are Mr. Badman's kindred. For they are a shame to religion, I say, these slithy,[2] rob-shop, pick-pocket men, they are a shame to religion, and religious men should be ashamed of them. God puts such an one among the fools of the world, therefore let not Christians put them among those that are wise for heaven. 'As the partridge sitteth *on eggs*, and hatcheth *them* not, *so* he that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool.' Jer. xvii. 11. And the man under consideration is one of these, and therefore must look to fall by this judgment.

Let such be disowned of all good men.

A professor! and practice such villainies as these! such a one is not worthy to bear that name any longer. We may say to such as the prophet spake to their like, to wit, to the rebellious that were in the house of Israel: 'Go ye, serve ye every one his idols.' Eze. xx. 39. If ye will not hearken to the law and testament of God, to lead your lives hereafter: 'but pollute God's holy name no more with your gifts, and with your idols.'

Go, professors, go; leave off profession, unless you will lead your lives according to your profession. Better never profess, than to make profession a stalking-horse to sin, deceit, to the devil, and hell. The ground and rules of religion allow not any such thing: 'receive us,' says the apostle, 'we have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man, we have defrauded no man.' 2 Co. vii. 2. Intimating that those that are guilty of wronging, corrupting, or defrauding of any, should not be admitted to the fellowship of saints, no, nor into the common catalogue of brethren with them. Nor can men with all their rhetoric, and eloquent speaking, prove themselves fit for the kingdom of heaven, or men of good conscience on earth. O that godly plea of Samuel: 'Behold here I am,' says he, 'witness against me, before the Lord, and before

[1] In the reign of Edward II. the price of provisions was regulated by Act of Parliament. Twenty-four eggs were ordered to be sold for one penny, but the penny of that period contained as much silver as the threepenny piece of Bunyan's, and of our time. I have bought, within the last forty years, the finest eggs at four a penny in Normandy.—(ED.)

[2] 'Slither,' slippery, deceitful; obsolete, except in Lincolnshire.—(ED.)

his anointed, whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed?' &c. 1 Sa. xii. 3. This was to do like a man of good conscience indeed. Mat. x. 19. And in this his appeal, he was so justified in the consciences of the whole congregation, that they could not but with one voice, as with one mouth, break out jointly, and say, 'Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us.' Mat. x. 4.

A professor, and defraud, away with him! A professor should not owe any man anything but love. A professor should provide things, not of other men's but of his own, of his own honest getting, and that not only in the sight of God, but of all men; that he may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.

ATTEN. But suppose God should blow upon a professor in his estate and calling, and he should be run out before he is aware, must he be accounted to be like Mr. Badman, and lie under the same reproach as he?

A question.

WISE. No: if he hath dutifully done what he could to avoid it. It is possible for a ship to sink at sea, notwithstanding the most faithful endeavour of the most skilful pilot under heaven. And thus, as I suppose, it was with the prophet, that left his wife in debt, to the hazarding the slavery of her children by the creditors. 2 Ki. iv. 1, 2. He was no profuse man, nor one that was given to defraud, for the text says he feared God; yet, as I said, he was run out more than she could pay.

An answer.

If God would blow upon a man, who can help it? Hag. i. 9. And he will do so sometimes, because he will change dispensations with men, and because he will try their graces. Yea, also, because he will overthrow the wicked with his judgments; and all these things are seen in Job. But then the consideration of this should bid men have a care that they be honest, lest this comes upon them for their sin. It should also bid them beware of launching further into the world, than in an honest way, by ordinary means, they can godlily make their retreat; for the further in the greater fall. It should also teach them to beg of God his blessing upon their endeavours, their honest and lawful endeavours. And it should put them upon a diligent looking to their steps, that if in their going they should hear the ice crack, they may timely go back again. These things considered, and duly put in practice, if God will blow upon a man, then let him be content, and with Job embrace the dunghill. Let him give unto all their dues, and not fight against the providence of God, but humble himself rather under his mighty hand, which comes to strip him naked and bare: for he that doth otherwise fights against God; and declares that he is a stranger to that of Paul; 'I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound; everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need.' Phi. iv. 12.

God does sometimes blow upon his own people. How they should do at that time.

ATTEN. But Mr. Badman would not, I believe, have put this difference betwixt things feigned and those that fall of necessity.

WISE. If he will not, God will, conscience will; and that not thine own only, but the consciences of all those that have seen the way, and that have known the truth of the condition of such a one.

ATTEN. Well: let us at this time leave this matter, and return again to Mr. Badman.

WISE. With all my heart will I proceed to give you a relation of what is yet behind of his life, in order to our discourse of his death.

CHAPTER IX.

[BADMAN'S FRAUDULENT DEALINGS TO GET MONEY.]

ATTEN. But pray, do it with as much brevity as you can.

WISE. Why, are you weary of my relating of things?

ATTEN. No: but it pleases me to hear a great deal in few words.

WISE. I profess myself not an artist that way, but yet, as briefly as I can, I will pass through what of his life is behind; and again I shall begin with his fraudulent dealing, as before I have showed with his creditors, so now with his customers, and those that he had otherwise to deal withal.

He dealt by deceitful weights and measures. He kept weights to buy by, and weights to sell by; measures to buy by, and measures to sell by: those he bought by were too big, those he sold by were too little.

More of Mr. Badman's fraudulent dealing. He used deceitful weights and scales.

Besides, he could use a thing called slight of hand, if he had to do with other men's weights and measures, and by that means make them whether he did buy or sell, yea though his customer or chapman looked on, turn to his own advantage.

Moreover, he had the art to misreckon men in their accounts, whether by weight, or measure, or money, and would often do it to his worldly advantage, and their loss. What say you to Mr. Badman now? And if a question was made of his faithful dealing, he had his servants ready, that to his purpose he had brought up, that would avouch and swear to his book or word. This was Mr. Badman's practice. What think you of Mr. Badman now?

ATTEN. Think! Why I can think no other but that he was a man left to himself, a naughty man; for these, as his other, were naughty things; if the tree, as indeed it may, ought to be judged,

what it is, by its fruits, then Mr. Badman must needs be a bad tree. But pray, for my further satisfaction, show me now, by the Word of God, the evil of this his practice; and first of his using false weights and measures.

WISE. The evil of that! Why the evil of that appears to every eye. The heathens, that live like beasts and brutes in many things, do abominate and abhor such wickedness as this. Let a man but look upon these things as he goes by, and he shall see enough in them from the light of nature to make him loathe so base a practice, although Mr. Badman loved it.

ATTEN. But show me something out of the Word against it, will you?

WISE. I will willingly do it. And first, look into the Old Testament: 'Ye shall,' saith God there, 'do no unrighteousness in judgment, in mete-yard, in weight, or in measure; just balances, just weights, a just ephah and a just hin shall you have.' Le. xix. 35, 36. This is the law of God, and that which all men, according to the law of the land, ought to obey. So again: 'Ye shall have just balances, and a just ephah,' &c. Eze. xlv. 10.

Of just weights and measures

Now having showed you the law, I will also show you how God takes swerving therefrom. 'A false balance is not good.' Pr. xx. 23. 'A false balance is abomination to the Lord.' Pr. xi. 1. Some have just weights, but false balances; and by virtue of these false balances, by their just weights, they deceive the country. Wherefore God first of all commands that the balance be made just. A just balance shalt thou have; else they may be, yea are, deceivers, notwithstanding their just weights.

The evil of deceitful balances, weights, and measures.

Now, having commanded that men have a just balance, and testifying that a false one is an abomination to the Lord, he proceedeth also unto weight and measure. Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small; that is, one to buy by, and another to sell by, as Mr. Badman had. 'Thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures, a great and a small. (And these had Mr. Badman also.) *But* thou shalt have a perfect and just weight; a perfect and just measure shalt thou have, that thy days may be lengthened in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. For all that do such things (that is, that use false weights and measures), and all that do unrighteously, *are an* abomination unto the Lord.' De. xxv. 13–16. See now both how plentiful, and how punctual the Scripture is in this matter. But perhaps it may be objected, that all this is old law, and therefore hath nothing to do with us under the New Testament. Not that I think you, neighbour, will object thus. Well, to this foolish objection, let us make an answer. First, he that makes this objection, if he doth it to overthrow the authority of those texts, discovereth that himself is first cousin to Mr. Badman. For a just man is willing to speak reverently of those commands. That man therefore hath, I doubt, but little conscience, if any at all that is good, that thus objecteth against the text. But let us look into the New Testament, and there we shall see how Christ confirmeth the same; where he commandeth that men make to others good measure, including also that they make good weight; telling such that do thus, or those that do it not, that they may be encouraged to do it: 'Good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again.' Lu. vi. 38. To wit, both from God and man. For as God will show his indignation against the false man, by taking away even that he hath, so he will deliver up the false man to the oppressor, and the extortioner shall catch from him, as well as he hath catched from his neighbour; therefore, another scripture saith, 'When thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee.' Is. xxxiii. 1. That the New Testament also hath an inspection into men's trading, yea, even with their weights and measures, is evident from these general exhortations, 'Defraud not;' 'lie not one to another.' 'Let no man go beyond his brother in *any* matter, for the Lord is the avenger of all such.' 'Whatsoever ye do, do *it* heartily, as to the Lord,' 'doing all in his name,' 'to his glory;' and the like. All these injunctions and commandments do respect our life and conversation among men, with reference to our dealing, trading, and so, consequently, they forbid false, deceitful, yea, all doings that are corrupt.

The old and new law commands all men to be honest and upright in their weights and measures.

Pat Scriptures for our purpose

Having thus in a word or two showed you that these things are bad, I will next, for the conviction of those that use them, show you where God saith they are to be found.

Where false weights and measures are to be found.

1. They are not to be found in the house of the good and godly man, for he, as his God, abhors them; but they are to be found in the house of evil doers, such as Mr. Badman's is. 'Are there,' saith the prophet, 'yet the treasures of wickedness in the house of the wicked, and the scant measure *that is* abominable!' Mi. vi. 10. Are they there yet, notwithstanding God's forbidding, notwithstanding God's tokens of anger against those that do such things! O how loth is a wicked man to let go a sweet, a gainful sin, when he hath hold of it! They hold fast deceit, they refuse to let it go.

With evil doers.

2. These deceitful weights and measures are not

to be found in the house of the merciful, but in the house of the cruel; in the house of them that love to oppress. 'The balances of deceit *are* in his hand; he loveth to oppress.' Ho. xii. 7. He is given to oppression and cruelty, therefore he useth such wicked things in his calling. Yea, he is a very cheat, and, as was hinted before concerning Mr. Badman's breaking, so I say now, concerning his using these deceitful weights and measures, it is as bad, as base, as to take a purse,[1] or pick a pocket; for it is a plain robbery; it takes away from a man that which is his own, even the price of his money.

With the merciless and oppressors.

3. The deceitful weights and measures are not to be found in the house of such as relieve the belly, and that cover the loins of the poor, but of such as indeed would swallow them up. 'Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great (making the measure small, and the price great), and falsifying the balances by deceit? That ye may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes, and sell the refuse of the wheat. The Lord hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their works.' Am. viii. 4–8. So detestable and vile a thing is this in the sight of God.

With such as would swallow up the poor.

4. God abominates the thoughts of calling of those that use false weights and measures, by any other term than that they be impure ones, or the like: 'Shall I count *them* pure,' saith he, 'with the bag of deceitful weights?' Mi. vi. 11. No, by no means, they are impure ones; their hands are defiled, deceitful gain is in their houses, they have gotten what they have by coveting an evil covetousness, and therefore must and shall be counted among the impure, among the wicked of the world.

With impure ones.

Thus you see how full and plain the Word of God is against this sin, and them that use it. And therefore Mr. Badman, for that he used by these things thus to rook and cheat his neighbours, is rightly rejected from having his name in and among the catalogue of the godly.

ATTEN. But I am persuaded that the using of these things, and the doing by them thus deceitfully, is not counted so great an evil by some.

WISE. Whether it be counted an evil or a virtue by men, it mattereth not; you see by the Scriptures the judgment of God upon it. It was not counted an evil by Mr. Badman, nor is it by any that still are treading in his steps. But, I say, it is no matter how men esteem of things, let us adhere to the judgment of God. And the rather, because when we ourselves have done weighing and measuring to others, then God will weigh and measure both us and our actions. And when he doth so, as he will do shortly, then woe be to him to whom, and of whose actions it shall be thus said by him, 'TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and are found wanting.' Da. v. 27. God will then recompense their evil of deceiving upon their own head, when he shall shut them out of his presence, favour, and kingdom, for ever and ever.

ATTEN. But it is a wonder, that since Mr. Badman's common practice was to do thus, that some one or more did not find him out, and blame him for this his wickedness.

WISE. For the generality of people he went away clever with his knavery. For what with his balance, his false balance, and good weight, and what with his slight of hand to boot, he beguiled sometimes a little, and sometimes more, most that he had to deal with; besides, those that use this naughty trade are either such as blind men with a show of religion, or by hectoring the buyer out by words. I must confess Mr. Badman was not so arch at the first; that is, to do it by show of religion; for now he began to grow threadbare, though some of his brethren are arch enough this way, yea, and of his sisters too, for I told you at first that there were a great many of them, and never a one of them good; but for hectoring, for swearing, for lying, if these things would make weight and measure, they should not be wanting to Mr. Badman's customers.

How Mr. Badman did cheat and hide his cheating.

ATTEN. Then it seems he kept good weights and a bad balance; well that was better than that both should be bad.

WISE. Not at all. There lay the depth of his deceit; for if any at any time found fault that he used them hardly, and that they wanted their weight of things, he would reply, Why, did you not see them weighed? will you not believe your own eyes? if you question my weights, pray carry them whither you will, I will maintain them to be good and just. The same he would say of his scales, so he blinded all by his balance.

Good weights and a bad balance a deep piece of knavery.

ATTEN. This is cunning indeed; but as you say, there must be also something done or said to blind therewith, and this I perceive Mr. Badman had.

WISE. Yes, he had many ways to blind, but he was never clever at it by making a show of religion, though he cheated his wife therewith; for he was, especially by those that dwelt near him, too well known to do that, though he would bungle at it as well as he could. But there are some that are arch villains this way; they shall to view live a whole

[1] Purses were worn, in Bunyan's time, hanging to the girdle, or slung over the shoulder, as they now are in some parts of Germany. A pickpocket was then called 'a cut-purse.'—(ED.)

life religiously, and yet shall be guilty of these most horrible sins. And yet religion in itself is never the worse, nor yet the true professors of it. But, as Luther says, in the name of God begins all mischief.[1] For hypocrites have no other way to bring their evils to maturity but by using and mixing the name of God and religion therewith. Thus they become whited walls; for by this white, the white of religion, the dirt of their actions is hid. Mat. xxiii. Thus also they become graves that appear not, and they that go over them, that have to do with them, are not aware of them, but suffer themselves to be deluded by them. Yea, if there shall, as there will sometimes, rise a doubt in the heart of the buyer about the weight and measure he should have, why, he suffereth his very senses to be also deluded, by recalling of his chapman's religion to mind, and thinks verily that not his good chapman but himself is out; for he dreams not that his chapman can deceive. But if the buyer shall find it out, and shall make it apparent, that he is beguiled, then shall he be healed by having amends made, and perhaps fault shall be laid upon servants, &c. And so Mr. Cheat shall stand for a right honest man in the eye of his customer, though the next time he shall pick his pocket again.

A cloak of religion to blind Mr. Cheat's knavery.

Some plead custom for their cheat, as if that could acquit them before the tribunal of God. And others say it came to them for so much, and, therefore, another must take it for so much, though there is wanting both as to weight and measure; but in all these things there are juggles; or if not, such must know that 'that which is altogether just,' they must do. De. xvi. 20. Suppose that I be cheated myself with a brass half-crown, must I therefore cheat another therewith? if this be bad in the whole, it is also bad in the parts. Therefore, however thou art dealt withal in thy buying, yet thou must deal justly in selling, or thou sinnest against thy soul, and art become as Mr. Badman. And know, that a pretence to custom is nothing worth. It is not custom, but good conscience that will help at God's tribunal.

Some plead custom to cheat.

ATTEN. But I am persuaded that that which is gotten by men this way doth them but little good.

WISE. I am of your mind for that, but this is not considered by those thus minded. For if they can get it, though they get, as we say, the devil and all, by their getting, yet they are content, and count that their getting is much.[2]

Little good! why do you think they consider that? No; no more than they consider what they shall do in the judgment, at the day of God Almighty, for their wrong getting of what they get, and that is just nothing at all.

But to give you a more direct answer. This kind of getting is so far off from doing them little good, that it doth them no good at all; because thereby they lose their own souls; 'What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?' Mar. viii. 36. He loseth then, he loseth greatly that getteth after this fashion. This is the man that is penny-wise and pound-foolish; this is he that loseth his good sheep for a half-penny-worth of tar;[3] that loseth a soul for a little of the world. And then what doth he get thereby but loss and damage? Thus he getteth or rather loseth about the world to come. But what doth he get in this world, more than travail and sorrow, vexation of spirit, and disappointment? Men aim at blessedness in getting, I mean, at temporal blessedness; but the man that thus getteth, shall not have that. For though an inheritance after this manner may be hastily gotten at the beginning, yet the end thereof shall not be blessed. They gather it indeed, and think to keep it too, but what says Solomon? God casteth it away. 'The Lord will not suffer the soul of the righteous to famish; but he casteth away the substance of the wicked.' Pr. x. 3. Je. xv. 13; xvii. 3.

They get nothing that consen and cheat.

The time, as I said, that they do enjoy it, it shall do them no good at all; but long, to be sure, they must not have it. For God will either take it away in their lifetime, or else in the generation following, according to that of Job: 'He,' the wicked, 'may prepare *it*, but the just shall put *it* on, and the innocent shall divide the silver.' Job xxvii. 17.

Consider that also that it is written in the Proverbs; 'A good *man* leaveth an inheritance to his children's children, and the wealth of the sinner *is* laid up for the just.' Pr. xiii. 22. What then doth he get thereby, that getteth by dishonest means? Why he getteth sin and wrath, hell and damnation, and now tell me how much he doth get.

This, I say, is his getting; so that as David says, we may be bold to say too; I beheld the wicked in great prosperity, and presently I cursed his habitation; for it cannot prosper with him. Ps. lxxiii. Fluster and huff, and make ado for a while he may, but God hath determined that both he and it shall melt like grease, and any observing man may see it so. Behold the unrighteous man, in a way of injustice, getteth much, and loadeth him-

[1] Many ecclesiastical instruments of terror, spoliation, and death, began with, 'In the name of God. Amen.' That sacred name has been, and now is, awfully profaned and prostituted to the vilest purposes.—(ED.)

[2] This is a sad mistake; such getting is a curse: 'Cursed is the deceiver:' 'I will curse your blessings,' saith Jehovah by his prophet Malachi.—(ED.)

[3] Modern editors, not so well aware as Bunyan of the value of tar as a medicine for sheep, altered the word to ship. A *halfpenny worth* of tar will serve a sheep, but not a ship.—(ED.)

self with thick clay, but anon it withereth, it decayeth, and even he, or the generation following decline, and return to beggary. And this Mr. Badman, notwithstanding his cunning and crafty tricks to get money, did die, nobody can tell whether worth a farthing or no.

ATTEN. He had all the bad tricks, I think, that it was possible for a man to have, to get money; one would think that he should have been rich.

WISE. You reckon too fast, if you count these all his bad tricks to get money; for he had more besides. If his customers were in his books, as it should go hard but he would have them there; at least, if he thought he could make any advantage of them, then, then would he be sure to impose upon them his worst, even very bad commodity, yet set down for it the price that the best was sold at; like those that sold the refuse wheat; or the worst of the wheat; making the shekel great, yet hoisting up the price. Am. viii. This was Mr. Badman's way. He would sell goods that cost him not the best price by far, for as much as he sold his best of all for. He had also a trick to mingle his commodity, that that which was bad might go off with the least mistrust. Besides, if his customers at any time paid him money, let them look to themselves, and to their acquaintances, for he would usually attempt to call for that payment again, especially if he thought that there were hopes of making a prize thereby, and then to be sure if they could not produce good and sufficient ground of the payment, a hundred to one but they paid it again. Sometimes the honest chapman would appeal to his servants for proof of the payment of money, but they were trained up by him to say after his mind, wright or wrong; so that, relief that way, he could get none.

More of Mr. Badman's bad tricks.

Another art to cheat withal.

ATTEN. It is a bad, yea, an abominable thing for a man to have such servants. For by such means a poor customer may be undone, and not know how to help himself. Alas! if the master be so unconscionable, as I perceive Mr. Badman was, to call for his money twice, and if his servant will swear that it is a due debt, where is any help for such a man? He must sink, there is no remedy.

WISE. This is very bad, but this has been a practice, and that hundreds of years ago. But what saith the Word of God? 'I will punish all those that leap on the threshold, which fill their masters' houses with violence and deceit.' Zep. i. 9.

Servants observe these words.

Mr. Badman also had this art; could he get a man at advantage, that is, if his chapman durst not go from him, or if the commodity he wanted could not for the present be conveniently had elsewhere, then let him look to himself, he would surely make his purse-strings crack; he would exact upon him without any pity or conscience.

ATTEN. That was extortion, was it not? I pray let me hear your judgment of extortion, what it is, and when committed?

WISE. Extortion is a screwing from men more than by the law of God or men is right; and it is committed sometimes by them in office, about fees, rewards, and the like:[1] but it is most commonly committed by men of trade, who without all conscience, when they have the advantage, will make a prey of their neighbour. And thus was Mr. Badman an extortioner; for although he did not exact, and force away, as bailiffs and clerks have used to do, yet he had his opportunities, and such cruelty to make use of them, that he would often, in his way, be extorting and forcing of money out of his neighbour's pocket. For every man that makes a prey of his advantage upon his neighbour's necessities, to force from him more than in reason and conscience, according to the present prices of things such commodity is worth, may very well be called an extortioner, and judged for one that hath no inheritance in the kingdom of God. 1 Co. vi. 9, 10.

Of extortion.

ATTEN. Well, this Badman was a sad wretch.

CHAPTER X.

[THE SIMPLE CHRISTIAN'S VIEWS OF EXTORTION.]

WISE. Thus you have often said before. But now we are in discourse of this, give me leave a little to go on. We have a great many people in the country too that live all their days in the practice, and so under the guilt of extortion; people, alas! that think scorn to be so accounted.

As for example: There is a poor body that dwells, we will suppose, so many miles from the market; and this man wants a bushel of grist, a pound of butter, or a cheese for himself, his wife, and poor children; but dwelling so far from the market, if he goes thither, he shall lose his day's work, which will be eightpence or tenpence damage to him, and that is something to a poor man.[2] So he goeth to one of his masters or dames for what he wanteth, and asks them to help him with such a thing; yes, say they, you may have it; but withal they will give him a gripe,

Who are extortioners.

[1] This was attempted when Bunyan was released from his cruel imprisonment by the King's pardon, which one instrument included the names of nearly five hundred sufferers; and because the fees upon a pardon were twenty pounds, 'the covetous clerks did strive to exact upon us,' says Whitehead, 'by demanding that sum upon every name.' Further application to the King put an end to this exaction.—(ED.)

[2] When the labourer's wages were eightpence or tenpence per day, in 1683, wheat averaged forty-five shillings per quarter. How comparatively happy is the present state of our agricultural labourers; and so would be that of the farmer, if rent was as low now as it was at that period.—(ED.)

perhaps make him pay as much or more for it at home, as they can get when they have carried it five miles to a market, yea, and that too for the refuse of their commodity. But in this the women are especially faulty, in the sale of their butter and cheese, &c. Now this is a kind of extortion, it is a making a prey of the necessity of the poor, it is a grinding of their faces, a buying and selling of them.

But above all, your hucksters, that buy up the poor man's victuals by wholesale, and sell it to him again for unreasonable gains, by retail, and as we call it by piecemeal; they are got into a way, after a stinging rate, to play their game upon such by extortion: I mean such who buy up butter, cheese, eggs, bacon, &c. by wholesale, and sell it again, as they call it, by pennyworths, two pennyworths, a halfpenny-worth, or the like, to the poor, all the week after the market is past.

Hucksters. [1]

These, though I will not condemn them all, do, many of them, bite and pinch the poor by this kind of evil dealing. These destroy the poor because he is poor, and that is a grievous sin. 'He that oppresseth the poor to increase his *riches, and* he that giveth to the rich, *shall* surely *come* to want.' Therefore he saith again, 'Rob not the poor because he *is* poor, neither oppress the afflicted in the gate: for the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of them that spoiled them.' Pr. xxii. 16, 22, 23.

O that he that gripeth and grindeth the face of the poor, would take notice of these two scriptures! Here is threatened the destruction of the estate, yea and of the soul too, of them that oppress the poor. Their soul we shall better see where, and in what condition that is in, when the day of doom is come; but for the estates of such, they usually quickly moulder; and that sometimes all men, and sometimes no man knows how.

Besides, these are usurers, yea, they take usury for victuals, which thing the Lord has forbidden. De. xxiii. 19. And because they cannot so well do it on the market-day, therefore they do it, as I said, when the market is over; for then the poor fall into their mouths, and are necessitated to have, as they can, for their need, and they are resolved they shall pay soundly for it. Perhaps some will find fault for my meddling thus with other folks' matters, and for my thus prying into the secrets of their iniquity. But to such I would say, since such actions are evil, it is time they were hissed out of the world. For all that do such things offend against God, wrong their neighbour, and like Mr. Badman do provoke God to judgment.

ATTEN. God knows there is abundance of deceit in the world!

WISE. Deceit! Ay, but I have not told you the thousandth part of it; nor is it my business now to rake to the bottom of that dunghill. What would you say, if I should anatomize some of those vile wretches called pawnbrokers, that lend money and goods to poor people, who are by necessity forced to such an inconvenience; and will make, by one trick or other, the interest of what they so lend amount to thirty, forty, yea sometimes fifty pound by the year; notwithstanding the principal is secured by a sufficient pawn; which they will keep too at last, if they can find any shift to cheat the wretched borrower.

ATTEN. Say! Why such miscreants are the pest and vermin of the commonwealth, not fit for the society of men; but methinks by some of those things you discoursed before, you seem to import that it is not lawful for a man to make the best of his own.

WISE. If by making the best, you mean to sell for as much as by hook or crook he can get for his commodity; then I say it is not lawful. And if I should say the contrary, I should justify Mr. Badman and all the rest of that gang; but that I never shall do, for the Word of God condemns them. But that it is not lawful for a man at all times to sell his commodity for as much as he can, I prove by these reasons:—

Whether it be lawful for a man to make the best of his own; proved in the negative by eight reasons.

First, If it be lawful for me alway to sell my commodity as dear, or for as much as I can, then it is lawful for me to lay aside in my dealing with others good conscience to them and to God; but it is not lawful for me, in my dealing with others, to lay aside good conscience, &c. Therefore it is not lawful for me always to sell my commodity as dear, or for as much as I can. That it is not lawful to lay aside good conscience in our dealings has already been proved in the former part of our discourse; but that a man must lay it aside that will sell his commodity always as dear, or for as much as he can, is plainly manifest thus.

Good conscience must be used in selling.

1. He that will, as is mentioned afore, sell his commodity as dear as he can, must sometimes make a prey of the ignorance of his chapman. But that he cannot do with a good conscience, for that is to overreach, and to go beyond my chapman, and is forbidden. 1 Th. iv. 6. Therefore he that will sell his commodity as afore, as dear, or for as much as he can, must of necessity lay aside good conscience.

We must not make a prey of our neighbour's ignorance.

2. He that will sell his commodity always as dear as he can, must needs sometimes make a prey

[1] Hucksters, or general dealers, were more formidable enemies to the poor in former days, than in the present time of competition. 'A great famine was caused by huckstering husbandmen, those knaves in grain.'—Fuller's *Worthies*, Northumberland.—(ED.)

of his neighbour's necessity; but that he cannot do with a good conscience, for that is to go beyond and defraud his neighbour, contrary to 1 Th. iv. 6. Therefore he that will sell his commodity, as afore, as dear, or for as much as he can, must needs cast off and lay aside a good conscience.

Nor of his neighbour's necessity.

3. He that will, as afore, sell his commodity as dear, or for as much as he can, must, if need be, make a prey of his neighbour's fondness; but that a man cannot do with a good conscience, for that is still a going beyond him, contrary to 1 Th. iv. 6. Therefore, he that will sell his commodity as dear, or for as much as he can, must needs cast off, and lay aside good conscience.

Nor of his fondness of our commodity.

The same also may be said for buying; no man may always buy as cheap as he can, but must also use good conscience in buying; the which he can by no means use and keep, if he buys always as cheap as he can, and that for the reasons urged before. For such will make a prey of the ignorance, necessity, and fondness of their chapman, the which they cannot do with a good conscience. When Abraham would buy a burying-place of the sons of Heth, thus he said unto them: 'Intreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar, that he may give me the cave of Macphelah, which he hath - in the end of his field; for as much - as it is worth' shall he give it me. Ge. xxiii. 8, 9. He would not have it under foot, he scorned it, he abhorred it; it stood not with his religion, credit, nor conscience. So also, when David would buy a field of Ornan the Jebusite, thus he said unto him, 'Grant me the place of *this* thrashing-floor, that I may build an altar therein unto the Lord; thou shalt grant it me for the full price.' 1 Ch. xxi. 22. He also, as Abraham, made conscience of this kind of dealing. He would not lie at catch[1] to go beyond, no, not the Jebusite, but will give him his full price for his field. For he knew that there was wickedness, as in selling too dear, so in buying too cheap, therefore he would not do it.[2]

We must use good conscience in buying.

There ought therefore to be good conscience used, as in selling so in buying; for it is also unlawful for a man to go beyond or to defraud his neighbour in buying; yea, it is unlawful to do it in any matter, and God will plentifully avenge that wrong, as I also before have forewarned and testified. See also the text, Le. xxv. 14. But,

Secondly. If it be lawful for me always to sell my commodity as dear, or for as much as I can, then it is lawful for me to deal with my neighbour without the use of charity. But it is not lawful for me to lay aside, or to deal with my neighbour without the use of charity, therefore it is not lawful for me always to sell my commodity to my neighbour for as much as I can. A man in dealing should as really design his neighbour's good, profit, and advantage, as his own, for this is to exercise charity in his dealing.

Charity must be used in our dealings.

That I should thus use, or exercise charity towards my neigbour in my buying and selling, &c., with him, is evident from the general command—'Let all your things be done with charity.' 1 Co. xvi. 14. But that a man cannot live in the exercise of charity that selleth as afore, as dear, or that buyeth as cheap as he can, is evident by these reasons:—

1. He that sells his commodity as dear, or for as much money always as he can, seeks himself, and himself only. But charity seeketh not her own, not her own only. 1 Co. xiii. So then he that seeks himself, and himself only, as he that sells, as afore, as dear as he can, does, maketh not use of, nor doth he exercise charity in his so dealing.

2. He that selleth his commodity always for as much as he can get, hardeneth his heart against all reasonable entreaties of the buyer. But he that doth so cannot exercise charity in his dealing; therefore it is not lawful for a man to sell his commodity, as afore, as dear as he can.

3. If it be lawful for me to sell my commodity, as afore, as dear as I can, then there can be no sin in my trading, how unreasonably soever I manage my calling, whether by lying, swearing, cursing, cheating, for all this is but to sell my commodity as dear as I can. Ep. iv. 25. But that there is sin in these is evident, therefore I may not sell my commodity always as dear as I can.

There may be, and is sin in trading.

4. He that sells, as afore, as dear as he can, offereth violence to the law of nature, for that saith, Do unto all men even as ye would that they should do unto you. Mat. vii. 12. Now, was the seller a buyer, he would not that he of whom he buys should sell him always as dear as he can, therefore he should not sell so himself when it is his lot to sell and others to buy of him.

A man, in trading, must not offer violence to the law of nature.

5. He that selleth, as afore, as dear as he can, makes use of that instruction that God hath not given to others, but sealed up in his hand, to abuse his law, and to wrong his neighbour withal, which indeed is contrary to God. Job xxxvii. 7. God hath given thee more skill, more knowledge and understanding in thy commodity, than he hath given to him

We must not abuse the gift we have in the knowledge of earthly things.

[1] To lie at catch, to watch for an opportunity to take an unfair advantage. See the conversation between Faithful and Talkative in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 124.—(Ed.)

[2] Augustine had so strong a sense of fair dealing, that when a bookseller asked for a book far less than it was worth, he, of his own accord, gave him the full value thereof! See Clark's *Looking-glass*, p. 121, edit. 1657.—(Ed.)

that would buy of thee. But what! canst thou think that God hath given thee this that thou mightest thereby make a prey of thy neighbour? that thou mightest thereby go beyond and beguile thy neighbour? No, verily, but he hath given thee it for his help, that thou mightest in this be eyes to the blind, and save thy neighbour from that damage that his ignorance, or necessity, or fondness[1] would betray him into the hands of. 1 Co. x. 13.

An eye to the glory of God in all we should have.

6. In all that a man does he should have an eye to the glory of God, but that he cannot have that sells his commodity always for as much as he can, for the reasons urged before.

7. All that a man does he should do 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' Christ, that is, as being commanded and authorized to do it by him. Col. iii. 17. But he that selleth always as dear as he can, cannot so much as pretend to this without horrid blaspheming of that name, because commanded by him to do otherwise.

8. And lastly, in all that a man does he should have an eye to the day of judgment, and to the consideration of how his actions will be esteemed of in that day. Ac. xxiv. 15, 16. Therefore there is not any man can, or ought to sell always as dear as he can, unless he will, yea, he must say in so doing, I will run the hazard of the trial of that day. 'If thou sell aught unto thy neighbour, or buyest *aught* of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another.' Le. xxv. 14.

Atten. But why do you put in these cautionary words, They must not sell always as dear, nor buy always as cheap as they can? Do you not thereby intimate that a man may sometimes do so?

Wise. I do indeed intimate that sometimes the seller may sell as dear, and the buyer buy as cheap as he can; but this is allowable only in these cases: when he that sells is a knave, and lays aside all good conscience in selling, or when the buyer is a knave, and lays aside all good conscience in buying. If the buyer therefore lights of a knave, or if the seller lights of a knave, then let them look to themselves; but yet so as not to lay aside conscience, because he that thou dealest with doth so, but how vile or base soever the chapman is, do thou keep thy commodity at a reasonable price; or, if thou buyest, offer reasonable gain for the thing thou wouldst have, and if this will not do with the buyer or seller, then seek thee a more honest chapman. If thou objectest, But I have not skill to know when a pennyworth is before me, get some that have more skill than thyself in that affair, and let them in that matter dispose of thy money. But if there were no knaves in the world these objections need not be made.[2]

And thus, my very good neighbour, have I given you a few of my reasons why a man that hath it should not always sell too dear nor buy as cheap as he can, but should use good conscience to God and charity to his neighbour in both.

Atten. But were some men here to hear you, I believe they would laugh you to scorn.

Wise. I question not that at all, for so Mr. Badman used to do when any man told him of his faults; he used to think himself wiser than any, and would count, as I have hinted before, that he was not arrived to a manly spirit that did stick or boggle at any wickedness. But let Mr. Badman and his fellows laugh, I will bear it, and still give them good counsel. Lu. xvi. 13–15. But I will remember also, for my further relief and comfort, that thus they that were covetous of old served the Son of God himself. It is their time to laugh now, that they may mourn in time to come. Lu. vi. 25. And I say again, when they have laughed out their laugh, he that useth not good conscience to God and charity to his neighbour in buying and selling, dwells next door to an infidel, and is near of kin to Mr. Badman.

Badman used to laugh at them that told him of his faults.

Atten. Well, but what will you say to this question? You know that there is no settled price set by God upon any commodity that is bought or sold under the sun, but all things that we buy and sell do ebb and flow, as to price, like the tide; how then shall a man of a tender conscience do, neither to wrong the seller, buyer, nor himself, in buying and selling of commodities?

A question.

CHAPTER XI.

[INSTRUCTIONS FOR RIGHTEOUS TRADING.]

Wise. This question is thought to be frivolous by all that are of Mr. Badman's way, it is also difficult in itself, yet I will endeavour to shape you an answer, and that first to the matter of the question, to wit, how a tradesman should, in trading, keep a good conscience; a buyer or seller either. Secondly, how he should prepare himself to this work and live in the practice of it. For the first, he must observe what hath been said before, to wit, he must have conscience to God, charity to his neighbour, and, I will add, much moderation in dealing. Let him therefore keep

An answer.

Preparations to be a good dealer.

[1] 'Fondness,' an inordinate desire to possess. 'I have such a fond fantasy of my own.'—Sir T. More.—(Ed.)

[2] Cheating, either in quality, weight, or price of commodities, is not common in Mahometan countries, where the punishment is very severe; that of nailing the dealer's ears to his door-posts. It is a foul disgrace to Christian countries that these crimes are so common.—(Ed.)

within the bounds of the affirmative of those eight reasons that before were urged to prove that men ought not, in their dealing, but to do justly and mercifully betwixt man and man, and then there will be no great fear of wronging the seller, buyer, or himself. But particularly to prepare or instruct a man to this work: —

1. Let the tradesman or others consider that there is not that in great gettings and in abundance which the most of men do suppose; for all that a man has over and above what serves for his present necessity and supply, serves only to feed the lusts of the eye. For 'what good *is there* to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes?' Ec. v. 11. Men also, many times, in getting of riches, get therewith a snare to their soul. 1 Ti. vi. 7–9. But few get good by getting of them. But this consideration Mr. Badman could not abide.

2. Consider that the getting of wealth dishonestly—as he does that getteth it without good conscience and charity to his neighbour—is a great offender against God. Hence he says, 'I have smitten mine hand at thy dishonest gain which thou hast made.' Eze. xxii. 13. It is a manner of speech that shows anger in the very making of mention of the crime. Therefore,

3. Consider that a little, honestly gotten, though it may yield thee but a dinner of herbs at a time, will yield more peace therewith than will a stalled ox ill gotten. Pr. xv. 17. 'Better *is* a little with righteousness, than great revenues without right.' Pr. xvi. 8. 1 Sa. ii. 5.

4. Be thou confident that God's eyes are upon all thy ways, and 'that he pondereth all thy goings,' and also that he marks them, writes them down, and seals them up in a bag against the time to come. Pr. v. 21. Job xiv. 17.

5. Be thou sure that thou rememberest that thou knowest not the day of thy death. Remember also that when death comes God will give thy substance, for the which thou hast laboured, and for the which perhaps thou hast hazarded thy soul, to one thou knowest not who, nor whether he shall be a wise man or a fool. And then, 'what profit hath he that hath laboured for the wind?' Ec. v. 16.

Besides, thou shalt have nothing that thou mayest so much as carry away in thine hand. Guilt shall go with thee if thou hast got it [thy substance] dishonestly, and they also to whom thou shalt leave it shall receive it to their hurt. These things duly considered and made use of by thee to the preparing of thy heart to thy calling of buying and selling, I come, in the next place, to show thee how thou shouldst live in the practick part of this art. Art thou to buy or sell?

1. If thou sellest, do not commend; if thou buyest, do not dispraise; any otherwise but to give the thing that thou hast to do with its just value and worth; for thou canst not do otherwise, knowingly, but of a covetous and wicked mind. Wherefore else are commodities overvalued by the seller, and also undervalued by the buyer. '*It is* naught, *it is* naught, saith the buyer,' but when he hath got his bargain he boasteth thereof. Pr. xx. 14. What hath this man done now, but lied in the dispraising of his bargain? and why did he dispraise it, but of a covetous mind to wrong and beguile the seller?

2. Art thou a seller, and do things grow dear? Set not thy hand to help or hold them up higher; this cannot be done without wickedness neither, for this is a making of the shekel great. Am. viii. 5. Art thou a buyer, and do things grow dear? use no cunning or deceitful language to pull them down, for that cannot be done but wickedly too. What then shall we do, will you say? Why I answer, leave things to the providence of God, and do thou with moderation submit to his hand. But since, when they are growing dear, the hand that upholds the price is, for the time, more strong than that which would pull it down; that being the hand of the seller, who loveth to have it dear, especially if it shall rise in his hand. Therefore I say, do thou take heed and have not a hand in it, the which thou mayest have to thine own and thy neighbour's hurt, these three ways: —

1. By crying out scarcity, scarcity, beyond the truth and state of things; especially take heed of doing of this by way of a prognostic for time to come. It was for this for which he was trodden to death in the gate of Samaria, that you read of in the second book of Kings. 2 Ki. vii. 17. This sin hath a double evil in it. (1.) It belieth the present blessing of God among us; and (2.) It undervalueth the riches of his goodness, which can make all good things to abound towards us. A judgment of God.

2. This wicked thing may be done by hoarding up when the hunger and necessity of the poor calls for it. Now, that God may show his dislike against this, he doth, as it were, license the people to curse such a hoarder up—'He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him, but blessing *shall be* upon the head of him that selleth *it*.' Pr. xi. 26.

3. But if things will rise, do thou be grieved, be also moderate in all thy sellings, and be sure let the poor have a pennyworth, and sell thy corn to those in necessity. Which then thou wilt do when thou showest mercy to the poor in thy selling to him, and when thou, for his sake because he is poor, undersellest the market. This is to buy and sell with good conscience; thy buyer thou wrongest not, thy conscience thou wrongest not, thyself thou wrongest not, for God will surely recompense thee. Is. lviii. 6–8. I have spoken concerning corn, but

thy duty is to 'let your moderation' in all things 'be known unto all men, the Lord *is* at hand.' Phi. iv. 5.

CHAPTER XII.

[BADMAN'S PRIDE, ATHEISM, INFIDELITY, AND ENVY.]

ATTEN. Well, Sir, now I have heard enough of Mr. Badman's naughtiness, pray now proceed to his death.

WISE. Why, Sir, the sun is not so low, we have yet three hours to night.

ATTEN. Nay, I am not in any great haste, but I thought you had even now done with his life.

WISE. Done! no, I have yet much more to say.

ATTEN. Then he has much more wickedness than I thought he had.

WISE. That may be. But let us proceed.

Mr. Badman a very proud man.

This Mr. Badman added to all his wickedness this, he was a very proud man, a very proud man. He was exceeding proud and haughty in mind; he looked that what he said ought not, must not be contradicted or opposed. He counted himself as wise as the wisest in the country, as good as the best, and as beautiful as he that had most of it. He took great delight in praising of himself, and as much in the praises that others gave him. He could not abide that any should think themselves above him, or that their wit or personage should by others be set before his. He had scarce a fellowly carriage for his equals. But for those that were of an inferior rank, he would look over them in great contempt. And if at any time he had any remote occasion of having to do with them, he would show great height and a very domineering spirit. So that in this it may be said that Solomon gave a characteristical note of him when he said, 'Proud *and* haughty scorner *is* his name, who dealeth in proud wrath.' Pr. xxi. 24. He never thought his diet well enough dressed, his clothes fine enough made, or his praise enough refined.

Of pride in general.

ATTEN. This pride is a sin that sticks as close to nature, I think, as most sins. There is uncleanness and pride, I know not of any two gross sins that stick closer to men than they. They have, as I may call it, an interest in nature; it likes them because they most suit its lusts and fancies; and therefore no marvel though Mr. Badman was tainted with pride, since he had so wickedly given up himself to work all iniquity with greediness.

WISE. You say right; pride is a sin that sticks close to nature, and is one of the first follies wherein it shows itself to be polluted. For even in childhood, even in little children, pride will first of all show itself; it is a hasty, an early appearance of the sin of the soul. It, as I may say, is that corruption that strives for predominancy in the heart, and therefore usually comes out first. But though children are so incident to it, yet methinks those of more years should be ashamed thereof. I might at the first have begun with Mr. Badman's pride, only I think it is not the pride in infancy that begins to make a difference betwixt one and another, as did, and do those wherewith I began my relation of his life, therefore I passed it over, but now, since he had no more consideration of himself, and of his vile and sinful state, but to be proud when come to years, I have taken the occasion in this place to make mention of his pride.

Pride sticks close to nature.

ATTEN. But pray, if you can remember them, tell me of some places of scripture that speak against pride. I the rather desire this because that pride is now a reigning sin, and I happen sometimes to fall into the company of them that in my conscience are proud, very much, and I have a mind also to tell them of their sin, now when I tell them of it, unless I bring God's Word too, I doubt they will laugh me to scorn.

WISE. Laugh you to scorn! the proud man will laugh you to scorn bring to him what text you can, except God shall smite him in his conscience by the Word. Mr. Badman did use to serve them so that did use to tell him of his; and besides, when you have said what you can, they will tell you they are not proud, and that you are rather the proud man, else you would not judge, nor so malapertly[1] meddle with other men's matters as you do. Nevertheless, since you desire it, I will mention two or three texts; they are these: —'Pride and arrogancy - do I hate.' Pr. viii. 13. 'A man's pride shall bring him low.' Pr. xxix. 23. 'And he shall bring down their pride.' Is. xxv. 11. 'And all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble, and the day that cometh shall burn them up.' Mal. iv. 1. This last is a dreadful text, it is enough to make a proud man shake. God, saith he, will make the proud ones as stubble; that is, as fuel for the fire, and the day that cometh shall be like a burning oven, and that day shall burn them up, saith the Lord. But Mr. Badman could never abide to hear pride spoken against, nor that any should say of him, He is a proud man.

ATTEN. What should be the reason of that?

WISE. He did not tell me the reason; but I suppose it to be that which is common to all vile persons. They love this vice, but care not to bear its name. The drunkard loves the sin, but loves not to be called

Proud men do not love to be called proud.

[1] Malapert, dexterous in evil-speaking. 'It is blasphemous to say that God will not hear us for our presumptuous *malapertness* unless we invoke the saints.'—Tyndale.

a drunkard. The thief loveth to steal, but cannot abide to be called a thief; the whore loveth to commit uncleanness, but loveth not to be called a whore. And so Mr. Badman loved to be proud, but could not abide to be called a proud man. The sweet of sin is desirable to polluted and corrupted man, but the name thereof is a blot in his escutcheon.[1]

ATTEN. It is true that you have said; but pray how many sorts of pride are there?

WISE. There are two sorts of pride: pride of spirit, and pride of body. The first of these is thus made mention of in the scriptures. 'Every one *that is* proud in heart *is* an abomination to the Lord.' Pr. xvi. 5. 'A high look, and a proud heart, *and* the ploughing of the wicked, *is* sin.' Pr. xxi. 4. 'The patient in spirit is better than the proud in spirit.' Ec. vii. 8. Bodily pride the Scriptures mention. 'In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of *their* tinkling ornaments *about their feet*, and *their* cauls, and *their* round tires like the moon, the chains and the bracelets, and the mufflers, the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the earrings, the rings, and nose jewels,[2] the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping pins, the glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the vails.' Is. iii. 18–23. By these expressions it is evident that there is pride of body, as well as pride of spirit, and that both are sin, and so abominable to the Lord. But these texts Mr. Badman could never abide to read; they were to him as Micaiah was to Ahab, they never spake good of him, but evil.

Two sorts of pride.

ATTEN. I suppose that it was not Mr. Badman's case alone even to malign those texts that speak against their vices; for I believe that most ungodly men, where the Scriptures are, have a secret antipathy against those words of God that do most plainly and fully rebuke them for their sins.

Wicked men do hate that word that reproves their vice.

WISE. That is out of doubt; and by that antipathy they show that sin and Satan are more welcome to them than are wholesome instructions of life and godliness.

ATTEN. Well, but not to go off from our discourse of Mr. Badman. You say he was proud; but will you show me now some symptoms of one that is proud?

WISE. Yes, that I will; and first I will show you some symptoms of pride of heart. Pride of heart is seen by outward things, as pride of body in general is a sign of pride of heart; for all proud gestures of the body flow from pride of heart; therefore Solomon saith, '*There is* a generation, O how lofty are their eyes, and their eye-lids are lifted up.' Pr. xxx. 13. And again, there is 'that exalteth his gait,' his going. Pr. xvii. 19. Now, these lofty eyes, and this exalting of the gait, is a sign of a proud heart; for both these actions come from the heart. For out of the heart comes pride, in all the visible appearances of it. Mar. vii. But more particularly—

Signs of a proud man in general.

1. Heart pride is discovered by a stretched-out neck, and by mincing as they go. For the wicked, the proud, have a proud neck, a proud foot, a proud tongue, by which this their going is exalted. This is that which makes them look scornfully, speak ruggedly, and carry it huffingly among their neighbours. 2. A proud heart is a persecuting one. 'The wicked in *his* pride doth persecute the poor.' Ps. x. 2. 3. A prayerless man is a proud man. Ps. x. 4. 4. A contentious man is a proud man. Pr. xiii. 10. 5. The disdainful man is a proud man. Ps. cxix. 51. 6. The man that oppresses his neighbour is a proud man. Ps. cxix. 122. 7. He that hearkeneth not to God's word with reverence and fear is a proud man. Je. xiii. 15, 17. 8. And he that calls the proud happy is, be sure, a proud man. All these are proud in heart, and this their pride of heart doth thus discover itself. Je. xliii. 2. Mal. iii. 15.

In particular.

As to bodily pride, it is discovered that is something of it, by all the particulars mentioned before; for though they are said to be symptoms of pride of heart, yet they are symptoms of that pride, by their showing of themselves in the body. You know diseases that are within are seen oftimes by outward and visible signs, yet by these very signs even the outside is defiled also. So all those visible signs of heart pride are signs of bodily pride also. But to come to more outward signs. The putting on of gold, and pearls, and costly array; the plaiting of the hair, the following of fashions, the seeking by gestures to imitate the proud, either by speech, looks, dresses, goings, or other fools' baubles, of which at this time the world is full, all these, and many more, are signs, as of a proud heart, so of bodily pride also. 1 Ti. ii. 9. 1 Pe. iii. 3–5.

Of outward pride.

But Mr. Badman would not allow, by any means, that this should be called pride, but rather neatness, handsomeness, comeliness, cleanliness, &c., neither would he allow that following of fashions was anything

Mr. Badman was not for having pride called pride.

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[1] This is a phrase in heraldry to signify that the armorial bearings are marked with some sign of disgrace.' Thus John de Avesnes having reviled his mother in the King's presence, he ordered that the tongue and claw of the lion which he bore in his arms should be defaced. In many cases a batou is inserted as a mark of illegitimacy.—(ED.)

[2] From a fine Persian drawing in the editor's cabinet, it appears that the nose jewel lies on the right cheek, and is fixed by a ring cut through to form a spring; one edge of the cut going inside, and the other meeting outside the nostril, so as to be readily removed as occasion required.—(ED.)

else, but because he would not be proud, singular, and esteemed fantastical by his neighbours.

ATTEN. But I have been told that when some have been rebuked for their pride, they have turned it again upon the brotherhood of those by whom they have been rebuked, saying, Physician, heal thy friends, look at home among your brotherhood, even among the wisest of you, and see if you yourselves be clear, even you professors. For who is prouder than you professors? scarcely the devil himself.

Professors guilty of the sin of pride.

WISE. My heart aches at this answer, because there is too much cause for it. This very answer would Mr. Badman give his wife when she, as she would sometimes, reprove him for his pride. We shall have, says he, great amendments in living now, for the devil is turned a corrector of vice; for no sin reigneth more in the world, quoth he, than pride among professors. And who can contradict him? Let us give the devil his due, the thing is too apparent for any man to deny. And I doubt not but the same answer is ready in the mouths of Mr Badman's friends; for they may and do see pride display itself in the apparel and carriages of professors, one may say, almost as much, as among any people in the land, the more is the pity. Ay, and I fear that even their extravagancies in this hath hardened the heart of many a one, as I perceive it did somewhat the heart of Mr. Badman himself. For my own part, I have seen many myself, and those church members too, so decked and bedaubed with their fangles[1] and toys, and that when they have been at the solemn appointments of God in the way of his worship, that I have wondered with what face such painted persons could sit in the place where they were without swooning. But certainly the holiness of God, and also the pollution of themselves by sin, must need be very far out of the minds of such people, what profession soever they make.

I have read of a whore's forehead, and I have read of Christian shamefacedness. Je. iii. 3. 1 Ti. ii. 9. I have read of costly array, and of that which becometh women professing godliness, with good works. 1 Pe. iii. 1–3. But if I might speak, I know what I know, and could say, and yet do no wrong, that which would make some professors stink in their places; but now I forbear. Je. xxiii. 15.

ATTEN. Sir, you seem greatly concerned at this, but what if I shall say more? It is whispered that some good ministers have countenanced their people in their light and wanton apparel, yea, have pleaded for their gold and pearls, and costly array, &c.

[1] An attempt at something new, a foolish innovation, generally used with the word *new*; as, 'In holiday gown, and my new *fangled* hat.'—Cunningham.—(ED.)

WISE. I know not what they have pleaded for, but it is easily seen that they tolerate, or at least-wise, wink and connive at such things, both in their wives and children. And so 'from the prophets of Jerusalem is profaneness gone forth into all the land.' Je. xxiii. 15. And when the hand of the rulers are chief in a trespass, who can keep their people from being drowned in that trespass? Ezr. ix. 2.

ATTEN. This is a lamentation, and must stand for a lamentation.

Pride in professors a shame and stumbling-block to the world.

WISE. So it is, and so it must. And I will add, it is a shame, it is a reproach, it is a stumbling block to the blind; for though men be as blind as Mr. Badman himself, yet they can see the foolish lightness that must needs be the bottom of all these apish and wanton extravagancies. But many have their excuses ready; to wit, their parents, their husbands, and their breeding calls for it, and the like; yea, the examples of good people prompt them to it; but all these will be but the spider's web, when the thunder of the word of the great God shall rattle from heaven against them, as it will at death or judgment; but I wish it might do it before. But alas! these excuses are but bare pretences, these proud ones love to have it so. I once talked with a maid by way of reproof for her fond and gaudy garment. But she told me, The tailor would make it so; when alas! poor proud girl, she gave order to the tailor so to make it. Many make parents, and husbands, and tailors, &c., the blind to others; but their naughty hearts, and their giving of way thereto, that is the original cause of all these evils.

ATTEN. Now you are speaking of the cause of pride, pray show me yet further why pride is now so much in request.

Why pride is in such request.

WISE. I will show you what I think are the reasons of it.

1. The first is, because, such persons are led by their own hearts, rather than by the Word of God. Mar. vii. 21–23. I told you before that the original fountain of pride is the heart. For out of the heart comes pride; it is, therefore, because they are led by their hearts, which naturally tend to lift them up in pride. This pride of heart tempts them, and by its deceits overcometh them; yea, it doth put a bewitching virtue into their peacock's feathers, and then they are swallowed up with the vanity of them. Oba. 3.

First reason.

2. Another reason why professors are so proud for those we are talking of now, is because they are more apt to take example by those that are of the world, than they are to take example of those that are saints indeed. Pride is of the world. 'For all that *is* in the world,

Second reason.

the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father but of the world.' 1 Jn. ii. 16. Of the world, therefore, professors learn to be proud. But they should not take them for example. It will be objected, No, nor your saints neither, for you are as proud as others; well, let them take shame that are guilty. But when I say professors should take example for their life by those that are saints indeed, I mean as Peter says; they should take example of those that were in old time the saints; for saints of old time were the best, therefore to these he directed us for our pattern. Let the wives' conversation be chaste and also coupled with fear. 'Whose adorning,' saith Peter, 'let it not be that outward *adorning* of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but *let it be* the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, *even the ornament* of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price. For after this manner, in the old time, the holy women also who trusted in God, adorned themselves, being in subjection to their own husbands.' 1 Pe. iii. 1–5.

Third reason.

3. Another reason is, because they have forgotten the pollution of their nature. For the remembrance of that must needs keep us humble, and being kept humble, we shall be at a distance from pride. The proud and the humble are set in opposition; 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.' And can it be imagined that a sensible Christian should be a proud one; sense of baseness tends to lay us low, not to lift us up with pride; not with pride of heart, nor pride of life. But when a man begins to forget what he is, then he, if ever, begins to be proud. Methinks it is one of the most senseless and ridiculous things in the world that a man should be proud of that which is given him on purpose to cover the shame of his nakedness with.

Fourth reason.

4. Persons that are proud have gotten God and his holiness out of their sight. If God was before them, as he is behind their back. And if they saw him in his holiness, as he sees them in their sins and shame, they would take but little pleasure in their apish knacks. The holiness of God makes the angels cover their faces, crumbles Christians, when they behold it, into dust and ashes. And as his majesty is, such is his Word. Is. vi. Therefore they abuse it that bring it to countenance pride.

Fifth reason.

Lastly. But what can be the end of those that are proud in the decking of themselves after their antic manner? Why are they for going with their bull's foretops,[1] with their naked shoulders, and paps hanging out like a cow's bag? Why are they for painting their faces, for stretching out their neck, and for putting of themselves unto all the formalities which proud fancy leads them to? Is it because they would honour God? because they would adorn the gospel? because they would beautify religion, and make sinners to fall in love with their own salvation? No, no, it is rather to please their lusts, to satisfy their wild and extravagant fancies; and I wish none doth it to stir up lust in others, to the end they may commit uncleanness with them. I believe, whatever is their end, this is one of the great designs of the devil; and I believe also that Satan has drawn more into the sin of uncleanness by the spangling show of fine cloths, than he could possibly have drawn unto it without them. I wonder what it was that of old was called the attire of a harlot; certainly it could not be more bewitching and tempting than are the garments of many professors this day.

Atten. I like what you say very well, and I wish that all the proud dames in England that profess were within the reach and sound of your words.

Wise. What I have said I believe is true; but as for the proud dames in England that profess, they have Moses and the prophets, and if they will not hear them, how then can we hope that they should receive good by such a dull-sounding ram's-horn as I am?[2] However, I have said my mind, and now, if you will, we will proceed to some other of Mr. Badman's doings.

Atten. No; pray, before you show me anything else of Mr. Badman, show me yet more particularly the evil effects of this sin of pride.

The evil effects of the sin of pride.

Wise. With all my heart I will answer your request.

First evil effects.

1. Then: It is pride that makes poor man so like the devil in hell, that he cannot in it be known to be the image and similitude of God. The angels, when they became devils, it was through their being lifted or puffed up with pride. 1 Ti. iii. 6. It is pride also that lifteth or puffeth up the heart of the sinner, and so makes him to bear the very image of the devil.

Second evil effect.

2. Pride makes a man so odious in the sight of God, that he shall not, must not, come nigh his majesty. 'Though the Lord *be* high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly; but the proud he knoweth afar off.' Ps. cxxxviii. 6. Pride sets God and the soul at a distance; pride will not let a man come nigh God, nor God will not let a

[1] A tuft of hair worn on a man's forehead, or a projecting conspicuous part of the women's caps worn by the fashionables of that time.—(Ed.)

[2] No one, except he has blown a ram's horn, or attended the Jewish ceremony of the New-year, Tizri 1 (Sept.), can imagine the miserable sounding of a ram's horn. Bunyan, with all his powers and popularity, was, to an extraordinary degree, 'a humble man.'—(Ed.)

proud man come nigh unto him. Now this is a dreadful thing.

3. As pride sets, so it keeps God and the soul at a distance. 'God resisteth the proud.' Ja. iv. 6. Resists, that is, he opposes him, he thrusts him from him, he contemneth his person and all his performances. Come unto God's ordinances the proud man may; but come into his presence, have communion with him, or blessing from him, he shall not. For the high God doth resist him.

Third evil effect.

4. The Word saith that 'The Lord will destroy the house of the proud.' Pr. xv. 25. He will destroy his house; it may be understood he will destroy him and his. So he destroyed proud Pharaoh, so he destroyed proud Korah, and many others.

Fourth evil effect.

5. Pride, where it comes, and is entertained, is a certain forerunner of some judgment that is not far behind. When pride goes before, shame and destruction will follow after. '*When* pride cometh, then cometh shame.' Pr. xi. 2. 'Pride *goeth* before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.' Pr. xvi. 18.

Fifth evil effect.

6. Persisting in pride makes the condition of a poor man as remediless as is that of the devils themselves. 1 Ti. iii. 6. And this, I fear, was Mr. Badman's condition, and that was the reason that he died so as he did; as I shall show you anon.

Sixth evil effect.

But what need I thus talk of the particular actions, or rather the prodigious sins of Mr. Badman, when his whole life, and all his actions, went, as it were, to the making up one massy body of sin? Instead of believing that there was a God, his mouth, his life and actions, declared that he believed no such thing.[1] His 'transgression saith within my heart, *that there was* no fear of God before his eyes.' Ps. xxxvi. 1. Instead of honouring of God, and of giving glory to him for any of his mercies, or under any of his good providences towards him, for God is good to all, and lets his sun shine, and his rain fall upon the unthankful and unholy, he would ascribe the glory to other causes. If they were mercies, he would ascribe them, if the open face of the providence did not give him the lie, to his own wit, labour, care, industry, cunning, or the like. If they were crosses, he would ascribe them, or count them the offspring of fortune, ill luck, chance, the ill management of matters, the ill will of neighbours, or to his wife's being religious, and spending, as he called it, too much time in reading, praying, or the like. It was not in his way to acknowledge God, that is, graciously, or his hand in things. But, as the prophet saith, 'Let favour be showed to the wicked, *yet* will he not learn righteousness.' Is. xxvi. 10. And again, They returned not to him that smote them, nor did they seek the Lord of hosts. Is. ix. 13. This was Mr. Badman's temper, neither mercies nor judgment would make him seek the Lord. Nay, as another scripture says, 'He would not see the works of God, nor regard the operations of his hands either in mercies or in judgments.' Is. xxvi. 11. Ps. xxix. 5. But farther, when by providence he has been cast under the best means for his soul—for, as was showed before, he having had a good master, and before him a good father, and after all a good wife, and being sometimes upon a journey, and cast under the hearing of a good sermon, as he would sometimes for novelty's sake go to hear a good preacher—he was always without heart to make use thereof. Pr. xvii. 6. In this land of righteousness he would deal unjustly, and would not behold the majesty of the Lord. Is. xxvi. 10.

A general character of Mr. Badman.

A brief relation of Mr. Badman's ways.

Instead of reverencing the Word, when he heard it preached, read, or discoursed of, he would sleep, talk of other business, or else object against the authority, harmony, and wisdom of the Scriptures; saying, How do you know them to be the Word of God? How do you know that these sayings are true? The Scriptures, he would say, were as a nose of wax, and a man may turn them whithersoever he lists. One scripture says one thing, and another says the quite contrary; besides, they make mention of a thousand impossibilities; they are the cause of all dissensions and discords that are in the land. Therefore you may, would he say, still think what you will, but in my mind they are best at ease that have least to do with them.

Mr. Badman's judgment of the Scriptures.

Instead of loving and honouring of them that did bear in their foreheads the name, and in their lives the image of Christ, they should be his song, the matter of his jests, and the objects of his slanders. He would either make a mock at their sober deportment, their gracious language, quiet behaviour, or else desperately swear that they did all in deceit and hypocrisy. He would endeavour to render godly men as odious and contemptible as he could; any lies that were made by any, to their disgrace, those he would avouch for truth, and would not endure to be controlled. He was much like those that the prophet speaks of, that would sit and slander his mother's son. Ps. l. 19, 20. Yea, he would speak reproachfully of his wife, though his conscience told him, and many would testify, that she was a very virtuous woman. He would also raise slanders of his wife's friends himself, affirming that their doctrine tended to lasciviousness, and

Good men Mr. Badman's song.

[1] A professor of Christianity who indulges in sin, is the worst of Atheists. Such conduct is practical hypocrisy and Atheism.—(Ed.)

that in their assemblies they acted and did unbeseeming men and women, that they committed uncleanness, &c. He was much like those that affirmed the apostle should say, 'Let us do evil that good may come.' Ro. iii. 7, 8. Or, like those of whom it is thus written; 'Report, *say they*, and we will report it.' Je. xx. 10. And if he could get any thing by the end that had scandal in it, if it did but touch professors, how falsely soever reported, O! then he would glory, laugh, and be glad, and lay it upon the whole party; saying, Hang them rogues, there is not a barrel better herring of all the holy brotherhood of them. Like to like, quoth the devil to the collier, this is your precise crew. And then he would send all home with a curse.

ATTEN. If those that make profession of religion be wise, Mr. Badman's watchings and words will make them the more wary, and careful in all things.

When the wicked watch, God's people should be wary.

WISE. You say true. For when we see men do watch for our halting, and rejoice to see us stumble and fall, it should make us so much abundantly the more careful.

I do think it was as delightful to Mr. Badman to hear, raise, and tell lies, and lying stories of them that fear the Lord, as it was for him to go to bed when a weary. But we will at this time let these things pass. For as he was in these things bad enough, so he added to these many more the like.

Badman an angry, envious man.

He was an angry, wrathful, envious man, a man that knew not what meekness or gentleness meant, nor did he desire to learn. His natural temper was to be surly, huffy, and rugged, and worse; and he so gave way to his temper, as to this, that it brought him to be furious and outrageous in all things, especially against goodness itself, and against other things too, when he was displeased.

ATTEN. Solomon saith, He is a fool that rageth, Pr. xiv. 16.

WISE. He doth so; and says moreover, that 'Anger resteth in the bosom of fools.' Ec. vii. 9. And, truly, if it be a sign of a fool to have anger rest in his bosom, then was Mr. Badman, notwithstanding the conceit that he had of his own abilities, a fool of no small size.

ATTEN. Fools are mostly most wise in their own eyes.

WISE. True; but I was a saying, that if it be a sign that a man is a fool, when anger rests in his bosom; then what is it a sign of, think you, when malice and envy rests there? For, to my knowledge Mr. Badman was as malicious and as envious a man as commonly you can hear of.

ATTEN. Certainly, malice and envy flow from pride and arrogancy, and they again from ignorance, and ignorance from the devil. And I thought, that since you spake of the pride of Mr. Badman before, we should have something of these before we had done.

Whence envy flows.

WISE. Envy flows from ignorance indeed. And this Mr. Badman was so envious an one, where he set against, that he would swell with it as a toad, as we say, swells with poison.[1] He whom he maligned, might at any time even read envy in his face wherever he met with him, or in whatever he had to do with him. His envy was so rank and strong, that if it at any time turned its head against a man, it would hardly ever be pulled in again; he would watch over that man to do him mischief, as the cat watches over the mouse to destroy it; yea, he would wait seven years, but he would have an opportunity to hurt him, and when he had it, he would make him feel the weight of his envy.

Envy is a devilish thing, the scripture intimates that none can stand before it: 'A stone *is* heavy, and the sand weighty; but a fool's wrath *is* heavier than them both. Wrath *is* cruel, and anger *is* outrageous; but who *is* able to stand before envy?' Pr. xxvii. 3, 4.

Envy the worst of the four.[2]

This envy, for the foulness of it, is reckoned among the foulest villainies that are, as adultery, murder, drunkenness, revellings, witchcrafts, heresies, seditions, &c. Ga. v. 19, 20. Yea, it is so malignant a corruption, that it rots the very bones of him in whom it dwells. 'A sound heart *is* the life of the flesh; but envy the rottenness of the bones.' Pr. xiv. 30.

Envy is the father and mother of a many wickednesses.

ATTEN. This envy is the very father and mother of a great many hideous and prodigious wickednesses. I say, it is the very father and mother of them; it both begets them, and also nourishes them up, till they come to their cursed maturity in the bosom of him that entertains them.

WISE. You have given it a very right description, in calling of it the father and mother of a great many other prodigious wickednesses; for it is so venomous and vile a thing that it puts the whole course of nature out of order, and makes it fit for nothing but confusion, and a hold for every evil thing: 'For where envying and strife *is*, there *is* confusion, and every evil work.' Ja. iii. 16. Wherefore, I say, you have rightly called it the very father and mother of a great many other sins. And now for our further edification, I will reckon up of some of the births of envy. 1. Envy, as I told you before, it rotteth

Some of the births of envy.

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[1] The general opinion, to a late period, was, that the frog or toad was poisonous. Bartolomeus calls the frog 'venomous,' and that in proportion to the number of his spots. Bunyan, who was far in advance of his age, throws a doubt upon it, by the words 'as we say.'—(ED.)

[2] Pride, Atheism, infidelity, and envy.—(ED.)

the very bones of him that entertains it. And, 2. As you have also hinted, it is heavier than a stone, than sand; yea, and I will add, it falls like a millstone upon the head. Therefore, 3. It kills him that throws it, and him at whom it is thrown. 'Envy slayeth the silly one.' Job v. 2. That is, him in whom it resides, and him who is its object. 4. It was that also that slew Jesus Christ himself; for his adversaries persecuted him through their envy. Mat. xxvii. 18. Mar. xv. 10. 5. Envy was that, by virtue of which Joseph was sold by his brethren into Egypt. Ac. vii. 9.

6. It is envy that hath the hand in making of variance among God's saints. Is. xi. 13. 7. It is envy in the hearts of sinners, that stirs them up to thrust God's ministers out of their coasts. Ac. xiii. 50; xiv. 6. 8. What shall I say? It is envy that is the very nursery of whisperings, debates, backbitings, slanders, reproaches, murders, &c.

It is not possible to repeat all the particular fruits of this sinful root. Therefore, it is no marvel that Mr. Badman was such an ill-natured man, for the great roots of all manner of wickedness were in him unmortified, unmaimed, untouched.

A rare thing.

ATTEN. But it is a rare case, even this of Mr. Badman, that he should never in all his life be touched with remorse for his ill-spent life.

CHAPTER XIII.

[HE GETS DRUNK AND BREAKS HIS LEG—GOD'S JUDGMENTS UPON DRUNKARDS.]

WISE. Remorse, I cannot say he ever had, if by remorse you mean repentance for his evils. Yet twice I remember he was under some trouble of mind about his condition. Once when he broke his leg as he came home drunk from the ale-house; and another time when he fell sick, and thought he should die. Besides these two times, I do not remember any more.

Mr. Badman under some trouble of mind.

ATTEN. Did he break his leg then?

WISE. Yes; once as he came home drunk from the ale-house.

ATTEN. Pray how did he break it?

WISE. Why upon a time he was at an ale-house, that wicked house about two or three miles from home, and having there drank hard the greatest part of the day, when night was come, he would stay no longer, but calls for his horse, gets up and like a madman, as drunken persons usually ride, away he goes, as hard as horse could lay legs to the ground. Thus he rid, till coming to a dirty place, where his horse flouncing in, fell, threw his master, and with his fall broke his leg. So there he lay. But you would not think how he swore at first. But after a while, he coming to himself, and feeling by his pain, and the uselessness of his leg, what case he was in, and also fearing that this bout might be his death; he began to cry out after the manner of such, Lord help me, Lord have mercy upon me, good God deliver me, and the like. So there he lay, till some came by, who took him up, carried him home, where he lay for some time, before he could go abroad again.

Mr. Badman breaks his leg.

He swears.

He prays.

ATTEN. And then you say he called upon God.

WISE. He cried out in his pain, and would say, O God, and, O Lord, help me. But whether it was that his sin might be pardoned, and his soul saved, or whether to be rid of his pain, I will not positively determine; though I fear it was but for the last; because when his pain was gone, and he had got hopes of mending, even before he could go abroad, he cast off prayer, and began his old game; to wit, to be as bad as he was before.[1] He then would send for his old companions; his sluts also would come to his house to see him, and with them he would be, as well as he could for his lame leg, as vicious as they could be for their hearts.

It has no good effect upon him.

ATTEN. It was a wonder he did not break his neck.

WISE. His neck had gone instead of his leg, but that God was long-suffering towards him; he had deserved it ten thousand times over. There have been many, as I have heard, and as I have hinted to you before, that have taken their horses when drunk as he; but they have gone from the pot to the grave; for they have broken their necks betwixt the ale-house and home. One hard by us also drunk himself dead; he drank, and died in his drink.

ATTEN. It is a sad thing to die drunk.

WISE. So it is; but yet I wonder that no more do so. For considering the heinousness of that sin, and with how many other sins it is accompanied, as with oaths, blasphemies, lies, revellings, whorings, brawlings, &c., it is a wonder to me that any that live in that sin should escape such a blow from Heaven, that should tumble them into their graves. Besides, when I consider also how, when they are as drunk as beasts, they, without all fear of danger, will ride like bedlams and madmen, even as if they did dare God to meddle with them if he durst, for their being drunk. I say, I wonder that he doth not withdraw his protecting providences from them, and leave them to those dangers and destructions that by their sin they have deserved, and that by their bedlam madness they would rush

How many sins do accompany drunkenness.

[1] Outward reformation without inward grace is like washing a sow, which you may make clean, but never can make cleanly; it will soon return to the mire, and delight in filth more than ever.—(Mason.)

themselves into. Only I consider again, that he has appointed a day wherein he will reckon with them, and doth also commonly make examples of some, to show that he takes notice of their sin, abhors their way, and will count with them for it at the set time. Ac. xvii. 30, 31.

ATTEN. It is worthy of our remark, to take notice how God, to show his dislike of the sins of men, strikes some of them down with a blow; as the breaking of Mr. Badman's leg, for doubtless that was a stroke from heaven.

WISE. It is worth our remark, indeed. It was an open stroke, it fell upon him while he was in the height of his sin; and it looks much like to that in Job—'Therefore he knoweth their works, and overturneth *them* in the night, so that they are destroyed. He striketh them as wicked men in the open sight of others.' Or, as the margin reads it, 'in the place of beholders.' Job xxxiv. 25, 26. He lays them, with his stroke, in the place of beholders. There was Mr. Badman laid; his stroke was taken notice of by every one, his broken leg was at this time the town talk. Mr. Badman has broken his leg, says one. How did he break it? says another. As he came home drunk from such an ale-house, said a third. A judgment of God upon him, said a fourth. This his sin, his shame, and punishment, are all made conspicuous to all that are about him. I will here tell you another story or two.

An open stroke.

I have read, in Mr. Clark's *Looking-glass for Sinners*, that upon a time a certain drunken fellow boasted in his cups that there was neither heaven nor hell; also he said he believed that man had no soul, and that, for his own part, he would sell his soul to any that would buy it. Then did one of his companions buy it of him for a cup of wine, and presently the devil, in man's shape, bought it of that man again at the same price; and so, in the presence of them all, laid hold on the soul-seller, and carried him away through the air, so that he was never more heard of.[1]

Page 41.

He tells us also, that there was one at Salisbury, in the midst of his health, drinking and carousing in a tavern; and he drank a health to the devil, saying that if the devil would not come and pledge him, he would not believe that there was either God or devil. Whereupon his companions, stricken with fear, hastened out of the room; and presently after, hearing a hideous noise, and smelling a stinking savour, the vintner ran up into the chamber; and coming in he missed his guest, and found the window broken, the iron bar in it bowed, and all bloody. But the man was never heard of afterwards.[2]

Page 141.

Again, he tells us of a bailiff of Hedley, who, upon a Lord's day, being drunk at Melford, got upon his horse, to ride through the streets, saying that his horse would carry him to the devil. And presently his horse threw him, and broke his neck. These things are worse than the breaking of Mr. Badman's leg; and should be a caution to all of his friends that are living, lest they also fall by their sin into these sad judgments of God.

Page 149.

But, as I said, Mr. Badman quickly forgot all; his conscience was choked before his leg was healed. And, therefore, before he was well of the fruit of one sin, he tempts God to send another judgment to seize upon him. And so he did quickly after. For not many months after his leg was well, he had a very dangerous fit of sickness, insomuch that now he began to think he must die in very deed.

Mr. Badman fallen sick.

CHAPTER XIV.

[HIS PRETENDED REPENTINGS AND PROMISES OF REFORM WHEN DEATH GRIMLY STARES AT HIM.]

ATTEN. Well, and what did he think and do then?

WISE. He thought he must go to hell; this I know, for he could not forbear but say so. To my best remembrance, he lay crying out all one night for fear; and at times he would so tremble that he would make the very bed shake under him. But O! how the thoughts of death, of hell-fire, and of eternal judgment, did then wrack his conscience. Fear might be seen in his face, and in his tossings to and fro; it might also be heard in his words, and be understood by his heavy groans. He would often cry, I am undone, I am undone; my vile life has undone me!

His conscience is wounded.

He crieth out in his sickness.

ATTEN. Then his former atheistical thoughts and principles were too weak now to support him from the fears of eternal damnation.

WISE. Ay! they were too weak indeed. They may serve to stifle conscience, when a man is in the midst of his prosperity; and to harden the heart against all good counsel, when a man is left of God, and given up to his reprobate mind. But, alas, atheistical thoughts, notions, and opinions must shrink and melt away, when God sends, yea, comes with sickness to visit the soul of such a sinner for his sin. There was a man dwelt about twelve miles off from us, that had so trained up himself in his atheistical

His atheism will not help him now.

[1] Mr. Clarke relates this singular story on the authority of 'Disci de Temp.' The writers in the Middle Ages are full of such narrations; see especially the first English book of homilies called *The Festival*.—(ED.)

[2] Clarke's authority for this account is Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgments*.—(ED.)

notions, that at last he attempted to write a book against Jesus Christ, and against the Divine authority of the Scriptures. But I think it was not printed. Well, after many days, God struck him with sickness, whereof he died. So, being sick, and musing upon his former doings, the book that he had written came into his mind, and with it such a sense of his evil in writing of it, that it tore his conscience as a lion would tear a kid. He lay, therefore, upon his death-bed in sad case, and much affliction of conscience; some of my friends also went to see him; and as they were in his chamber one day, he hastily called for pen, ink, and paper; which when it was given him, he took it and writ to this purpose:—I, such a one, in such a town, must go to hell-fire, for writing a book against Jesus Christ, and against the Holy Scriptures. And would also have leaped out of the window of his house, to have killed himself, but was by them prevented of that; so he died in his bed, such a death as it was. It will be well if others take warning by him.[1]

A dreadful example of God's anger.

ATTEN. This is a remarkable story.

WISE. It is as true as remarkable. I had it from them that I dare believe, who also themselves were eye and ear witnesses; and also that catched him in their arms, and saved him, when he would have leaped out of his chamber window, to have destroyed himself!

ATTEN. Well, you have told me what were Mr. Badman's thoughts now, being sick, of his condition; pray tell me also what he then did when he was sick?

WISE. Did! he did many things which, I am sure, he never thought to have done; and which, to be sure, was not looked for of his wife and children. In this fit of sickness, his thoughts were quite altered about his wife; I say his thoughts, so far as could be judged by his words and carriages to her. For now she was his good wife, his godly wife, his honest wife, his duck and dear, and all. Now he told her that she had the best of it; she having a good life to stand by her, while his debaucheries and ungodly life did always stare him in the face. Now he told her the counsel that she often gave him was good; though he was so bad as not to take it.

What Mr. Badman did more when he was sick.

Now he would hear her talk to him, and he would lie sighing by her while she so did. Now he would bid her pray for him, that he might be delivered from hell. He would also now consent that some of her good ministers might come to him to comfort him; and he would seem to show them kindness when they came, for he would treat them kindly with words, and hearken diligently to what they said; only he did not care that they should talk much of his ill-spent life, because his conscience was clogged with that already. He cared not now to see his old companions, the thoughts of them were a torment to him; and now he would speak kindly to that child of his that took after its mother's steps, though he could not at all abide it before.

Great alteration made in Mr. Badman.

He also desired the prayers of good people, that God of his mercy would spare him a little longer; promising that if God would but let him recover this once, what a new, what a penitent man he would be toward God, and what a loving husband he would be to his wife; what liberty he would give her, yea, how he would go with her himself, to hear her ministers, and how they should go hand in hand in the way to heaven together.

ATTEN. Here was a fine show of things; I'll warrant you, his wife was glad for this.

WISE. His wife! ay, and a many good people besides. It was noised all over the town what a great change there was wrought upon Mr. Badman: how sorry he was for his sins, how he began to love his wife, how he desired good men should pray to God to spare him; and what promises he now made to God, in his sickness, that if ever he should raise him from his sick bed to health again, what a new penitent man he would be towards God, and what a loving husband to his good wife. Well, ministers prayed, and good people rejoiced, thinking verily that they now had gotten a man from the devil; nay, some of the weaker sort did not stick to say that God had begun a work of grace in his heart; and his wife, poor woman, you cannot think how apt she was to believe it so; she rejoiced, and she hoped as she would have it. But, alas! alas! in little time things all proved otherwise.

The town-talk of Mr. Badman's change.

His wife is comforted.

After he had kept his bed a while, his distemper began to abate, and he to feel himself better; so he in a little time was so finely mended, that he could walk about the house, and also obtained a very fine stomach to his food; and now did his wife and her good friends stand gaping to see Mr. Badman fulfil his promise of becoming new towards God, and loving to his wife; but the contrary only showed itself. For, so soon as ever he had hopes of mending, and found that his strength began to renew, his trouble began to go off his heart, and he grew as great a stranger to his frights and fears, as if he never had them.

Mr. Badman recovers, and returns to his old course.

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[1] See the account of an Atheist in his pride in *Pilgrim's Progress* and notes. Vol. iii., p. 152.

CHAPTER XV.

[DEATH LEAVES HIM FOR A SEASON, AND HE RETURNS TO HIS SIN LIKE A SOW THAT HAS BEEN WASHED TO HER WALLOWING IN THE MIRE.]

But verily, I am apt to think, that one reason of his no more regarding or remembering of his sick-bed fears, and of being no better for them, was some words that the doctor that supplied him with physic said to him when he was mending. For as soon as Mr. Badman began to mend, the doctor comes and sits him down by him in his house, and there fell into discourse with him about the nature of his disease; and among other things they talked of Badman's trouble, and how he would cry out, tremble, and express his fears of going to hell when his sickness lay pretty hard upon him. To which the doctor replied, that those fears and outcries did arise from the height of his distemper; for that disease was often attended with lightness of the head, by reason the sick party could not sleep, and for that the vapours disturbed the brain: but you see, Sir, quoth he, that so soon as you got sleep and betook yourself to rest, you quickly mended, and your head settled, and so those frenzies left you. And it was so indeed, thought Mr. Badman; was my troubles only the effects of my distemper, and because ill vapours got up into my brain? Then surely, since my physician was my saviour, my lust again shall be my god. So he never minded religion more, but betook him again to the world, his lusts and wicked companions: and there was an end of Mr. Badman's conversion.

Ignorant physicians kill souls while they cure bodies.

ATTEN. I thought, as you told me of him, that this would be the result of the whole; for I discerned, by your relating of things, that the true symptoms of conversion were wanting in him, and that those that appeared to be anything like them, were only such as reprobates may have.

WISE. You say right, for there wanted in him, when he was most sensible, a sense of the pollution of his nature; he only had guilt for his sinful actions, the which Cain, and Pharaoh, and Saul, and Judas, those reprobates, have had before him. Ge. iv. 13, 14. Ex. ix. 27. 1 Sa. xv. 24. Mat. xxvii. 3–5.

Besides, the great things that he desired, were to be delivered from going to hell, and who would, willingly? and that his life might be lengthened in this world. We find not, by all that he said or did, that Jesus Christ the Saviour was desired by him, from a sense of his need of his righteousness to clothe him, and of his Spirit to sanctify him. His own strength was whole in him, he saw nothing of the treachery of his own heart: for had he, he would never have been so free to make promises to God of amendment. He would rather have been afraid, that if he had mended, he should have turned with the dog to his vomit, and have begged prayers of the saints, and assistance from heaven upon that account, that he might have been kept from doing so. It is true he did beg prayers of good people, and so did Pharaoh of Moses and Aaron, and Simon Magus of Simon Peter. Ex. ix. 28. Ac. viii. 24. His mind also seemed to be turned to his wife and child; but, alas! it was rather from conviction that God had given him concerning their happy estate over his, than for that he had any true love to the work of God that was in them. True, some shows of kindness he seemed to have for them, and so had rich Dives when in hell, to his five brethren that were yet in the world: yea, he had such love as to wish them in heaven, that they might not come thither to be tormented. Lu. xvi. 27, 28.

The true symptoms of conversion wanting in all Mr. Badman's sense of sin, and desires of mercy.

ATTEN. Sick-bed repentance is seldom good for anything.

WISE. You say true, it is very rarely good for anything indeed. Death is unwelcome to nature, and usually when sickness and death visit the sinner; the first taking of him by the shoulder, and the second standing at the bed-chamber door to receive him; then the sinner begins to look about him, and to bethink with himself, these will have me away before God; and I know that my life has not been as it should, how shall I do to appear before God! Or if it be more the sense of the punishment, and the place of the punishment of sinners, that also is starting to a defiled conscience, now roused by death's lumbering at the door. And hence usually is sick-bed repentance, and the matter of it; to wit, to be saved from hell, and from death, and that God will restore again to health till they mend, concluding that it is in their power to mend, as is evident by their large and lavishing promises to do it. I have known many that, when they have been sick, have had large measures of this kind of repentance, and while it has lasted, the noise and sound thereof has made the town to ring again. But, alas! how long has it lasted? ofttimes scarce so long as until the party now sick has been well. It has passed away like a mist or a vapour, it has been a thing of no continuance. But this kind of repentance is by God compared to the howling of a dog. 'And they have not cried unto me with their heart, when they howled upon their beds.' Ho. vii. 14.

Of sick-bed repentance, and that it is to be suspected.

ATTEN. Yet one may see by this the desperateness of man's heart; for what is it but desperate wickedness to make promise to God of amendment, if he will but spare them; and yet, so soon as they are recovered, or quickly after, fall to sin as they did before, and never to regard their promise more.

A sign of the desperateness of man's heart.

WISE. It is a sign of desperateness indeed; yea,

of desperate madness. De. i. 34, 35. For, surely, they must needs think that God took notice of their promise, that he heard the words that they spake, and that he hath laid them up against the time to come; and will then bring out, and testify to their faces, that they flattered him with their mouth, and lied unto him with their tongue, when they lay sick, to their thinking, upon their death-bed, and promised him that if he would recover them they would repent and amend their ways. Ps. lxxviii. 34–37. But thus, as I have told you, Mr. Badman did. He made great promises that he would be a new man, that he would leave his sins and become a convert, that he would love, &c., his godly wife, &c. Yea, many fine words had Mr. Badman in his sickness, but no good actions when he was well.

CHAPTER XVI.

[HIS PIOUS WIFE DIES BROKEN-HEARTED.—HER DEATH-BED CHARGE TO HER FAMILY.]

ATTEN. And how did his good wife take it, when she saw that he had no amendment, but that he returned with the dog to his vomit, to his old courses again?

WISE. Why, it broke her heart, it was a worse disappointment to her than the cheat that he gave her in marriage. At least she laid it more to heart, and could not so well grapple with it. You must think that she had put up many a prayer to God for him before, even all the time that he had carried it so badly to her, and now, when he was so affrighted in his sickness, and so desired that he might live and mend; poor woman, she thought that the time was come for God to answer her prayers; nay, she did not let[1] with gladness, to whisper it out amongst her friends, that it was so: but when she saw herself disappointed by her husband turning rebel again, she could not stand up under it, but falls into a languishing distemper, and in a few weeks gave up the ghost.

Mr. Badman's wife's heart is broken.

ATTEN. Pray how did she die?

WISE. Die! she died bravely; full of comfort of the faith of her interest in Christ, and by him, of the world to come. She had many brave expressions in her sickness, and gave to those that came to visit her many signs of her salvation; the thoughts of the grave, but especially of her rising again, were sweet thoughts to her. She would long for death, because she knew it would be her friend. She behaved herself like to some that were making of them ready to go meet their bridegroom. Now, said she, I am going to rest from my sorrows, my sighs, my tears, my mournings, and complaints: I have heretofore longed to be among the saints, but might by no means be suffered to go, but now I am going, and no man can stop me, to the great meeting, 'to the general assembly, and church of the firstborn which are written in heaven.' He. xii. 22–24. There I shall have my heart's desire; there I shall worship without temptation or other impediment; there I shall see the face of my Jesus, whom I have loved, whom I have served, and who now I know will save my soul. I have prayed often for my husband, that he might be converted, but there has been no answer of God in that matter. Are my prayers lost? are they forgotten? are they thrown over the bar? No: they are hanged upon the horns of the golden altar, and I must have the benefit of them myself, that moment that I shall enter into the gates, in at which the righteous nation that keepeth truth shall enter: I say, I shall have the benefit of them. I can say as holy David; I say, I can say of my husband, as he could of his enemies: 'As for me, when they were sick, my clothing *was* sackcloth; I humbled my soul with fasting, and my prayer returned into mine own bosom.' Ps. xxxv. 13. My prayers are not lost, my tears are yet in God's bottle; I would have had a crown, and glory for my husband, and for those of my children that follow his steps; but so far as I can see yet, I must rest in the hope of having all myself.

Her Christian speech.

Her talk to her friends.

ATTEN. Did she talk thus openly?

WISE. No: this she spake but to one or two of her most intimate acquaintance, who were permitted to come and see her, when she lay languishing upon her death-bed.

ATTEN. Well, but pray go on in your relation, this is good; I am glad to hear it, this is as a cordial to my heart while we sit thus talking under this tree.

WISE. When she drew near her end, she called for her husband, and when he was come to her she told him that now he and she must part, and, said she, God knows, and thou shalt know, that I have been a loving, faithful wife unto thee; my prayers have been many for thee; and as for all the abuses that I have received at thy hand, those I freely and heartily forgive, and still shall pray for thy conversion, even as long as I breathe in this world. But husband, I am going thither, where no bad man shall come, and if thou dost not convert, thou wilt never see me more with comfort; let not my plain words offend thee; I am thy dying wife, and of my faithfulness to thee, would leave this exhortation with thee; break off thy sins, fly to God for mercy while mercy's gate stands open; remember that the day is coming, when thou, though now lusty and well, must lie at the gates of death as I do; and what

Her talk to her husband.

[1] To let, prevent, or hinder. See Isa. xliii. 13.—(ED.)

wilt thou then do, if thou shalt be found with a naked soul, to meet with the cherubims with their flaming swords? Yea, what wilt thou then do, if death and hell shall come to visit thee, and thou in thy sins, and under the curse of the law?

ATTEN. This was honest and plain; but what said Mr. Badman to her?

WISE. He did what he could to divert her talk, by throwing in other things; he also showed some kind of pity to her now, and would ask her what she would have? and with various kind of words put her out of her talk; for when she saw that she was not regarded, she fetched a deep sigh, and lay still. So he went down, and then she called for her children, and began to talk to them. And first she spake to those that were rude, and told them the danger of dying before they had grace in their hearts. She told them also that death might be nearer them than they were aware of; and bid them look when they went through the churchyard again, if there were not little graves there. And, ah children, said she, will it not be dreadful to you if we only shall meet at the day of judgment, and then part again, and never see each other more? And with that she wept, the children also wept: so she held on her discourse. Children, said she, I am going from you; I am going to Jesus Christ, and with him there is neither sorrow, nor sighing, nor pain, nor tears, nor death. Re. vii. 16; xxi. 3, 4. Thither would I have you go also, but I can neither carry you nor fetch you thither; but if you shall turn from your sins to God, and shall beg mercy at his hands by Jesus Christ, you shall follow me, and shall, when you die, come to the place where I am going, that blessed place of rest; and then we shall be for ever together, beholding the face of our Redeemer, to our mutual and eternal joy. So she bid them remember the words of a dying mother when she was cold in her grave, and themselves were hot in their sins, if perhaps her words might put check to their vice, and that they might remember and turn to God.

He diverts her discourse.

Her speech to her children that were rude.

Then they all went down but her darling, to wit, the child that she had most love for, because it followed her ways. So she addressed herself to that. Come to me, said she, my sweet child, thou art the child of my joy; I have lived to see thee a servant of God; thou shalt have eternal life. I, my sweet heart,[1] shall go before, and thou shalt follow after, if thou shalt 'hold the beginning of thy confidence stedfast unto the end.' He. iii. 14. When I am gone, do thou still remember my words. Love thy Bible, follow my ministers, deny ungodliness still, and if troublesome times shall come, set a higher price upon Christ, his word, and ways, and the testimony of a good conscience, than upon all the world besides.[2] Carry it kindly and dutifully to thy father, but choose none of his ways. If thou mayest go to service, choose that rather than to stay at home; but then be sure to choose a service where thou mayest be helped forwards in the way to heaven; and that thou mayest have such a service, speak to my minister, he will help thee, if possible, to such a one.

Her speech to her darling.

I would have thee also, my dear child, to love thy brothers and sisters, but learn none of their naughty tricks. 'Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove *them*.' Ep. v. 11. Thou hast grace, they have none; do thou therefore beautify the way of salvation before their eyes, by a godly life and conformable conversation to the revealed will of God, that thy brothers and sisters may see and be the more pleased with the good ways of the Lord. If thou shalt live to marry, take heed of being served as I was; that is, of being beguiled with fair words and the flatteries of a lying tongue. But first be sure of godliness, yea, as sure as it is possible for one to be in this world. Trust not thine own eyes, nor thine own judgment, I mean as to that person's godliness that thou art invited to marry. Ask counsel of good men, and do nothing therein, if he lives, without my minister's advice. I have also myself desired him to look after thee. Thus she talked to her children, and gave them counsel; and after she had talked to this a little longer, she kissed it, and bid it go down.

Well, in short, her time drew on, and the day that she must die. So she died, with a soul full of grace, a heart full of comfort, and by her death ended a life full of trouble. Her husband made a funeral for her, perhaps because he was glad he was rid of her, but we will leave that to be manifest at judgment.

Her death.

ATTEN. This woman died well. And now we are talking of the dying of Christians, I will tell you a story of one that died some time since in our town. The man was a godly old Puritan, for so the godly were called in time past. This man, after a long and godly life, fell sick, of the sickness whereof he died. And as he lay drawing on, the woman that looked to him thought she heard music, and that the sweetest that ever she heard

[1] Terms of endearment: thus Shakspeare, in Henry IV., p. 2, represents the hostess calling her maid, Doll Tear-sheet, sweet-heart. It is now more restricted to lovers while courting.—(ED.)

[2] Uncertain was the liberty occasionally enjoyed by our pilgrim forefathers, who were always expecting 'troublesome times.' We ought to be more thankful for the mercies we enjoy; and to pray that the state may soon equally recognize and cherish every good subject, without reference to sect, or authorizing persecution.—(ED.)

in her life, which also continued until he gave up the ghost. Now when his soul departed from him the music seemed to withdraw, and to go further and further off from the house, and so it went until the sound was quite gone out of hearing.

WISE. What do you think that might be?

ATTEN. For ought I know the melodious notes of angels, that were sent of God to fetch him to heaven.

WISE. I cannot say but that God goes out of his ordinary road with us poor mortals sometimes. I cannot say this of this woman, but yet she had better music in her heart than sounded in this woman's ears.

ATTEN. I believe so; but pray tell me, did any of her other children hearken to her words, so as to be bettered in their souls thereby?

One of her children converted by her dying words.

WISE. One of them did, and became a very hopeful young man. But for the rest I can say nothing.

ATTEN. And what did Badman do after his wife was dead?

WISE. Why, even as he did before; he scarce mourned a fortnight for her, and his mourning then was, I doubt, more in fashion than in heart.

ATTEN. Would he not sometimes talk of his wife when she was dead?

WISE. Yes, when the fit took him, and could commend her too extremely, saying she was a good, godly, virtuous woman. But this is not a thing to be wondered at. It is common with wicked men to hate God's servants while alive, and to commend them when they are dead. So served the Pharisees the prophets. Those of the prophets that were dead they commended, and those of them that were alive they condemned. Mat. xxiii.

CHAPTER XVII.

[HE IS TRICKED INTO A SECOND MARRIAGE BY A WOMAN AS BAD AS HIMSELF.]

ATTEN. But did not Mr. Badman marry again quickly?

WISE. No, not a good while after; and when he was asked the reason he would make this slighty answer, Who would keep a cow of their own that can have a quart of milk for a penny? Meaning, who would be at the charge to have a wife that can have a whore when he listeth? So villainous, so abominable did he continue after the death of his wife. Yet at last there was one was too hard for him. For getting of him to her upon a time, and making of him sufficiently drunk, she was so cunning as to get a promise of marriage of him, and so held him to it, and forced him to marry her. And she, as the saying is, was as good as he at all his vile and ranting tricks. She had her companions as well as he had his, and she would meet them too at the tavern and ale-house more commonly than he was aware of. To be plain, she was a very whore, and had as great resort came to her, where time and place was appointed, as any of them all. Ay, and he smelt it too, but could not tell how to help it. For if he began to talk, she could lay in his dish the whores that she knew he haunted, and she could fit him also with cursing and swearing, for she would give him oath for oath, and curse for curse.

Mr. Badman's base language.

He marries again, and how he got this last wife.

What she was, and how they lived.

ATTEN. What kind of oaths would she have?

WISE. Why, damn her, and sink her, and the like.

ATTEN. These are provoking things.

WISE. So they are; but God doth not altogether let such things go unpunished in this life. Something of this I have showed you already, and will here give you one or two instances more.

There lived, saith one, in the year 1551, in a city of Savoy, a man who was a monstrous curser and swearer, and though he was often admonished and blamed for it, yet would he by no means mend his manners. At length a great plague happening in the city, he withdrew himself [with his wife and a kinswoman] into a garden, where being again admonished to give over his wickedness, he hardened his heart more, swearing, blaspheming God, and giving himself to the devil. And immediately the devil snatched him up suddenly, his wife and kinswoman looking on, and carried him quite away. The magistrates, advertised hereof, went to the place and examined the women, who justified the truth of it.

Clark's *Looking-glass*, p. 135.

Also at Oster, in the duchy of Magalapole, saith Mr. Clark, a wicked woman used in her cursing to give herself body and soul to the devil, and being reproved for it, still continued the same; till, being at a wedding-feast, the devil came in person, and carried her up into the air, with most horrible outcries and roarings; and in that sort carried her round about the town, that the inhabitants were ready to die for fear. And by and by he tore her in four pieces, leaving her four quarters in four several highways; and then brought her bowels to the marriage-feast, and threw them upon the table before the mayor of the town, saying, Behold these dishes of meat belong to thee, whom the like destruction waiteth for if thou dost not amend thy wicked life.

ATTEN. Though God forbears to deal thus with all men that thus rend and tear his name, and that immediate judgments do not overtake them, yet he makes their lives by other judgments bitter to them, does he not?

WISE. Yes, yes, and for proof, I need go no farther than to this Badman and his wife; for their railing, and cursing, and swearing ended not in words. They would fight and fly at each other, and that like cats and dogs. But it must be looked upon as the hand and judgment of God upon him for his villainy; he had an honest woman before, but she would not serve his turn, and therefore God took her away, and gave him one as bad as himself. Thus that measure that he meted to his first wife, this last did mete to him again. And this is a punishment wherewith sometimes God will punish wicked men. So said Amos to Amaziah, 'Thy wife shall be a harlot in the city.' Am. vii. 17. With this last wife Mr. Badman lived a pretty while; but, as I told you before, in a most sad and hellish manner. And now he would bewail his first wife's death; not of love that he had to her godliness, for that he could never abide, but for that she used always to keep home, whereas this would go abroad; his first wife was also honest, and true to that relation, but this last was a whore of her body. The first woman loved to keep things together, but this last would whirl them about as well as he. The first would be silent when he chid, and would take it patiently when he abused her; but this would give him word for word, blow for blow, curse for curse; so that now Mr. Badman had met with his match. God had a mind to make him see the baseness of his own life in the wickedness of his wife's. But all would not do with Mr. Badman, he would be Mr. Badman still. This judgment did not work any reformation upon him, no, not to God nor man.

He is punished in his last wife for his bad carriages towards his first.

He is not at all the better.

ATTEN. I warrant you that Mr. Badman thought when his wife was dead, that next time he would match far better.

WISE. What he thought I cannot tell, but he could not hope for it in this match. For here he knew himself to be catched, he knew that he was by this woman entangled, and would therefore have gone back again, but could not. He knew her, I say, to be a whore before, and therefore could not promise himself a happy life with her. For he or she that will not be true to their own soul, will neither be true to husband nor wife. And he knew that she was not true to her own soul, and therefore could not expect she should be true to him. But Solomon says, 'A whore is a deep ditch,' and Mr. Badman found it true. For when she had caught him in her pit, she would never leave him till she had got him to promise her marriage; and when she had taken him so far, she forced him to marry indeed. And after that, they lived that life that I have told you.

ATTEN. But did not the neighbours take notice of this alteration that Mr. Badman had made?

WISE. Yes; and many of his neighbours, yea, many of those that were carnal said, It is a righteous judgment of God upon him for his abusive carriage and language to his other wife: for they were all convinced that she was a virtuous woman, and that he, vile wretch, had killed her, I will not say with, but with the want of kindness.

None did pity him for his sorrow, but looked upon it as a just reward.

CHAPTER XVIII.

[HE PARTS FROM HIS WIFE—DISEASES ATTACK HIM UNDER CAPTAIN CONSUMPTION, HE ROTS AWAY, AND DIES IN SINFUL SECURITY.]

ATTEN. And how long, I pray, did they live thus together.

WISE. Some fourteen or sixteen years, even until, though she also brought something with her, they had sinned all away, and parted as poor as howlets. And, in reason, how could it be otherwise? he would have his way, and she would have hers; he among his companions, and she among hers; he with his whores, and she with her rogues; and so they brought their [1] noble to ninepence.

Badman and this last wife part as poor as howlets.

ATTEN. Pray of what disease did Mr. Badman die, for now I perceive we are come up to his death?

WISE. I cannot so properly say that he died of one disease, for there were many that had consented, and laid their heads together to bring him to his end. He was dropsical, he was consumptive, he was surfeited, was gouty, and, as some say, he had a tang of the pox in his bowels. Yet the captain of all these men of death that came against him to take him away, was the consumption, for it was that that brought him down to the grave.[2]

Mr. Badman's sickness and diseases of which he died.

ATTEN. Although I will not say but the best men may die of a consumption, a dropsy, or a surfeit; yea, that these may meet upon a man to end him; yet I will say again, that many times these diseases come through man's inordinate use of things. Much drinking brings dropsies, consumptions, surfeits, and many other diseases; and I doubt that Mr. Badman's death did come by his abuse of himself in the use of lawful and unlawful things. I ground this my sentence upon that report of his life that you at large have given me.

WISE. I think verily that you need not call

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[1] The noble was a gold coin of Henry VIII.; value six shillings and eightpence.—(ED.)

[2] Bunyan's allegorical spirit appears in nearly all his writings. Diseases lay their heads together to bring Badman to the grave, making Consumption their captain or leader of these men of death.—(ED.)

back your sentence; for it is thought by many that by his cups and his queans[1] he brought himself to this his destruction: he was not an old man when he died, nor was he naturally very feeble, but strong and of a healthy complexion. Yet, as I said, he moultered away, and went, when he set agoing, rotten to his grave. And that which made him stink when he was dead, I mean, that made him stink in his name and fame, was, that he died with a spice of the foul disease upon him. A man whose life was full of sin, and whose death was without repentance.

ATTEN. These were blemishes sufficient to make him stink indeed.

WISE. They were so, and they did do it. No man could speak well of him when he was gone. His name rotted above ground, as his carcase rotted under. And this is according to the saying of the wise man, 'The memory of the just is blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot.' PR. x. 7.

Badman's name stinks when he is dead.

This text, in both the parts of it, was fulfilled upon him and the woman that he married first. For her name still did flourish, though she had been dead almost seventeen years; but his began to stink and rot before he had been buried seventeen days.

ATTEN. That man that dieth with a life full of sin, and with a heart void of repentance, although he should die of the most golden disease, if there were any that might be so called, I will warrant him his name shall stink, and that in heaven and earth.

WISE. You say true; and therefore doth the name of Cain, Pharaoh, Saul, Judas, and the Pharisees, though dead thousands of years ago, stink as fresh in the nostrils of the world as if they were but newly dead.

ATTEN. I do fully acquiesce with you in this. But, Sir, since you have charged him with dying impenitent, pray let me see how you will prove it; not that I altogether doubt it, because you have affirmed it, but yet I love to have proof for what men say in such weighty matters.

That Mr. Badman dies impenitent is proved.

WISE. When I said he died without repentance. I meant so far as those that knew him could judge, when they compared his life, the Word, and his death together.

ATTEN. Well said, they went the right way to find out whether he had, that is, did manifest that he had repentance or no. Now then show me how they did prove he had none.

WISE. So I will. And first, this was urged to prove it. He had not in all the time of his sickness a sight and sense of his sins, but was as secure, and as much at quiet, as if he had never sinned in all his life.

First proof that he died impenitent.

ATTEN. I must needs confess that this is a sign he had none. For how can a man repent of that of which he hath neither sight nor sense? But it is strange that he had neither sight nor sense of sin now, when he had such a sight and sense of his evil before; I mean when he was sick before.

WISE. He was, as I said, as secure now as if he had been as sinless as an angel; though all men knew what a sinner he was, for he carried his sins in his forehead. His debauched life was read and known of all men; but his repentance was read and known of no man; for, as I said, he had none. And for ought I know, the reason why he had no sense of his sins now was, because he profited not by that sense that he had of them before. He liked not to retain that knowledge of God then, that caused his sins to come to remembrance. Therefore God gave him up now to a reprobate mind, to hardness and stupidity of spirit; and so was that Scripture fulfilled upon him, 'He hath blinded their eyes.' IS. vi. 10. And that, 'Let their eyes be darkened that they may not see.' RO. xi. 10. O, for a man to live in sin, and to go out of the world without repentance for it, is the saddest judgment that can overtake a man.

ATTEN. But, Sir, although both you and I have consented that without a sight and sense of sin there can be no repentance, yet that is but our bare say so; let us therefore now see if by the Scripture we can make it good.

No sense of sin, no repentance proved.

WISE. That is easily done. The three thousand that were converted, AC. ii., repented not till they had sight and sense of their sins. Paul repented not till he had sight and sense of his sins. AC. ix. The jailer repented not till he had sight and sense of his sins; nor could they, AC. xvi. For of what should a man repent? The answer is, Of sin. What is it to repent of sin? The answer is, To be sorry for it, to turn from it. But how can a man be sorry for it, that has neither sight nor sense of it? PS. xxxviii. 18. David did not only commit sins, but abode impenitent for them, until Nathan the prophet was sent from God to give him a sight and sense of them; and then, but not till then, he indeed repented of them. 2 SA. xii. Job, in order to his repentance, cries unto God, 'Show me wherefore thou contendest with me?' JOB x. 2. And again, 'That which I see not teach thou me, I have borne chastisement, I will not offend *any more*.' JOB xxxiv. 32. That is, not in what I know, for I will repent of it; nor yet in what I know not, when thou shalt show me it. Also Ephraim's repentance was after he was turned to the sight and sense of his sins, and after he was instructed about the evil of them. JE. xxxi. 18–20.

[1] See note on p. 629.

ATTEN. These are good testimonies of this truth, and do, if matter of fact, with which Mr. Badman is charged, be true, prove indeed that he did not repent, but as he lived so he died in his sin. Job xv. 11. For without repentance a man is sure to die in his sin; for they will lie down in the dust with him, rise at the judgment with him, hang about his neck like cords and chains when he standeth at the bar of God's tribunal. Pr. v. 22. And go with him, too, when he goes away from the judgment-seat, with a 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' Mat. xxv. 41. And there shall fret and gnaw his conscience, because they will be to him a never-dying worm. Mar. ix. 44. Is. lxvi. 24.

Every sight and sense of sin cannot produce repentance.

WISE. You say well, and I will add a word or two more to what I have said. Repentance, as it is not produced without a sight and sense of sin, so every sight and sense of sin cannot produce it; I mean every sight and sense of sin cannot produce that repentance, that is repentance unto salvation; repentance never to be repented of. For it is yet fresh before us, that Mr. Badman had a sight and sense of sin, in that fit of sickness that he had before, but it died without procuring any such godly fruit; as was manifest by his so soon returning with the dog to his vomit. Many people think also that repentance stands in confession of sin only, but they are very much mistaken; for repentance, as was said before, is a being sorry for, and returning from transgression to God by Jesus Christ. Now, if this be true, that every sight and sense of sin will not produce repentance, then repentance cannot be produced there where there is no sight and sense of sin. That every sight and sense of sin will not produce repentance, to wit, the godly repentance that we are speaking of, is manifest in Cain, Pharaoh, Saul, and Judas, who all of them had sense, great sense of sin, but none of them repentance unto life.

Now I conclude that Mr. Badman did die impenitent, and so a death most miserable.

ATTEN. But pray now, before we conclude our discourse of Mr. Badman, give me another proof of his dying in his sins.

Second proof that he died impenitent

WISE. Another proof is this, he did not desire a sight and sense of sins, that he might have repentance for them. Did I say he did not desire it, I will add, he greatly desired to remain in his security, and that I shall prove by that which follows. First, he could not endure that any man now should talk to him of his sinful life, and yet that was the way to beget a sight and sense of sin, and so of repentance from it, in his soul. But I say he could not endure such discourse. Those men that did offer to talk unto him of his ill-spent life, they were as little welcome to him, in the time of his last sickness, as was Elijah when he went to meet with Ahab as he went down to take possession of Naboth's vineyard. 'Hast thou found me,' said Ahab, 'O mine enemy?' 1 Ki. xxi. 17–21. So would Mr. Badman say in his heart to and of those that thus did come to him, though indeed they came even of love to convince him of his evil life, that he might have repented thereof and have obtained mercy.

ATTEN. Did good men then go to see him in his last sickness?

WISE. Yes. Those that were his first wife's acquaintance, they went to see him, and to talk with him, and to him, if perhaps he might now, at last, bethink himself and cry to God for mercy.

ATTEN. They did well to try now at last if they could save his soul from hell. But pray how can you tell that he did not care for the company of such?

WISE. Because of the differing carriage that he had for them from what he had when his old carnal companions came to see him. When his old companions came to see him he would stir up himself as much as he could, both by words and looks, to signify they were welcome to him; he would also talk with them freely and look pleasantly upon them, though the talk of such could be none other but such as David said carnal men would offer to him when they came to visit him in his sickness. 'If he come to see me,' says he, 'he speaketh vanity, his heart gathereth iniquity to itself.' Ps. xli. 6. But these kind of talks, I say, Mr. Badman better brooked than he did the company of better men.

How Badman carried it to good men when they came to visit him in his last illness.

But I will more particularly give you a character of his carriage to good men, and good talk, when they came to see him. 1. When they were come he would seem to fail in his spirits at the sight of them. 2. He would not care to answer them to any of those questions that they would at times put to him, to feel what sense he had of sin, death, hell, and judgment. But would either say nothing or answer them by way of evasion, or else by telling of them he was so weak and spent that he could not speak much. 3. He would never show forwardness to speak to or talk with them, but was glad when they held their tongues. He would ask them no question about his state and another world, or how he should escape that damnation that he had deserved. 4. He had got a haunt[1] at last to bid his wife and keeper, when these good people attempted to come to see him, to tell them that he was asleep, or inclining to sleep, or so weak for want thereof that

[1] 'Haunt,' an Anglo-Norman word. Custom, practice; more commonly used as a verb, to haunt, or frequently visit.—(ED.)

he could not abide any noise. And so they would serve them time after time, till at last they were discouraged from coming to see him any more. 5. He was so hardened now in this time of his sickness, that he would talk, when his companions came unto him, to the disparagement of those good men, and of their good doctrine too, that of love did come to see him, and that did labour to convert him. 6. When these good men went away from him he would never say, Pray, when will you be pleased to come again, for I have a desire to more of your company and to hear more of your good instruction? No, not a word of that, but when they were going would scarce bid them drink,[1] or say, Thank you for your good company and good instruction. 7. His talk in his sickness with his companions would be of the world, as trades, houses, lands, great men, great titles, great places, outward prosperity or outward adversity, or some such carnal thing. By all which I conclude that he did not desire a sense and sight of his sin, that he might repent and be saved.

ATTEN. It must needs be so as you say, if these things be true that you have asserted of him. And I do the rather believe them, because I think you dare not tell a lie of the dead.

WISE. I was one of them that went to him and that beheld his carriage and manner of way, and this is a true relation of it that I have given you.

ATTEN. I am satisfied. But pray, if you can, show me now, by the Word, what sentence of God doth pass upon such men.

WISE. Why, the man that is thus averse to repentance, that desires not to hear of his sins that he might repent and be saved, is said to be a man that saith unto God, 'Depart from me, for I desire not the knowledge of thy ways.' Job xxi. 14. He is a man that says in his heart and with his actions, 'I have loved strangers (sins) and after them will I go.' Je. ii. 25. He is a man that shuts his eyes, stops his ears, and that turneth his spirit against God. Zec. vii. 11, 12. Ac. xxviii. 26, 27. Yea, he is the man that is at enmity with God, and that abhors him with his soul.

ATTEN. What other sign can you give me that Mr. Badman died without repentance?

Third proof that he died impenitent.

WISE. Why, he did never heartily cry to God for mercy all the time of his affliction. True, when sinking fits, stitches, or pains took hold upon him, then he would say, as other carnal men used to do, Lord, help me; Lord, strengthen me; Lord, deliver me, and the like. But to cry to God for mercy, that he did not, but lay, as I hinted before, as if he never had sinned.

ATTEN. That is another bad sign indeed, for crying to God for mercy is one of the first signs of repentance. When Paul lay repenting of his sin upon his bed, the Holy Ghost said of him, 'Behold he prayeth.' Ac. ix. 11. But he that hath not the first signs of repentance, it is a sign he hath none of the other, and so indeed none at all. I do not say but there may be crying where there may be no sign of repentance. 'They cried,' says David, 'unto the Lord, but he answered them not;' but that he would have done if their cry had been the fruit of repentance. Ps. xviii. 41. But, I say, if men may cry and yet have no repentance, be sure they have none that cry not at all. It is said in Job, 'they cry not when he bindeth them,' Job xxxvi. 13; that is, because they have no repentance; no repentance, no cries; false repentance, false cries; true repentance, true cries.

WISE. I know that it is as possible for a man to forbear crying that hath repentance, as it is for a man to forbear groaning that feeleth deadly pain. He that looketh into the book of Psalms, where repentance is most lively set forth even in its true and proper effects, shall their find that crying, strong crying, hearty crying, great crying, and incessant crying, hath been the fruits of repentance; but none of this had this Mr. Badman, therefore he died in his sins.

That crying is an inseparable effect of repentance, is seen in these scriptures—'Have mercy upon me, O God; according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions.' Ps. li. 1. 'O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak: O Lord, heal me, for my bones are vexed. My soul is also sore vexed, but thou, O Lord, how long? Return, O Lord, deliver my soul: O save me for thy mercies' sake.' Ps. vi. 1–4. 'O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath, neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure: for thine arrows stick fast in me, and thy hand presseth me sore. *There is* no soundness in my flesh because of thine anger, neither *is there any* rest in my bones, because of my sin. For mine iniquities are gone over mine head; as a heavy burden they are too heavy for me. My wounds stink *and* are corrupt, because of my foolishness. I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, I go mourning all the day long. My loins are filled with a loathsome *disease*, and *there is* no soundness in my flesh. I am feeble and sore broken; I have roared by reason of the disquietness of my heart.' Ps. xxxviii. 1–8.

I might give you a great number more of the holy sayings of good men whereby they express how they were, what they felt, and whether they cried or no when repentance was wrought in them. Alas, alas, it is as possible for a man, when the

[1] An old tippling custom, more honoured in the breach than in the observance.—(ED.)

pangs of guilt are upon him, to forbear praying, as it is for a woman, when pangs of travail are upon her, to forbear crying. If all the world should tell me that such a man hath repentance, yet if he is not a praying man I should not be persuaded to believe it.

ATTEN. I know no reason why you should, for there is nothing can demonstrate that such a man hath it. But pray, Sir, what other sign have you by which you can prove that Mr. Badman died in his sins, and so in a state of damnation?

Fourth proof that he died impenitent.

WISE. I have this to prove it. Those who were his old and sinful companions in the time of his health, were those whose company and carnal talk he most delighted in in the time of his sickness. I did occasionally hint this before, but now I make it an argument of his want of grace, for where there is indeed a work of grace in the heart, that work doth not only change the heart, thoughts, and desires, but the conversation also; yea, conversation and company too. When Paul had a work of grace in his soul he essayed to join himself to the disciples. He was for his old companions in their abominations no longer. He was now a disciple, and was for the company of disciples. 'And he was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem.' Ac. ix. 27, 28.

ATTEN. I thought something when I heard you make mention of it before. Thought I, this is a shrewd sign that he had not grace in his heart. Birds of a feather, thought I, will flock together. If this man was one of God's children he would herd with God's children, his delight would be with and in the company of God's children. As David said, 'I *am* a companion of all *them* that fear thee, and of them that keep thy precepts.' Ps. cxix. 63.

WISE. You say well, for what fellowship hath he that believeth with an infidel? And although it be true that all that join to the godly are not godly, yet they that shall inwardly choose the company of the ungodly and open profane, rather than the company of the godly, as Mr. Badman did, surely are not godly men, but profane. He was, as I told you, out of his element when good men did come to visit him; but then he was where he would be, when he had his vain companions about him. Alas! grace, as I said, altereth all, heart, life, company, and all; for by it the heart and man is made new. And a new heart and a new man must have objects of delight that are new, and like himself; 'Old things are passed away;' why? For 'all things are become new.' 2 Co. v. 27. Now, if all things are become new, to wit, heart, mind, thoughts, desires, and delights, it followeth by consequence that the company must be answerable; hence it is said, that they 'that believed were together;' that 'they went to their own company;' that they were 'added to the church;' that they '*were* of one heart and of one soul;' and the like. Ac. ii. 44–47; iv. 23, 32. Now if it be objected that Mr. Badman was sick, and so could not go to the godly, yet he had a tongue in his head, and could, had he had a heart, have spoken to some to call or send for the godly to come to him. Yea, he would have done so; yea, the company of all others, especially his fellow-sinners, would, even in every appearance of them before him, have been a burden and a grief unto him. His heart and affection standing bent to good, good companions would have suited him best. But his companions were his old associates, his delight was in them, therefore his heart and soul were yet ungodly.

ATTEN. Pray, how was he when he drew near his end; for, I perceive, that what you say of him now hath reference to him and to his actions at the beginning of his sickness? Then he could endure company and much talk; besides, perhaps then he thought he should recover and not die, as afterwards he had cause to think, when he was quite wasted with pining sickness, when he was at the grave's mouth. But how was he, I say, when he was, as we say, at the grave's mouth, within a step of death, when he saw and knew, and could not but know, that shortly he must die, and appear before the judgment of God?

How Mr. Badman was when near his end.

WISE. Why, there was not any other alteration in him than what was made by his disease upon his body. Sickness, you know, will alter the body, also pains and stitches will make men groan; but for his mind he had no alteration there. His mind was the same, his heart was the same. He was the self-same Mr. Badman still. Not only in name but conditions, and that to the very day of his death; yea, so far as could be gathered to the very moment in which he died.

ATTEN. Pray, how was he in his death? Was death strong upon him? or did he die with ease, quietly?

He died like a lamb.

WISE. As quietly as a lamb. There seemed not to be in it, to standers by, so much as a strong struggle of nature. And as for his mind, it seemed to be wholly at quiet. But, pray, why do you ask me this question?

The opinion of the ignorant about his manner of dying.

ATTEN. Not for mine own sake, but for others. For there is such an opinion as this among the ignorant, that if a man dies, as they call it, like a lamb, that is, quietly, and without that consternation of mind that others show in their death, they conclude, and that beyond all doubt, that such a one is gone to heaven, and is certainly escaped the wrath to come.

CHAPTER XIX.

[FUTURE HAPPINESS NOT TO BE HOPED FROM A QUIET HARDENED DEATH.]

WISE. There is no judgment to be made by a quiet death, of the eternal state of him that so dieth. Suppose that one man should die quietly, another should die suddenly, and a third should die under great consternation of spirit, no man can judge of their eternal condition by the manner of any of these kinds of deaths. He that dies quietly, suddenly, or under consternation of spirit, may go to heaven, or may go to hell; no man can tell whether a man goes, by any such manner of death. The judgment, therefore, that we make of the eternal condition of a man must be gathered from another consideration, to wit, Did the man die in his sins? did he die in unbelief? did he die before he was born again? then he has gone to the devil and hell, though he died never so quietly. Again, Was the man a good man? had he faith and holiness? was he a lover and a worshipper of God by Christ, according to his Word? Then he is gone to God and heaven, how suddenly, or in what consternation of mind soever he died. But Mr. Badman was naught, his life was evil, his ways were evil, evil to his end. He therefore went to hell and to the devil, how quietly soever he died.

How we must judge whether men die well or no.

Indeed there is, in some cases, a judgment to be made of a man's eternal condition by the manner of the death he dieth. As, suppose now a man should murder himself, or live a wicked life, and after that die in utter despair; these men, without doubt, do both of them go to hell. And here I will take an occasion to speak of two of Mr. Badman's brethren, for you know I told you before that he had brethren, and of the manner of their death. One of them killed himself, and the other, after a wicked life, died in utter despair. Now, I should not be afraid to conclude of both these, that they went by and through their death to hell.

When we may judge of a man's eternal state by the manner of his death.

ATTEN. Pray tell me concerning the first, how he made away with himself?

WISE. Why, he took a knife and cut his own throat, and immediately gave up the ghost and died. Now, what can we judge of such a man's condition, since the Scripture saith, 'No murderer hath eternal life,' &c., but that it must be concluded that such a one is gone to hell. He was a murderer, a self-murderer; and he is the worst murderer, one that slays his own body and soul.[1] Nor do we find mention made of any but cursed ones that do such kind of deeds. I say, no mention made in Holy Writ of any others, but such that murder themselves.

And this is a sore judgment of God upon men, when God shall, for the sins of such, give them up to be their own executioners, or rather to execute his judgment and anger upon themselves. And let me earnestly give this caution to sinners. Take héed, Sirs, break off your sins, lest God serves you as he served Mr. Badman's brother; that is, lest he gives you up to be your own murderers.

ATTEN. Now you talk of this; I did once know a man, a barber, that took his own razor and cut his own throat, and then put his head out of his chamber window, to show the neighbours what he had done, and after a little while died.

WISE. I can tell you a more dreadful thing than this; I mean as to the manner of doing the fact. There was, about twelve years since, a man that lived at Brafield, by Northampton, named John Cox, that murdered himself; the manner of his doing of it was thus. He was a poor man, and had for some time been sick, and the time of his sickness was about the beginning of hay-time, and taking too many thoughts how he should live afterwards, if he lost his present season of work, he fell into deep despair about the world, and cried out to his wife the morning before he killed himself, saying, We are undone. But quickly after, he desired his wife to depart the room, because, said he, I will see if I can get any rest; so she went out; but he, instead of sleeping, quickly took his razor, and therewith cut up a great hole in his side, out of which he pulled and cut off some of his guts, and threw them, with the blood, up and down the chamber. But this not speeding of him so soon as he desired, he took the same razor and therewith cut his own throat. His wife, then hearing of him sigh and fetch his wind short, came again into the room to him, and seeing what he had done, she ran out and called in some neighbours, who came to him where he lay in a bloody manner, frightful to behold. Then said one of them to him, Ah! John, what have you done? Are you not sorry for what you have done? He answered roughly, It is too late to be sorry. Then, said the same person to him again, Ah! John, pray to God to forgive thee this bloody act of thine. At the hearing of which exhortation he seemed much offended, and in an angry manner said, Pray! and with that flung himself away to the wall, and so, after a few gasps, died desperately. When he had turned him of his back to the wall, the blood ran out of his belly as out of a bowl, and soaked quite through the bed to the boards, and through the chinks of the boards it ran pouring

The story of John Cox.

[1] The dialogues between Hopeful and Christian in Doubting Castle admirably prove the wickedness of suicide. The unlettered tinker triumphs over all the subtleties of the Dean of St. Paul's. See *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 140, and notes, compared with the introduction, p. 74.—(ED.)

down to the ground. Some said that when the neighbours came to see him, he lay groping with his hand in his bowels, reaching upward, as was thought, that he might have pulled or cut out his heart. It was said, also, that some of his liver had been by him torn out and cast upon the boards, and that many of his guts hung out of the bed on the side thereof; but I cannot confirm all particulars; but the general of the story, with these circumstances above mentioned, is true. I had it from a sober and credible person, who himself was one that saw him in this bloody state, and that talked with him, as was hinted before.

Many other such dreadful things might be told you, but these are enough, and too many too, if God, in his wisdom, had thought necessary to prevent them.

ATTEN. This is a dreadful story. And I would to God that it might be a warning to others, to instruct them to fear before God, and pray, lest he gives them up to do as John Cox hath done. For surely self-murderers cannot go to heaven: and, therefore, as you have said, he that dieth by his own hands, is certainly gone to hell. But speak a word or two of the other man you mentioned.

WISE. What? of a wicked man dying in despair?

ATTEN. Yes, of a wicked man dying in despair.

WISE. Well then. This Mr. Badman's other brother was a very wicked man, both in heart and life; I say in heart, because he was so in life, nor could anything reclaim him; neither good men, good books, good examples, nor God's judgments. Well, after he had lived a great while in his sins, God smote him with a sickness, of which he died. Now in his sickness his conscience began to be awakened, and he began to roar out of his ill-spent life, insomuch that the town began to ring of him. Now, when it was noised about, many of the neighbours came to see him, and to read by him, as is the common way with some; but all that they could do, could not abate his terror, but he would lie in his bed gnashing of his teeth, and wringing of his wrists, concluding upon the damnation of his soul, and in that horror and despair he died; not calling upon God, but distrusting in his mercy, and blaspheming of his name.

Of dying in despair.

ATTEN. This brings to my mind a man that a friend of mine told me of. He had been a wicked liver; so when he came to die, he fell into despair; and having concluded that God had no mercy for him, he addressed himself to the devil for favour, saying, Good devil, be good unto me

WISE. This is almost like Saul, who being forsaken of God, went to the witch of Endor, and so to the devil for help. 1 Sa. xxviii. But, alas, should I set myself to collect these dreadful stories, it would be easy in little time to present you with hundreds of them. But I will conclude as I began; they that are their own murderers, or that die in despair, after they have lived a life of wickedness, do surely go to hell. And here I would put in a caution. Every one that dieth under consternation of spirit; that is, under amazement and great fear, do not therefore die in despair. For a good man may have this for his bands in his death, and yet go to heaven and glory. Ps. lxxiii. 4. For, as I said before, he that is a good man, a man that hath faith and holiness, a lover and worshipper of God by Christ, according to his Word, may die in consternation of spirit; for Satan will not be wanting to assault good men upon their deathbed, but they are secured by the Word and power of God; yea, and are also helped, though with much agony of spirit, to exercise themselves in faith and prayer, the which he that dieth in despair can by no means do. But let us return to Mr. Badman, and enter further discourse of the manner of his death.

ATTEN. I think you and I are both of a mind; for just now I was thinking to call you back to him also. And pray now, since it is your own motion to return again to him, let us discourse a little more of his quiet and still death.

Further discourse of Mr. Badman's death.

WISE. With all my heart. You know we were speaking before of the manner of Mr. Badman's death; how that he died still and quietly; upon which you made observation that the common people conclude, that if a man dies quietly, and as they call it, like a lamb, he is certainly gone to heaven; when, alas, if a wicked man dies quietly, if a man that has all his days lived in notorious sin, dieth quietly; his quiet dying is so far off from being a sign of his being saved, that it is an uncontrollable proof of his damnation. This was Mr. Badman's case, he lived wickedly even to the last, and then went quietly out of the world; therefore Mr. Badman is gone to hell.

ATTEN. Well, but since you are upon it, and also so confident in it, to wit, that a man that lives a wicked life till he dies, and then dies quietly, is gone to hell; let me see what show of proof you have for this your opinion.

WISE. My first argument is drawn from the necessity of repentance. No man can be saved except he repents, nor can he repent that sees not, that knows not that he is a sinner; and he that knows himself to be a sinner will, I will warrant him, be molested for the time by that knowledge. This, as it is testified by all the Scriptures, so it is testified by Christian experience. He that knows himself to be a sinner is molested, especially if that knowledge comes not to him until

He that after a sinful life dies quietly, that is, without repentance, goes to hell. First proof.

he is cast upon his deathbed; molested, I say, before he can die quietly. Yea, he is molested, dejected, and cast down, he is also made to cry out, to hunger and thirst after mercy by Christ, and if at all he shall indeed come to die quietly, I mean with that quietness that is begotten by faith and hope in God's mercy, to the which Mr. Badman and his brethren were utter strangers, his quietness is distinguished by all judicious observers by what went before it, by what it flows from, and also by what is the fruit thereof.

Sick-bed repentance seldom good for anything.

I must confess I am no admirer of sick-bed repentance, for I think verily it is seldom good for any thing. But I say, he that hath lived in sin and profaneness all his days, as Mr. Badman did, and yet shall die quietly, that is, without repentance steps in betwixt his life and death, he is assuredly gone to hell, and is damned.

Atten. This does look like an argument indeed; for repentance must come, or else we must go to hell-fire; and if a lewd liver shall, I mean that so continues till the day of his death, yet go out of the world quietly, it is a sign that he died without repentance, and so a sign that he is damned.

Wise. I am satisfied in it, for my part, and that from the necessity and nature of repentance. It is necessary, because God calls for it, and will not pardon sin without it. 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish?' Lu. xiii. 1–7. This is that which God hath said, and he will prove but a fool-hardy man that shall yet think to go to heaven and glory without it. Repent, for 'the axe is laid unto the root of the trees, therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit,' but no good fruit can be where there is not sound repentance, shall be 'hewn down, and cast into the fire.' Mat. iii. 10. This was Mr. Badman's case, he had attending of him a sinful life, and that to the very last, and yet died quietly, that is, without repentance; he is gone to hell and is damned. For the nature of repentance, I have touched upon that already, and showed that it never was where a quiet death is the immediate companion of a sinful life; and therefore Mr. Badman is gone to hell.

Second proof.

Secondly. My second argument is drawn from that blessed word of Christ, While the strong man armed keeps the house, 'his goods are in peace,' till a stronger than he comes. Lu. xi. 21. But the strong man armed kept Mr. Badman's house, that is, his heart, and soul, and body, for he went from a sinful life quietly out of this world. The stronger did not disturb by intercepting with sound repentance betwixt his sinful life and his quiet death. Therefore Mr. Badman is gone to hell.

The strong man armed is the devil, and quietness is his security. The devil never fears losing of the sinner, if he can but keep him quiet. Can he but keep him quiet in a sinful life, and quiet in his death, he is his own. Therefore he saith, 'his goods are in peace;' that is, out of danger. There is no fear of the devil's losing such a soul, I say, because Christ, who is the best judge in this matter, saith, 'his goods are in peace,' in quiet, and out of danger.

Peace in a sinful state is a sign of damnation.

Atten. This is a good one too; for, doubtless, peace and quiet with sin is one of the greatest signs of a damnable state.

Wise. So it is. Therefore, when God would show the greatness of his anger against sin and sinners in one word, he saith, They are 'joined to idols; let them alone.' Ho. iv. 17. Let them alone, that is, disturb them not; let them go on without control; let the devil enjoy them peaceably, let him carry them out of the world unconverted quietly. This is one of the sorest of judgments, and bespeaketh the burning anger of God against sinful men. See also when you come home, the fourteenth verse of the fourth chapter of Hosea, 'I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom.' I will let them alone, they shall live and die in their sins. But,

Third proof.

Thirdly. My third argument is drawn from that saying of Christ, 'He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with *their* heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.' Jn. xii. 40. There are three things that I will take notice of from these words.

First proof.

1. The first is, that there can be no conversion to God where the eye is darkened, and the heart hardened. The eye must first be made to see, and the heart to break and relent under and for sin, or else there can be no conversion. 'He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart, lest they should see, and understand and' so 'be converted.' And this was clearly Mr. Badman's case; he lived a wicked life, and also died with his eyes shut, and heart hardened, as is manifest, in that a sinful life was joined with a quiet death; and all for that he should not be converted, but partake of the fruit of his sinful life in hell-fire.

Second proof.

2. The second thing that I take notice of from these words is, that this is a dispensation and manifestation of God's anger against a man for his sin. When God is angry with men, I mean, when he is so angry with them, this among many is one of the judgments that he giveth them up unto, to wit, to blindness of mind, and hardness of heart, which he also suffereth to accompany them till they enter in at the gates of death. And then, and there, and not short of

then and there, their eyes come to be opened.[1] Hence it is said of the rich man mentioned in Luke, 'He died, and in hell he lifted up his eyes.' Lu. xvi. 22. Implying that he did not lift them up before; he neither saw what he had done, nor whither he was going, till he came to the place of execution, even into hell. He died asleep in his soul; he died besotted, stupified, and so consequently for quietness like a child or lamb, even as Mr. Badman did. This was a sign of God's anger; he had a mind to damn him for his sins, and therefore would not let him see nor have a heart to repent for them, lest he should convert; and his damnation, which God had appointed, should be frustrate. 'Lest they should be converted, and I should heal them.'

3. The third thing I take notice of from hence is, that a sinful life and a quiet death annexed to it is the ready, the open, the beaten, the common highway to hell: there is no surer sign of damnation than for a man to die quietly after a sinful life. I do not say that all wicked men that are molested at their death with a sense of sin and fears of hell do therefore go to heaven, for some are also made to see, and are left to despair, not converted by seeing, that they might go roaring out of this world to their place. But I say there is no surer sign of a man's damnation than to die quietly after a sinful life; than to sin and die with his eyes shut; than to sin and die with an heart that cannot repent. 'He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, that they should not see with *their* eyes, nor understand with *their* heart.' Jn. xii. 40. No not so long as they are in this world, 'Lest they should see with *their* eyes, and understand with *their* heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.' Ac. xxviii. 26, 27. Ro. ii. 1–5. Third proof.

God has a judgment for wicked men; God will be even with wicked men. God knows how to reserve the ungodly to the day of judgment to be punished. 2 Pe. ii. And this is one of his ways by which he doth it. Thus it was with Mr. Badman.

4. Fourthly, it is said in the book of Psalms, concerning the wicked, '*There are* no bands in their death, but their strength *is* firm.' Ps. lxxiii. 4–6. By no bands he means no troubles, no gracious chastisements, no such corrections for sin as fall to be the lot of God's people for theirs; yea, that many times falls to be theirs at the time of their death. Therefore he adds concerning the wicked, 'They *are* not in trouble (then) as *other* men, neither are they plagued like *other* men;' but go as securely out of the world as if they had never sinned against God, and put their own souls into danger of damnation. 'There is no bands in their death.' They seem to go unbound, and set at liberty out of this world, though they have lived notoriously wicked all their days in it. The prisoner that is to die at the gallows for his wickedness, must first have his irons knocked off his legs; so he seems to go most at liberty, when indeed he is going to be executed for his transgressions. Wicked men also have no bands in their death, they seem to be more at liberty when they are even at the wind-up of their sinful life, than at any time besides. Fourth proof.

Hence you shall have them boast of their faith and hope in God's mercy when they lie upon their death-bed; yea, you shall have them speak as confidently of their salvation as if they had served God all their days; when the truth is, the bottom of this their boasting is because they have no bands in their death. Their sin and base life comes not into their mind to correct them, and bring them to repentance; but presumptuous thoughts, and a hope and faith of the spider's, the devil's, making, possesseth their soul, to their own eternal undoing. Job viii. 13, 14.

CHAPTER XX.

[WITHOUT GODLY REPENTANCE, THE WICKED MAN'S HOPE AND LIFE DIE TOGETHER.]

Hence wicked men's hope is said to die, not before, but with them; they give up the ghost together. And thus did Mr. Badman. His sins and his hope went with him to the gate, but there his hope left him, because he died there; but his sins went in with him, to be a worm to gnaw him in conscience for ever and ever.

The opinion, therefore, of the common people concerning this kind of dying is frivolous and vain; for Mr. Badman died like a lamb, or, as they call it, like a chrisom-child,[2] quietly and without fear. I speak not this with reference to the struggling of nature with death, but as to the struggling of the conscience with the judgment of God. I know that nature will struggle with death. I have seen a dog and sheep die hardly. And thus may a wicked man do, because there is an antipathy betwixt nature and death. But even while, even then, when death and nature are struggling for mastery, the soul, the conscience, may be A frivolous opinion.

[1] This is the most awful of all delusions. It is exemplified in the character of Ignorance, in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, who was ferried over death by Vain Confidence, but found 'that there was a way to hell, even from the gates of heaven.' Vol. iii., p. 166.—(Ed.)

[2] Chrism is a consecrated unguent, or oil, used in the baptism of infants in the Romish Church. It is prepared with great ceremony on Holy Thursday. A linen cloth anointed with this oil, called a chrisom cloth, is laid upon the baby's face. If it dies within a month after these ceremonies, it was called a chrisom child. These incantations and charms are supposed to have power to save its soul, and ease the pains of death. Bishop Jeremy Taylor mentions the phantasms that make a chrisom child to smile at death. *Holy Dying*, chap. i., sect. 2.—(Ed.)

as besotted, as benumbed, as senseless and ignorant of its miserable state, as the block or bed on which the sick lies. And thus they may die like a chrisom-child in show, but indeed like one who by the judgment of God is bound over to eternal damnation; and that also by the same judgment is kept from seeing what they are, and whither they are going, till they plunge down among the flames.

When a wicked man dies in his sins quietly, it is a judgment of God upon his wicked beholder.

And as it is a very great judgment of God on wicked men that so die, for it cuts them off from all possibility of repentance, and so of salvation, so it is as great a judgment upon those that are their companions that survive them, for by the manner of their death, they dying so quietly, so like unto chrisom-children, as they call it, they are hardened, and take courage to go on in their course.

For comparing their life with their death, their sinful, cursed lives, with their childlike, lamblike death, they think that all is well, that no damnation is happened to them; though they lived like devils incarnate, yet they died like harmless ones. There was no whirlwind, no tempest, no band or plague in their death. They died as quietly as the most godly of them all, and had as great faith and hope of salvation, and would talk as boldly of salvation as if they had assurance of it. But as was their hope in life, so was their death; their hope was without trial, because it was none of God's working, and their death was without molestation, because so was the judgment of God concerning them.

But I say, at this their survivors take heart to tread their steps, and to continue to live in the breach of the law of God; yea, they carry it stately in their villainies; for so it follows in the Psalm; '*There are* no bands in their death, but their strength *is* firm,' &c. 'Therefore pride compasseth them,' the survivors, 'about as a chain, violence covereth them *as* a garment.' Ps. lxxiii. 6. Therefore they take courage to do evil, therefore they pride themselves in their iniquity. Therefore, wherefore? Why, because their fellows died, after they had lived long in a most profane and wicked life, as quietly and as like to lambs as if they had been innocent.

Yea, they are bold, by seeing this, to conclude that God either does not, or will not, take notice of their sins. They 'speak wickedly, and speak loftily.' Ps. lxxiii. 8. They speak wickedly of sin, for that they make it better than by the Word it is pronounced to be. They speak wickedly concerning oppression that they commend, and count it a prudent act. They also speak loftily. 'They set their mouth against the heavens,' &c. 'And they say, How doth God know? and is there knowledge in the Most High?' Ps. lxxiii. 11. And all this, so far as I can see, ariseth in their hearts from the beholding of the quiet and lamb-like death of their companions. 'Behold these *are* the ungodly who prosper in the world,' that is, by wicked ways; 'they increase *in* riches.' Ps. lxxiii. 12.

This therefore is a great judgment of God, both upon that man that dieth in his sins, and also upon his companion that beholdeth him so to die. He sinneth, he dieth in his sins, and yet dieth quietly. What shall his companion say to this? What judgment shall he make how God will deal with him, by beholding the lamb-like death of his companion? Be sure he cannot, as from such a sight, say, Woe be to me, for judgment is before him. He cannot gather that sin is a dreadful and a bitter thing, by the child-like death of Mr. Badman. But must rather, if he judgeth according to what he sees, or according to his corrupted reason, conclude with the wicked ones of old, that 'every one that doth evil *is* good in the sight of the Lord, and he delighteth in them; or, Where *is* the God of judgment?' Mal. ii. 17.

Yea, this is enough to puzzle the wisest man. David himself was put to a stand by beholding the quiet death of ungodly men. 'Verily,' says he, 'I have cleansed my heart *in* vain, and washed my hands in innocency.' Ps. lxxiii. 13. They, to appearance, fare better by far than I: 'Their eyes stand out with fatness,' they have more than heart could wish. But all the day long have I been plagued, and chastened every morning.' This, I say, made David wonder, yea, and Job and Jeremiah too. But he goeth into the sanctuary, and then he understands their end, nor could he understand it before. 'I went into the sanctuary of God.' What place was that? Why there where he might inquire of God, and by him he resolved of this matter; '*Then*,' says he, 'understood I their end.' Then I saw that thou hast 'set them in slippery places,' and that 'thou castedst them down to destruction.' Castedst them down, that is, suddenly, or, as the next words say, 'As in a moment they are utterly consumed with terrors;' which terrors did not seize[1] them on their sick-bed, for they had '*no bands*' in their death. The terrors, therefore, seized[1] them there, where also they are holden in them for ever. This he found out, I say, but not without great painfulness, grief, and pricking in his reins; so deep, so hard, and so difficult did he find it rightly to come to a determination in this matter.

And, indeed, this is a deep judgment of God towards ungodly sinners; it is enough to stagger a whole world, only the godly that are in the world have a sanctuary to go to, where the oracle and Word of God is, by which his judgments, and a

[1] These two words are 'cease' and 'ceased' in the first edition; they were corrected to 'seize' and 'seized' in Bunyan's second edition.—(Ed.)

reason of many of them are made known to, and understood by them.

ATTEN. Indeed this is a staggering dispensation. It is full of the wisdom and anger of God. And I believe, as you have said, that it is full of judgment to the world. Who would have imagined, that had not known Mr. Badman, and yet had seen him die, but that he had been a man of an holy life and conversation, since he died so stilly, so quietly, so like a lamb or a chrisom-child? Would they not, I say, have concluded that he was a righteous man? or that if they had known him and his life, yet to see him die so quietly, would they not have concluded that he had made his peace with God? Nay farther, if some had known that he had died in his sins, and yet that he had died so like a lamb, would they not have concluded that either God doth not know our sins, or that he likes them; or that he wants power, or will, or heart, or skill, to punish them; since Mr. Badman himself went from a sinful life so quietly, so peaceable, and so like a lamb as he did?

WISE. Without controversy, this is a heavy judgment of God upon wicked men; one goes to hell in peace, another goes to hell in trouble; one goes to hell, being sent thither by his own hands; another goes to hell, being sent thither by the hand of his companion; one goes thither with his eyes shut, and another goes thither with his eyes open; one goes thither roaring, and another goes thither boasting of heaven and happiness all the way he goes. Job xxi. 23. One goes thither like Mr. Badman himself, and others go thither as did his brethren. But above all, Mr. Badman's death, as to the manner of dying, is the fullest of snares and traps to wicked men; therefore, they that die as he are the greatest stumble to the world. They go, and go, they go on peaceably from youth to old age, and thence to the grave, and so to hell, without noise. 'They go as an ox goeth to the slaughter, *or* as a fool to the correction of the stocks;' that is, both senselessly and securely. O! but being come at the gates of hell. O! but when they see those gates set open for them. O! but when they see that that is their home, and that they must go in thither, then their peace and quietness flies away for ever. Then they roar like lions, yell like dragons, howl like dogs, and tremble at their judgment, as do the devils themselves. O! when they see they must shoot the gulf and throat of hell! when they shall see that hell hath shut her ghastly jaws upon them, when they shall open their eyes and find themselves within the belly and bowels of hell! Then they will mourn, and weep, and hack, and gnash their teeth for pain. But this must not be, or if it must, yet very rarely, till they are gone out of the sight and hearing of those mortals whom they do leave behind them alive in the world.

ATTEN. Well, my good neighbour Wiseman, I perceive that the sun grows low, and that you have come to a conclusion with Mr. Badman's life and death; and, therefore, I will take my leave of you. Only first, let me tell you, I am glad that I have met with you to-day, and that our hap was to fall in with Mr. Badman's state. I also thank you for your freedom with me, in granting of me your reply to all my questions. I would only beg your prayers that God will give me much grace, that I may neither live nor die as did Mr. Badman.

WISE. My good neighbour Attentive, I wish your welfare in soul and body; and if aught that I have said of Mr. Badman's life and death may be of benefit unto you, I shall be heartily glad; only I desire you to thank God for it, and to pray heartily for me, that I with you may be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.

ATTEN. Amen. Farewell.

WISE. I wish you heartily farewell.

A FEW SIGHS FROM HELL;

OR,

THE GROANS OF A DAMNED SOUL:

OR, AN EXPOSITION OF THOSE WORDS IN THE SIXTEENTH OF LUKE, CONCERNING

THE RICH MAN AND THE BEGGAR.

WHEREIN IS DISCOVERED THE LAMENTABLE STATE OF THE DAMNED; THEIR CRIES, THEIR DESIRES IN THEIR DISTRESSES, WITH THE DETERMINATION OF GOD UPON THEM. A GOOD WARNING WORD TO SINNERS, BOTH OLD AND YOUNG, TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION BETIMES, AND TO SEEK, BY FAITH IN JESUS CHRIST, TO AVOID, LEST THEY COME INTO THE SAME PLACE OF TORMENT.

Also, a Brief Discourse touching the profitableness of the Scriptures for our instruction in the way of righteousness, according to the tendency of the said parable.

BY THAT POOR AND CONTEMPTIBLE SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST, JOHN BUNYAN.

'*The wicked shall be turned into hell*, and *all the nations that forget God*.'—Ps. ix. 17.
'*And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire*.'—Re. xx. 15.

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ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

How awful is that cry of anguish which has reached us from beyond the tomb, even from the infernal realms, and on which Bunyan, with his singular and rare ability, fixes our attention. It is the voice of one who had received his good things in this fleeting life; who had fared sumptuously every day, without providing for eternity, and now cries for a drop of water to cool his parched tongue. Plunged into unutterable, inconceivable, and eternal torments, he pleads that the poor afflicted beggar, who had lain at his gate, might be sent from the dead to warn his relatives, that they might escape, and not aggravate his misery, by upbraiding him as a cause of their destruction, by having neglected to set them a pious example. He knows that there is no hope for his own wretched soul, and expresses no wish that his family should pay for masses to ease his pangs. No, such tomfooleries are limited to this insane world. His poor request is one drop of water, and a warning messenger to his relatives. The answer is most decisive—there is a great, an eternal gulf fixed—none can pass between heaven and hell; and as to your father's house, 'They have Moses and the prophets;' and now it may be added, They have Jesus and his apostles; if they hear not them, 'neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.' No; if Isaiah, with his mighty eloquence, again appeared among mortals, again would his cry be heard, 'Who hath believed our report?' 'What! seek the living among the dead? To the law, and to the testimony, saith God.'

Reader, these are solemn realities. He who came from the unseen world—from the bosom of the Father—reveals them unto us. O! that we may not mistake that voice for thunder, which called upon a trembling world to 'HEAR HIM.'

The rich man personates all the thoughtless and unconverted who die in their sins, his wealth can neither bribe death nor hell; he is stricken, and descends to misery with the bitter, but unavailing regret of having neglected the great salvation. He had taken no personal, prayerful pains to search the sacred Scriptures for himself; he had disobeyed the gospel, lived in revelry, and carelessness of his soul; he had ploughed iniquity and sown wickedness, and reaps the same. 'By the blast of God he perishes, and is consumed by the breath of his nostrils.' 'They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind.

The opinion universally prevails, although the voice of infinite wisdom has declared it false, that miracles, or a messenger from the invisible world could awake the dead in sin. The world's eyes are shut, and its ears are stopped from seeing and hearing that most illustrious celestial messenger of

[1] There were nine editions of this book published during the Author's life; all those subsequent to the first have the following title:—'Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of a Damned Soul; discovering from the 16th of Luke the lamentable state of the damned: and may fitly serve as a warning word to sinners, both old and young, by faith in Jesus Christ, to avoid the same place of torment. With a discovery of the usefulness of the Scriptures as our safe-conduct for avoiding the torments of hell. By John Bunyan. London: Printed for F. Smith, at the Elephant and Castle, without Temple-bar. At 1*s*. bound.'

mercy—'God manifest in the flesh'—who still speaks to us in his words. He revealed, and he alone could have revealed, these solemn, these heart-stirring facts—He performed the most astonishing miracles—His doctrines were truth—He required holiness of life to fit the soul for heaven; therefore He was despised, tortured, murdered. In the face of all this, the poor wretch cries, 'send Lazarus.' What refined cruelty! He had borne the cross and received the crown. Uncrown him, and send him back to lie at my brother's gate, and if he dares to tell him the truth, that my soul was in hell, even while the splendid funeral was carrying my body to the tomb, he will hurry him to death. Poor fool! are not thy kindred as hardened as thou wast? Send Lazarus from the dead! That, as Bunyan justly says, would be to make a new Bible, to improve the *finished salvation*. No, if they will not hear Moses and the prophets, our Lord and his apostles, they must all likewise perish. This is a very meagre outline of this solemn treatise; it is full of striking illustrations, eminently calculated to arouse the thoughtless, and to convey solid instruction to the thoughtful.

This was the third volume that Bunyan published, and, with modest timidity, he shelters himself under a strong recommendatory preface by his pastor, who, in the *Grace Abounding*, he calls 'holy Mr. Gifford.' So popular was it, as to pass through nine editions in the author's lifetime.[1] The preface, by John Gifford, was printed only with the first edition. As it gives a very interesting account of Bunyan, and his early labours in the ministry, which has never been noticed by any of his biographers, and is extremely rare, it is here reprinted from a fine copy in the British Museum, and must prove interesting to every admirer of John Bunyan. I close with two short extracts—may they leave an abiding impression upon our minds. 'God will have a time to meet with them that now do not seek after him.' 'O! regard, regard, for the judgment day is at hand, the graves are ready to fly open, the trumpet is near the sounding, the sentence will ere long be passed, and then,' it will be seen whether we belong to the class of Dives, who preferred the world, or to that of Lazarus, who preferred Christ; and then, O then! time cannot be recalled.

GEO. OFFOR.

PREFACE, BY THE REV. JOHN GIFFORD,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST AT BEDFORD, OF WHICH JOHN BUNYAN WAS A MEMBER.

TO THE READER.

IT is sad to see how the most of men neglect their precious souls, turning their backs upon the glorious gospel, and little minding a crucified Jesus, when, in the meanwhile, their bodies are well provided for, their estates much regarded, and the things of this present life are highly prized, as if the darling was of less value than a clod of earth; an immortal soul, than a perishing body; a precious Saviour, than unsatisfying creatures. Yea, though they have been often wooed with gracious entreaties, glorious promises, and fresh bleeding wounds, to make choice of the better part, that shall never be taken from them; yet, alas! such influence hath this world, and the pleasures of it, and such is the blindness of their understandings, that they continue still to hunt after those things which cannot profit, nor be a help to them in the worst hour. Yea, that will prove no better than poison to their souls, and refuse that would be (if embraced) their happiness here, and their glory hereafter. Such a strange stupidity hath seized upon the hearts of men, that they will venture the loss of their immortal souls for a few dying comforts, and will expose themselves to endless misery for a moment's mirth, and short-lived pleasures. But, certainly, a barn well fraught, a bag well filled, a back well clothed, and a body well fed, will prove but poor comforts when men come to die, when death shall not only separate their souls from their bodies, but both from their comforts. What will it then avail them that they have gained much? Or what will they give in exchange for their souls? Be wise, then (O reader, to whose sight this may come), before it be too late, and thou repent, when repentance shall be hid from thine eyes; also it will be as a dagger to thine heart one day, to remember what a Christ, what a soul, what a heaven thou hast lost for a few pleasures, a little mirth, a short enjoyment of this present world; yea, and that after many warnings against many reproofs, and, notwithstanding the many tenders of a full Christ, instead of those empty vanities which thy soul closed with, hunted after, and would by no means be persuaded to part withal. No, but thou wouldst take thy time, and swim in

[1] In the 'errata' to the first edition, Bunyan says—'At the first I thought to put out with this a discourse of the two covenants, which since I thought to put forth in a piece by itself.' This shows that his great work on the covenants was the fourth volume which he wrote. In the second edition, the author altered the arrangement of the text, by placing in his comment on ver. 28 a considerable part of what in the first edition formed the 'use and application.'

this world's delights, though thy soul thereby was drowned in perdition and destruction. 1 Ti. vi. 9. True, few there are that will be persuaded that this course they take, though their daily conversations do bear witness to it; for how much time is spent, and how much care is the hearts of men filled withal, after attaining, keeping, and increasing these things? And how seldom do they trouble their heads, to have their minds taken up with thoughts of the better? Cumbering themselves with many things, but wholly neglecting the one thing necessary; yea, whereby do they measure their own or other men's happiness, but by the large incomes of this world's good, accounting this the greatest, if not the only blessedness, to have their corn, wine, and oil increase in abundance, and reckoning those that are most serious about, and earnest after the world to come, men of foolish spirits, giddy brains, and worthy to be branded in the forehead for simple deluded ones. But surely he is the most fool that will be one at last; and he that God calls so (Lu. xii. 20) will pass for one in the end; yea, within a short time, they themselves shall change their notes. Ask the rich man spoken of in the ensuing treatise, who was the fool—he or Lazarus? and he will soon resolve the question, that he now sees, and by woeful experience finds (whatsoever his former thoughts were), that he, not Lazarus, was the silly deluded one; for he, fool-like, preferred the worse things before the better, and refused that which once might have been had; but now he hath slipped the time, it cannot be gained, when this poor man, knowing the day of his visitation, was making sure of that glory which he now enjoys, and shall enjoy for evermore. So that in this parable (if I may so call it) thou shalt find that Scripture confirmed, 'That the triumphing of the wicked is short.' Job xx. 5. Together with that, 'That the temptations (or afflictions) of the righteous, which cause heaviness, are but for a season.' 1 Pe. i. 6. And in this treatise, both of these are largely opened and explained. Behold, here a rich man clothed in silks, fed with delicates, and faring deliciously every day; but look a little farther, and lo! this man clothed with vengeance, roaring under torments, and earnestly begging for a drop of water to cool his tongue; a sad change. On the other hand, here thou shalt see a poor, but a gracious man, with a pinched belly, naked back, and running sores, begging at the rich man's gate for a morsel to feed his belly, a sad state, yet but short; for look again, and behold this beggar gloriously carried, as in a chariot of triumph, by the angels into Abraham's bosom, shining in glory, clothed with beautiful garments, and his soul set down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of the Father; his rags are gone, his sores healed, and his soul filled with joy unspeakable, and full of glory; the one carried not his costly fare, and his gorgeous apparel with him into hell; nor the other his coarse diet, mouldy bread, filthy rags, and ulcerous body into heaven; but the happiness of the one, and the misery of the other, took their leaves at the grave; the worldly man's portion was but for his life, and the godly man's afflictions lasted no longer; 'For mark the perfect, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace; but the end of the wicked shall be cut off.' Ps. xxxvii. 37, 38. His present comforts, his future hopes, and his cursed soul together; yea, though he lives many days, and rejoices in them all, yet the days of darkness will overtake him, and his eye shall see no more good; in his life time he enjoyed his good things, and, at the hour of death, legions of devils will beset him, innumerable evils will befal him; and then shall he pay full dear for all the pleasures of sin, that have carried away his heart from closing with, and following the Lord in the day of his prosperity. Ungodly men, because they feel no changes now, they fear none hereafter, but flatter themselves with dying as the godly, though their life is consumed in wickedness, and their strength in providing for and satisfying the lusts of the flesh. But as it fared with wicked Balaam, so shall it fare with these, and their vain hopes will prove a feeding upon ashes through their deceived heart, that hath turned them aside. Is. xliv. 20. 'For they that sow to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption.' Ga. vi. 8. 'And they that plough iniquity, and sow wickedness, shall reap the same.' Job iv. 8. Ho. viii. 7. But they that sow to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting. Say ye then to the righteous, 'It shall go well with him; however it goes with him now, a few days will produce a happy change.' 'It shall go well with him that feareth the Lord.' Ec. viii. 12. Go on then, O soul, thou that hast set thy face towards heaven, though the east wind beats upon thee, and thou find trouble and sorrow; these shall endure but for a night, joy will undoubtedly come in the morning; besides those sweet visits thou shalt have from thy precious Saviour, in this thy day of darkness, wait but a while, and thy darkness shall be turned into light. 'When the light of the wicked shall be put out, and the spark of his fire, wherewith he warmed himself, shall not shine.' Job xviii. 5. 'Grudge not to see the wicked prosper, and their steps washed with butter, but rather put on bowels of mercy and pity, as the elect of God, knowing that they are set in slippery places,' Ps. lxxiii. 18. And their day is coming, when fearful horror shall surprise them, and hell be opened to receive them; nor yet be disquieted in thy mind, that troubles and afflictions do beset thee round; for, as a worser thing is reserved for them, so a better is prepared for thee. Do they

drink wine in bowls? and dost thou mingle thy tears with thy drink? Do they live in pleasures, and spend their days in wealth? and dost thou sigh and mourn in secret? Well, there is a cup for them in the hand of the Lord, the wine whereof is red, and full of mixture, which they must drink up the dregs. Ps. lxxv. 8. And the Lord hath a bottle for thy tears. Ps. lvi. 8. And a book for thy secret sighs, and ere long thy brinish tears shall be turned into the sweetest wine, which thou shalt drink new in the kingdom of the Father, and thy secret sighs into glorious praises; when thy mouth shall be filled with laughter, and thy eyes see the King in his glory.

Now, considering that these lines may be brought to the sight both of the one sort and the other, I shall lay a few things before the thought of each; and first to the worser sort.

First. Consider what an ill bargain thou wilt make, to sell thy precious soul for a short continuance in thy sins and pleasures. If that man drives but an ill trade, who, to gain the world, should lose his soul (Mat. xvi. 26), then, certainly, thou art far worse that sells thy soul for a very trifle. O it is pity that so precious a thing should be parted withal, to be made a prey for the devouring lion, for that which is worse than nothing! If they were branded for desperate wretches that caused their children to pass through the fire to Moloch, surely thou much more that gives thy soul to devouring flames, to be fuel for the everlasting fire, upon so unfit terms; what meanest thou, O man, to truck with the devils? Is there no better merchandise to trade in than what comes from hell, or out of the bowels of the earth? and to be had upon no lower rates than thy immortal soul? Yes, surely the merchandise of wisdom, which is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold (Pr. iii. 14; viii. 19), is exposed to sale (Re. iii. 18), and to be had without money or price; and if thou shouldest part with anything for it, it is such that it is better to part withal than to keep. The wise merchant that sought a goodly pearl, having found one, sold all that he had, not himself, not his soul, and all that he sold was in itself not worth a farthing, and yet obtained the pearl. Mat. xiii. 45, 46. Paul made the like exchange when he threw away his own righteousness, which was but rags, yea, filthy rags (Is. lxiv. 6), and put on the garment of salvation, and cast away to the dunghill that which was once his gain, and won Christ. Phi. iii. 8. Thou needest not cast away thy soul for puddle pleasures; behold the fountain of living water is set open, and thou invited to it, to take and drink thy belly, thy soul full, without price or money. Is. lv. 2.

Secondly. Take a short (yet let it not be a slight) view of the best of the things men prize so high, that for the love of, they lose their souls: what are they? Even painted nothings, promising vanities (like the apples of Sodom, fair to the eye, but being touched, turn to dust; or like our mother Eve's, that had a beautiful look, but, being tasted, brings forth death), which, for the most part, have proved snares to the owners, and always miserable comforters at the parting; they cannot satisfy in life, for the more of these things are had, the more (with a disquieted spirit) are they reached after, and what comes in serves but to whet up the greedy unsatisfied appetite after more. The world passeth away, and the lust thereof. 1 Jn. ii. 17. Though most men content themselves with these, yet it is not in these to satisfy them, and had they but one glimpse of the world to come, one cranny of light to discern the riches of Christ, and the least taste of the pleasures that are at the right hand of God (Ps. xvi. 11), they would be as little satisfied without a share in them, as they are now with what of worldly things they enjoy; much less can they ease from pain at death. Clap a bag of gold (as one once did) to thy sinking spirit, pained body, and tormented conscience, and it can neither cheer up the one, nor appease the other, least of all can they deliver from, or yield comfort after death; those cannot serve as a bribe to death to pass thee by, nor yet bring comfort to thy soul when thou art gone. The rich fool's large crop and great increase could not procure one night's respite, nor one moment's comfort. Besides, God regards them so little, that frequently he gives the largest share of them to whom he hateth most (Ps. xvii. 14), and the least to them who are the excellent in the earth, in whom his soul delights, although he hath made them heirs of the kingdom. Ja. ii. 5. Yet doth he bestow such a small portion of these worldly things upon them, hereby declaring to all how little he sets by those things which most set so much by, and to draw up our hearts, minds, and affections to the things above; yea, His own Son that he appointed heir of all things (He. i. 2) shall come forth neither of rich kindred, nor attended with gallants, nor yet accoutred with the world's glory, but in a low, mean, and abject condition, at whose birth a manger received him; and through his life sorrows, wants, and sufferings did attend, and at the end a shameful death, in the world's esteem, befals him, and by all this he shows his contempt of the worldly man's darling. Cast not away thy soul then, O man, in seeking after, solacing thyself in, and contenting thyself with this present world; for though thou mayest make gold thy hope, and put thy confidence in thy wealth, yet when this thy hope shall fail, and thy confidence slip from thee (as sure it will ere long), glad wouldest thou be of the least drop of the water of life, and the least filing of that precious gold (that thou art now called upon to drink of, and to buy

for thyself); but, alas, they shall not be had. Then, O then, what profit will thy treasures of wickedness yield thee; and whereto will thy thick clay that thou hast hoarded up, and thy carnal pleasures which thou hast drunk down, as the fish drinks down water; whereto, I say, will they serve, unless to weigh thee the deeper into hell, and increase the fire, when it shall be kindled upon thee?

Thirdly. Look upon thy loss, too, which is such that ten thousand worlds cannot repair—thy soul, thy body, thy comforts, thy hopes, thy share in a crucified Jesus, the crown of life, and everlasting communion with the Father, Son, and Spirit, blessed angels, and glorified saints, and a soul-satisfying, soul-saving Christ, who came from the bosom of love, and gave himself to open a way to everlasting glory, by the sacrifice of himself, to whom thou art called, invited, and persuaded to come; whose heart is open, arms spread, and who hath room enough in his bosom to receive thee, grace enough to pardon thee, blood enough to justify thee, treasures enough to enrich thee, pleasures enough to delight thee (Ps. xxxvi. 8), and glory enough to crown thee; in whom it hath pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell, Col. i. 19; to make them perfectly blessed that come to him, so that there is no need to seek happiness among the creatures, which most do, and thereby lose true happiness, and their souls too. Turn in hither, and thou shalt eat of his bread, and drink of the wine which he hath mingled. Pr. ix. 4, 5. Wouldst thou fare deliciously every day, and have thy soul delight itself in fatness? Is. lv. 2. Hearken diligently, and come to the wedding; the oxen and fatlings are killed, and all things are ready. Mat. xxii. 5. I tell thee, whatsoever food thou feedest upon else, will prove no better to thee than the prodigal's husks. Lu. xv. 16. That will starve thee whilst thou feedest on them; and if thou drinkest of other wine, it will prove as a cup of wine mixed with poison, which though it be pleasant to the taste, it will be the death of thy soul. Wilt thou, then, lose this Christ, this food, this pleasure, this heaven, this happiness, for a thing of nought? Wilt thou drink out of a puddle, a broken cistern which leaks out the water, and holds nothing but mud, and refuse the fountain of living water, which, whosoever tastes of, shall live for ever?

Fourthly. Beware of persuading thyself into a conceit of the poor man's end, if thou livest the rich man's life, and diest his death. It is strange to see how many run swift by the very way to hell, yet are full of confidence of going to heaven, though Scripture everywhere shuts them out, and Christ at last will certainly shut them out for ever hereafter, living and dying in their present state. Let none, therefore, deceive you, neither deceive yourselves, for none such can enter into the kingdom of heaven. But for these things' sake cometh the wrath of God on the children of disobedience. 1 Co. vi. 9. Ep. v. 5, 6. And how sad will thy disappointment be, that goest on securely fearing nothing, being fully, yet falsely, persuaded of eternal life at last, and then drop down into the bottomless pit! Like wicked Haman, that dreamed of greater honour, but behold a gallows; or our mother Eve, who conceited to be as God, but became a cursed creature. Though the devil may persuade thee thou mayest live as in hell here, yet in heaven hereafter, believe him not, for he endeavours to keep thee in his snares, that he may drag thee to hell with him; and the better to effect his devilish design upon thee, he will present (and through his cursed subtlety knows how to do it) thy sins and this world in as lovely and taking a guise as may be, but will hide the evil consequences from thine eyes, that thou mightest be inveigled by gazing on the one, and not be affrighted by beholding the other; his bait shall be pleasant, but his hook hid, like the strumpet in Pr. vii, that entices the simple with fair words, but conceals that the way to her house leads to the chambers of death; nothing appears but a bed richly furnished, and a promise of solacing him with loves; but he that followeth after her, goeth as an ox to the slaughter, and as a fool to the correction of the stocks.

Fifthly. This is thy day to prevent the loss of the one, and to get an interest in the other; this is the day of salvation, the accepted day of the Lord. 2 Co. vi. 2. Let the sun of this day be set before this work be done, and an everlasting night of darkness will close thee in, wherein thou, thou shalt have time enough indeed to bemoan thy folly, but none to learn to grow wiser. It is a sad thing, especially in soul concernments, to be wise too late, and to cry out when time is past, O that I had improved it when it was present. Then will the remembrance of thy former misspent time, and thy despair of ever gaining more, be like poisoned arrows drinking up thy spirit. Amongst all the talents God hath entrusted man withal, this is not the least, because on it depends eternity; and according to the use we make of this, will our eternal condition be, though the most of men live at such a rate as if it was given them to no other end than to waste in wickedness, and consume in pleasures. What means else their spending days, weeks, months, years, yea, their whole life, in whoring, swearing, playing, coveting, and fulfilling the lusts of the flesh, so that when they come to die, the great work that they were sent to do is then to be done; their souls, Christ, eternity, was scarce thought on before; but now, when merciless death begins to gripe them, then do they begin to bethink themselves of those things which they should have got in readiness before, and that is

the reason why we so often hear many that lie upon their death-beds to cry out for a little longer time; and no wonder, for they have the salvation of their souls to seek. O sad case! to have their work to do when the night is come, and a Christ to seek when death hath found them; take therefore the counsel of the Holy Ghost (He. iii. 7), 'To-day, if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.' Mark, it is the Spirit's counsel. True, the devil and thine own heart will tell thee another tale, and be ready to whisper in thine ears, Thou mayest have time enough hereafter; what need of so much haste, another day may serve as well; let thy soul be filled with pleasure a little longer, and thy bags filled a little more; thou mayest have time for this and that too. O, but this is the suggestion of an enemy, that would cause thee to defer so long, that thy heart may grow too hard, and thine ear too heavy to hear at all; but, certainly, this being the greatest business, challengeth the first and greatest care. Mat. vi. 33. And let this be done; then, if thou shalt either have so much time to spare, or a heart to do it, take thy time for the other.

Sixthly. This day of thy mercy and Christ's importunity will not last long; it is but a day, and that a day of visitation. Indeed it is rich grace that there should be a day, but dally not because it is but a day. Jerusalem had her day, but because therein she did not know the things of her peace, a pitch night did overtake. Lu. xix. 42, 43. It is a day of patience, and if thou despisest the riches of God's goodness, patience, and long-suffering towards thee, and art not thereby led to repentance (Ro. ii. 5), a short time will make it a day of vengeance. Though now Christ calls, because he is willing to save sinners, yet he will not always call; see then that thou refuse not him that speaks from heaven in this gospel day. He. xii. 25. But seek him while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near (Is. lv. 6), lest thou criest after him hereafter, and he refuse thee. It is not crying, Lord, Lord, when the day of grace is past, that will procure the least crumb of mercy. Matt. vii. 21. No, if thou comest not when called, but stayest while supper is ended, thou shalt not taste thereof (Lu. xiv. 24), though a bit would save thy life, thy soul; if thou drinkest not of the fountain while it is opened, thou shalt not when it is shut, though thou beggest with tears of blood for one drop to cool thy scorching flaming heart; thou that mightest have had thy vessel full, and welcome, shall not now have so much as will hang on the tip of a finger. O! remember, the axe is laid to the root of the tree. Matt. iii. 10. And although three years' time may be granted, through the vine-dresser's importunity, that will soon be expired, and then the axe that is now laid, shall cut up the tree by its roots, if it bring not forth good fruit. Seest thou not that many of late have been snatched away, on each side of thee (by that hand that hath been stretched out and is so still)? and though thou mayest escape a while, yet hast thou no assurance that the destroying angel will long pass by thy door. O then, neglect thy soul no longer, but consider time is short, and uncertain, eternity long, thy work great, thy soul immortal, this world vanishing, Christ precious, hell hot, and heaven desirable.

And if thou beest a Christian (to whom this may come) that hast not only had a prize in thy hands, but wisdom given thee from above to make use of it, and art one who (whilst others are seeking to make this world and hell together sure to themselves) spendest thy time, and makest it thy only business, to make sure of the one thing necessary, and heaven to thy soul, I shall lay two or three things before thy thoughts.

First. Walk with a fixed eye upon the world to come. Look not at the things that are seen, that are temporal, but at the things which are not seen, that are eternal. 2 Co. iv. 18. A Christian's eye should be upon his journey's end, as our Lord Jesus, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross. He. xii. 2. When the stones flew about Stephen's ears, his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God. Ac. vii. 55, 56. What though thou at present mayest lie at the rich man's gates, yet a few days will translate thee into Abraham's bosom. Though Israel had a sharp voyage through the wilderness, yet Caleb and Joshua, men of excellent spirits, had their eye upon the good land they were going to. Though graceless souls are too dull sighted to see afar off (2 Pe. i. 9), yet thou that hast received the unction from above, dost in some measure know what is the hope of thy calling, and what is the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints.

Secondly. Be satisfied with thy present condition, though it be afflictive, for it shall not last always. Thy sorrows shall be short, and thy joys long; roll thyself upon the Lord, for there is a heaven will pay for all; Christ first endured the cross before he wore the crown. David, before he was a king, was a shepherd. The poor man spoken of in this ensuing treatise, before he was carried into heaven, had experiences of sorrow and sufferings on earth. Let the flesh be silent in passing judgment on the dispensations of God towards thee, and the men of this world, in this present life. David, by prying too far herein with his own wisdom, had almost caught a fall. Ps. lxxiii. Though God's judgments may be too deep for our reason to dive into, yet are they always righteous, and his paths mercy and truth to those that keep his covenants. Ps. xxv. 10. When Jeremiah would debate with the Lord concerning his judgments in the wicked's prosperity,

he would lay this down as an indubitable truth, that his judgments were righteous. Je. xii. 1. And his end was not to charge God, but to learn understanding of him in the way of his judgments; and although the ways of his providence may be dark to his people, that they cannot discern his footsteps, yet are they always consistent with his everlasting covenant, and the results of the favour he bears to them. If the wicked flourish like the grass, it is that they should be destroyed for ever. Ps. xcii. 7. And if the godly have many a wave beating upon them, yet will the Lord command his loving-kindness in the day time. Ps. xlii. 7, 8. And, after a little while being tossed to and fro in these boisterous waves, they shall arrive at the heavenly haven, this world being not their resting-place, but there remains one for them. He. iv. 9.

Thirdly. Let the faith and hopes of a glorious deliverance get thy heart up above thy present sufferings, that thou mayest glory in tribulation who hast ground of rejoicing in hope of the glory of God. Ro. v. 2, 3. For whatsoever thy present grievances are, whether outward afflictions, or inward temptations, this may be thy consolation that a few days will rid thee of them; when thou shalt sigh no more, complain no more, but those shall be turned into praises. Thou hast (if I may so call it) all thy hell here; let thy life be expired, and thy misery is ended; thy happiness begins, where wicked men's end; and when thine is once began, it shall have no more end.

Reader, I have an advertisement to thee concerning the following discourse, and the author of it. Thou hast in the discourse many things of choice consideration presented to thee in much plainness, evidence, and authority; the replications are full, the applications are natural. Be not offended at his plain and downright language, it is for the discharge of the author's conscience, and thy profit, besides the subject necessarily leads him to it. It is a mercy to be dealt thoroughly and plainly with in the matters of thy soul. We have too many that sow pillows under men's elbows, and too few who, dealing plainly, divide to every man his portion. Read it not to pick quarrels with it, but to profit by it; and let not prejudice either against the author, or manner of delivery, cause thee to stumble and fall at the truth. Prejudice will both blind the eyes that it shall not see the truth, and close it in with it, and make them too quick-sighted, either to make faults where there is none, or to greaten them where they are; and so cause the reader to turn the edge against the author or his work, that should be turned upon his own heart. It is marvellous to see how the truth is quarrelled at that comes from one, that would be easily received if it did drop from another; and I doubt not, if this book had some other hand at it, there is scarce any expression that may be now carpt at by some, but would have been swallowed without straining. We are now fallen into such an age (the good Lord help us) that truth, upon its own account, can challenge but little acceptance, except the author be liked, or his lines painted with his own wit. But certainly truth is of so excellent a nature, of such singular advantage, and of so royal a descent, that it deserves entertainment for itself, and that not in our houses or heads only, but in our hearts too. Whatsoever the hand is that brings it, or the form that it appears in, men account gold worth receiving, whatsoever the messenger is that brings it, or the vessel that holds it.

If thou meetest (reader) with any passage that seems doubtful unto thee, let love that thinks no evil put the best construction upon it, and do not hastily condemn what thou canst not presently yield to; or if any expression thou meetest with may (haply) offend thee, do not throw aside the whole, and resolve to read of it no more; for though some one may offend thee, yet others (I hope) may affect thee; or if there be that which some may call tautology, be not displeased at it; for that word that may not fasten upon thy heart in one page, may in another; and although it may be grievous to thy eye (if thou beest nice and curious), yet bear with it, if it may be profitable to thy soul.

Concerning the author (whatsoever the censures and reports of many are) I have this to say, that I verily believe God hath counted him faithful, and put him into the ministry; and though his outward condition and former employment was mean, and his human learning small, yet is he one that hath acquaintance with God, and taught by his Spirit, and hath been used in his hand to do souls good; for to my knowledge there are divers who have felt the power of the word delivered by him; and I doubt not but that many more may, if the Lord continue him in his work; he is not like unto your drones, that will suck the sweet, but do no work. For he hath laid forth himself to the utmost of his strength, taking all advantages to make known to others what he himself hath received of God, and I fear this is one reason why the archers have shot so sorely at him; for by his and others' industry in their Master's work, their slothfulness hath been reproved, and the eyes of many have been opened to see a difference between those that are sent of God and those that run before they are sent. And that he is none of those light fanatic spirits that our age abounds withal, this following discourse, together with his former, that have been brought to public view, will testify; for among other things that may bear record to him herein, you shall find him magnifying and exalting the Holy Scriptures, and largely showing the worth, excellency, and usefulness of them.

And yet surely if thou shalt (notwithstanding this) stumble at his meanness and want of human learning, thou wilt declare thine unacquaintance with God's declared method, who to perfect his own praise, and to still the enemy and avenger, makes choice of babes and sucklings, and in their mouths ordaineth strength. Ps. viii. 2. Though men that have a great design, do, and must make use of those that in reason are most likely to effect it, yet must the Lord do so too? Then instruments (not himself) would carry away the praise; but that no flesh should glory in his presence, he hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise, and base things of the world, and things that are despised, hath God chosen. 1 Co. i. 27, 28, 29. Cast thine eye back to the beginning of the gospel dispensation (which surely, if at any time, should have come forth in the wisdom and glory of the world), and thou shalt see what method the Lord did take at the first to exalt his son Jesus: he goes not amongst the Jewish rabbies, nor to the schools of learning, to fetch out his gospel preachers, but to the trades, and those most contemptible too; yet let not any from hence conceive that I undervalue the gifts and graces of such who have been, or now are endued with them, nor yet speak against learning being kept in its place; but my meaning is, that those that are learned should not despise those that are not; or those that are not, should not despise those that are, who are faithful in the Lord's work: and therefore being about to leave thee, I shall leave with thee two Scriptures to be considered of. The one is Jn. xiii. 20, Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send (mark whomsoever) receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me. The other is Lu. x. 16, He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.

I. G.

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

Friend, because it is a dangerous thing to be walking towards the place of darkness and anguish; and again, because it is (notwithstanding) the journey that most of the poor souls in the world are taking, and that with delight and gladness, as if THERE was the only happiness to be found, I have therefore thought it my duty, being made sensible of the danger that will befal those that fall therein, for the preventing of thee, O thou poor man or woman! to tell thee, by opening this parable, what sad success those souls have had, and are also like to have, that have been, or shall be found persevering therein.

We use to count him a friend that will forewarn his neighbour of the danger, when he knoweth thereof, and doth also see that the way his neighbour is walking in doth lead right thereto, especially when we think that our neighbour may be either ignorant or careless of his way. Why friend, it may be, nay twenty to one, but thou hast been, ever since thou didst come into the world, with thy back towards heaven, and thy face towards hell; and thou, it may be, either through ignorance or carelessness, which is as bad, if not worse, hast been running full hastily that way ever since. Why friend? I beseech thee put a little stop to thy earnest race, and take a view of what entertainment thou art like to have, if thou do in deed and in truth persist in this thy course. Friend, thy way leads 'down to death,' and thy 'steps take hold on hell.' Pr. v. 5. It may be the path indeed is pleasant to the flesh, but the end thereof will be bitter to thy soul. Hark, dost thou not hear the bitter cries of them that are but newly gone before, saying, Let him 'dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame?' Lu. xvi. 24. Dost thou not hear them say, Send out from the dead, to prevent my father, my brother, and my father's house, from coming 'into this place of torment?' Shall not then these mournful groans pierce thy flinty heart? Wilt thou stop thine ears, and shut thy eyes? And wilt thou not regard? Take warning and stop thy journey before it be too late. Wilt thou be like the silly fly, that is not quiet unless she be either entangled in the spider's web, or burned in the candle? Wilt thou be like the bird that hasteth to the snare of the fowler? Wilt thou be like that simple one named in the seventh of Proverbs, that will be drawn to the slaughter by the cord of a silly lust? O sinner, sinner, there are better things than hell to be had, and at a cheaper rate by the thousandth part! O! there is no comparison, there is heaven, there is God, there is Christ, there is communion with an innumerable company of saints and angels. Hear the message then that God doth send, that Christ doth send, that saints do bring, nay, that the dead do send unto thee: 'I pray thee, therefore, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house;' 'if one went unto them from the dead they would repent.' 'How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity? And the scorners delight in their scorning? And fools hate knowledge?' 'Turn you at my reproof: behold,' saith God, 'I

will pour out my Spirit unto you, I will make known my words unto you.' I say, hear this voice, O silly one, and turn and live, thou sinful soul, lest he make thee hear that other saying, But, 'because I have called, and ye refused, I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh.' Pr. i. 22–26.

O poor soul, if God and Christ did [thus] with thee for thine harm, it would be another matter; then if thou didst refuse, thou mightest have some excuse to make, or fault to find, and ground to make delays. But this is for thy profit, for thy advantage, for the pardoning of thy sins, the salvation of thy soul, the delivering of thee from hell fire, from the wrath to come, from everlasting burnings, into favour with God, Christ, and communion with all happiness, that is so indeed.

But it may be thou wilt say, All that hath been spoken to in this discourse is but a parable, and parables are no realities. I could put thee off with this answer, That though it be a parable, yet it is a truth, and not a lie; and thou shalt find it so too, to thy cost, if thou shalt be found a slighter of God, Christ, and the salvation of thy own soul.

But secondly, know for certain, that the things signified by parables are wonderful realities. O what a glorious reality was there signified by that parable, 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea,' &c. Signifying, that sinners of all sorts, of all nations, should be brought into God's kingdom, by the net of the gospel. And O! how real a thing shall the other part thereof be, when it is fulfilled, which saith, And 'when it was full they drew to shore, and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the bad away.' Mat. xiii. 47, 48. Signifying the mansions of glory that the saints should have, and also the rejection that God will give to the ungodly, and to sinners. And also that parable, what a glorious reality is there in it, which saith, 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' Jn. xii. 24. To signify that unless Jesus Christ did indeed spill his blood, and die the cursed death, he should abide alone; that is, have never a soul into glory with him; but if he died, he should bring forth much fruit; that is, save many sinners. And also how real a truth there was in that parable concerning the Jews putting Christ to death, which the poor dispersed Jews can best experience to their cost; for they have been almost ever since a banished people, and such as have had God's sore displeasure wonderfully manifested against them, according to the truth of the parable. Mat. xxi. 33–41. O therefore, for Jesus Christ's sake, do not slight the truth, because it is discovered in a parable! For by this argument thou mayest also, nay, thou wilt slight almost all the things that our Lord Jesus Christ did speak; for he spake them for the most part, if not all, in parables. Why should it be said of thee as it is said of some, These things are spoken to them that are without 'in parables, that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand?' Lu. viii. 10. I say, take heed of being a quarreller against Christ's parables, lest Christ also object against the salvation of thy soul at the judgment day.

Friend, I have no more to say to thee now. If thou dost love me pray for me, that my God would not forsake me, nor take his Holy Spirit from me; and that God would fit me to do and suffer what shall be from the world or devil inflicted upon me. I must tell thee, the world rages, they stamp and shake their heads, and fain they would be doing; the Lord help me to take all they shall do with patience; and when they smite the one cheek, to turn the other to them, that I may do as Christ hath bidden me; for then the Spirit of God, and of glory, shall rest upon me. Farewell.

I am thine, if thou be not ashamed to own me, because of my low and contemptible descent in the world.[1]

JOHN BUNYAN.

A FEW SIGHS FROM HELL,

OR

THE GROANS OF A DAMNED SOUL.

LUKE XVI. 19—31.

19 There was a certain rich man which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day. 20 And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, 21 And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. 22 And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried; 23 And in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. 24 And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. 25 But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good

[1] In the second and subsequent editions, this was altered to 'I am thine to serve in the Lord Jesus.'—(ED.)

things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. [26] And, beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed; so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us that *would come* from thence. [27] Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house; [28] For I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. [29] Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. [30] And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. [31] And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

This Scripture was not spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ to show you the state of two single persons only, as some, through ignorance of the drift of Christ in his parables, do dream; but to show you the state of the godly and ungodly to the world's end; as is clear to him that is of an understanding heart. For he spake them to the end that after generations should take notice thereof, and fear, lest they also fell into the same condition. Now in my discourse upon these words I shall not be tedious; but as briefly as I may, I shall pass through the several verses, and lay you down some of the several truths contained therein. And the Lord grant that they may be profitable, and of great advantage to those that read them, or hear them read.

The 19th and 20th verses also, I shall not spend much time upon, only give you three or four short hints, and so pass to the next verses; for they are the words I do intend most especially to insist upon.

The 19th, 20th, and 21st verses run thus:—'There was a certain rich man which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared' deliciously or 'sumptuously every day. And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate full of sores.'

First. If these verses had been spoken by Jesus Christ, and no more, all the world would have gone near to have cast a wrong interpretation on them. I say, if Jesus had said only thus much, 'There was a certain rich man' which 'fared sumptuously daily, and a certain beggar laid at his gate full of sores;' the world would have made this conclusion of them—the rich man was the happy man; for, at the first view, it doth represent such a thing; but take all together, that is, read the whole parable, and you shall find that there is no man in a worse condition than he; as I shall clearly hold forth afterward.

Second. Again, if a man would judge of men according to outward appearance, he shall ofttimes take his mark amiss. Here is a man to outward appearance appears the only blessed man, better by half than the beggar, inasmuch as he is rich, the beggar poor; he is well clothed, but peradventure the beggar is naked; he hath good food, but the beggar would be glad of dog's meat. 'And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table.' The rich man fares well every day, but the beggar must be glad of a bit when he can get it. O! who would not be in the rich man's state? A wealthy man, sorts of new suits and dainty dishes every day; enough to make one who minds nothing but his belly, and his back, and his lusts, to say, O that I were in that man's condition! O that I had about me as that man has! Then I should live a life indeed; then should I have heart's-ease good store; then I should live pleasantly, and might say to my soul, 'Soul,' be of good cheer, 'eat, drink, *and* be merry.' Lu. xii. 19. Thou hast everything plenty, and art in a most blessed condition.

I say, this might be, aye, and is, the conclusion with them that judge according to outward appearance. But if the whole parable be well considered, you will see, Lu. xvi. 15, that which is had in high estimation with men is an abomination in the sight of God. And again, Jn. xvi. 20–22, that condition, that is the saddest condition, according to outward appearance, is ofttimes the most excellent; for the beggar had ten thousand degrees the best of it, though, to outward appearance, his state was the saddest;[1] from whence we shall observe thus much:—1. That those who judge according to outward appearance, do for the most part judge amiss. Jn. vii. 24. 2. That they who look upon their outward enjoyments to be token of God's special grace unto them, are also deceived. Re. iii. 17. For as it is here in the parable, a man of wealth and a child of the devil may make but one person; or a man may have abundance of outward enjoyments, and yet be carried by the devils into eternal burnings. Lu. xii. 20. But this is the trap in which the devil hath caught many thousands of poor souls, namely, by getting them to judge according to outward appearance, or according to God's outward blessings.

Do but ask a poor, carnal, covetous wretch, how we should know a man to be in a happy state, and he will answer, those that God blesseth, and giveth abundance of this world unto; when, for the most part, they are they that are the cursed men. Alas! poor men, they are so ignorant as to think that because a man is increased in outward things, and that by a small stock, therefore God doth love that man with a special love, or else he would never do so much for him, never bless him so, and prosper the work of his hands. Ah! poor soul, it is the rich man that goes to hell. And 'the rich man died,' and in hell, mark, 'in hell he lift up his eyes,' &c.

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1 'Sad' frequently occurs in this treatise; it is from the Saxon, *sætan*—set, fixed, gloomy, grievous, mournful.—(Ed.)

Methinks to see how the great ones of the world will go strutting up and down the streets sometimes, it makes me wonder. Surely they look upon themselves to be the only happy men; but it is because they judge according to outward appearance; they look upon themselves to be the only blessed men, when the Lord knows the generality are left out of that blessed condition. 'Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble *are called*.' 1 Co. i. 26. Ah! did they that do now so brag, that nobody dare scarce look on them, but believe this, it would make them hang down their heads and cry, O give me a Lazarus' portion.

I might here enlarge very much, but I shall not; only thus much I shall say to you that have much of this world, Have a care that you have not your portion in this world. Take heed that it be not said to you hereafter, when you would very willingly have heaven, Remember in your lifetime you had your good things; in your lifetime you had your portion. Ps. xvii. 14.

And friend, thou that seekest after this world, and desirest riches, let me ask this question, Wouldst thou be content that God should put thee off with a portion in this life? Wouldst thou be glad to be kept out of heaven with a back well clothed, and a belly well filled with the dainties of this world? Wouldst thou be glad to have all thy good things in thy lifetime, to have thy heaven to last no longer than while thou dost live in this world? Wouldst thou be willing to be deprived of eternal happiness and felicity? If you say no, then have a care of the world and thy sins; have a care of desiring to be a rich man, lest thy table be made a snare unto thee. Ps. xix. 22. Lest the wealth of this world do bar thee out of glory. For, as the apostle saith, 'They that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and *into* many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition.' 1 Ti. vi. 9. Thus much in general; but now more particularly.

These two men here spoken of, as I said, do hold forth to us the state of the godly and ungodly; the beggar holdeth forth the godly, and the rich man the ungodly. 'There was a certain rich man.'

But why are the ungodly held forth under the notion of a rich man? 1. Because Christ would not have them look too high, as I said before, but that those who have riches should have a care that they be not all their portion. Ja. i. 10–12. 1 Ti. vi. 17. 2. Because rich men are most liable to the devil's temptations; are most ready to be puffed up with pride, stoutness, cares of this world, in which things they spend most of their time in lusts, drunkenness, wantonness, idleness, together with the other works of the flesh; for which things sake, the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience. Col. iii. 6. 3. Because he would comfort the hearts of his own, which are most commonly of the poorer sort; but God hath chosen the poor, despised, and base things of this world. 1 Co. i. 26. Should God have set the rich man in the blessed state, his children would have concluded, being poor, that they had no share in the life to come.

And again, had not God given such a discovery of the sad condition of those that are for the most part rich men, we should have had men concluded absolutely that the rich are the blessed men. Nay, albeit the Lord himself doth so evidently declare that the rich ones of the world are, for the most part, in the saddest condition, yet they, through unbelief, or else presumption, do harden themselves, and seek for the glory of this world as though the Lord Jesus Christ did not mean as he said, or else that he will say more than shall assuredly come to pass; but let them know that the Lord hath a time to fulfil that he had a time to declare, for the scripture cannot be broken. Jn. x. 35.

But again, the Lord by this word doth not mean those are ungodly who are rich in the world, and no other, for then must all those that are poor, yet graceless and vain men, be saved and delivered from eternal vengeance, which would be contrary to the Word of God, which saith that together with the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, there are bondmen or servants, and slaves, that cry out at the appearance of the Almighty God, and his Son Jesus Christ, to judgment. Re. vi. 15.

So that though Christ doth say, 'There was a certain rich man,' yet you must understand he meaneth all the ungodly, rich or poor. Nay, if you will not understand it so now, you shall be made to understand it to be so meant at the day of Christ's second coming, when all that are ungodly shall stand at the left hand of Christ, with pale faces and guilty consciences, with the vials of the Almighty's wrath ready to be poured out upon them. Thus much in brief touching the 19th verse. I might have observed other things from it, but now I forbear, having other things to speak of at this time.

Verse 20.—'And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores.'

This verse doth chiefly hold forth these things; 1. That the saints of God are a poor contemptible people; 'There was a certain beggar.' If you understand the word beggar to hold forth outward poverty, or scarcity in outward things, such are saints[1] of the Lord, for they are for the most part a poor, despised, contemptible people. But if you

[1] The first and second editions have 'the saints,' instead of 'such are saints.'—(Ed.)

allegorize it and interpret it thus, They are such as beg earnestly for heavenly food; this is also the spirit of the children of God, and it may be, and is a truth in this sense, though not so naturally gathered from this scripture. 2. That 'he was laid at his gate, full of sores.' These words hold forth the distempers of believers, saying he was 'full of sores,' which may signify the many troubles, temptations, persecutions, and afflictions in body and spirit which they meet withal while they are in the world, but also the entertainment they find at the hands of those ungodly ones who live upon the earth. Whereas it is said, he was 'laid at his gate, full of sores.' Mark, he was laid at his gate, not in his house—that was thought too good for him—but he was laid at his gate, full of sores. From whence observe, (1.) That the ungodly world do not desire to entertain and receive the poor saints of God into their houses. If they must needs be somewhere near unto them, yet they shall not come into their houses; shut them out of doors; if they will needs be near us, let them be at the gate. And he 'was laid at his gate, full of sores.' (2.) Observe that the world are not at all touched with the afflictions of God's children for all they are full of sores; a despised, afflicted, tempted, persecuted people the world doth not pity, no, but rather labour to aggravate their trouble by shutting them out of doors; sink or swim, what cares the world? They are resolved to disown them; they will give them no entertainment: if the lying in the streets will do them any good, if hard usage will do them any good, if to be disowned, rejected, and shut out of doors by the world will do them any good, they shall have enough of that; but otherwise no refreshment, no comfort from the world. And he 'was laid at his gate, full of sores.'

Verse 21.—'And he desired to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: the dogs came also and licked his sores.'

By these words our Lord Jesus doth show us the frame of a Christian's heart, and also the heart and carriage of worldly men towards the saints of the Lord. The Christian's heart is held forth by this, that anything will content him while he is on this side glory. And 'he desired to be fed with the crumbs;' the dogs' meat, anything. I say a Christian will be content with anything, if he have but to keep life and soul together; as we used to say, he is content, he is satisfied; he hath learned—if he hath learned to be a Christian—to be content with anything; as Paul saith, 'I have learned in whatsoever state I am, *therewith* to be content.' Phi. iv. 11. He learns in all conditions to study to love God, to walk with God, to give up himself to God; and if the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table will but satisfy nature and give him bodily strength, that thereby he may be the more able to walk in the way of God, he is contented. And he 'desired to be fed with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table.'[1] But mark, he had them not; you do not find that he had so much as a crumb, or a scrap allowed unto him. No, then the dogs will be beguiled, THAT must be preserved for the dogs. From whence observe that the ungodly world do love their dogs better than the children of God.[2] You will say that is strange. It is so indeed, yet it is true, as will be clearly manifested; as, for instance, how many pounds do some men spend in a year on their dogs, when in the meanwhile the poor saints of God may starve for hunger? They will build houses for their dogs, when the saints must be glad to wander, and lodge in dens and caves of the earth. He. xi. 38. And if they be in any of their houses for the hire thereof, they will warn them out or eject them, or pull down the house over their heads, rather than not rid themselves of such tenants.[3] Again, some men cannot go half a mile from home but they must have dogs at their heels, but they can very willingly go half a score miles without the society of a Christian. Nay, if when they are busy with their dogs they should chance to meet a Christian, they would willingly shift him if they could. They will go on the other side the hedge or the way rather than they will have any society with him; and if at any time a child of God should come into a house where there are but two or three ungodly wretches, they do commonly wish either themselves or the saint out of doors; and why so? because they cannot down[4] with the society of a Christian; though if there come in at the same time a dog, or a drunken swearing wretch, which is worse than a dog, they will make him welcome; he shall sit down with them and partake of their dainties. And now tell me, you that love your sins and your pleasures, had you not rather keep company with a drunkard, a swearer, a strumpet, a thief, nay, a dog, than with an honest-hearted Christian? If you say no, what means your sour carriage to the

[1] In quoting these passages, Mr. Bunyan has mixed the Puritan version with that now authorized; very probably quoting from memory. His text is from the present version; the reader will see, by comparison, the different words employed in the two translations.—(Ed.)

[2] Solemn truth! The heir of heaven and immortality has to trudge the street in the foulest weather, while the sinner's lap-dog is held up to the carriage window, taken out for an airing.—(Ed.)

[3] Reader, this feeling yet remains. Christians have recently, even in Scotland, had to meet in barns, or in the open air, for worship, because no landowner would sell or let a piece of ground on which to build a place of worship.—(Ed.)

[4] Cannot down; will not receive, submit to, or feel pleasure in. 'If a boy is hungry, bread by itself will down.'—Locke on *Education*. 'Down and beg mercy of the Duke.'—Shakspeare.—(Ed.)

people of God? Why do you look on them as if you would eat them up? Yet at the very same time if you can but meet your dog, or a drunken companion, you can fawn upon them, take acquaintance with them, to the tavern or ale house with them, if it be two or three times in a week. But if the saints of God meet together, pray together, and labour to edify one another, you will stay till doomsday before you will look into the house where they are. Ah! friends, when all comes to all, you will be found to love drunkards, strumpets, dogs, anything, nay, to serve the devil, rather than to have loving and friendly society with the saints of God.

Moreover, 'the dogs came and licked his sores.' Here again you may see, not only the afflicted state of the saints of God in this world, but also that even dogs themselves, according to their kind, are more favourable to the saints than the sinful world; though the ungodly will have no mercy on the saints, yet it is ordered so that these creatures, dogs, lions, &c. will. Though the rich man would not entertain him into his house, yet his dogs will come and do him the best good they can, even to lick his running sores. It was thus with Daniel when the world was mad against him, and would have him thrown to the lions to be devoured, the lions shut their mouths at him, or rather the Lord did shut them up, so that there was not that hurt befel to him as was desired by the adversaries. Da. vi. And this I am persuaded of, that would the creatures do as some men would have them, the saints of God should not walk so quietly up and down the streets and other places as they do. And as I said before, so I say again, I am persuaded that, at the day of judgment, many men's conditions and carriages will be so laid open, that it will evidently appear they have been very merciless and mad against the children of God, insomuch, that when the providence of God did fall out so as to cross their expectation, they have been very much offended thereat, as is very evidently seen in them who set themselves to study how to bring the saints into bondage, and to thrust them into corners, as in these late years. Ps. xxxi. 13. And because God hath in his goodness ordered things otherwise, they have gnashed their teeth thereat.[1] Hence then let the saints learn not to commit themselves to their enemies; 'beware of men.' Mat. x. 17. They are very merciless men, and will not so much favour you, if they can help it, as you may suppose they may. Nay, unless the overruling hand of God in goodness do order things contrary to their natural inclination, they will not favour you so much as a dog.

[1] Alluding to the awful sufferings of Leighton, and all Christians of his time, under that bigoted demon in human shape, Laud.—(Ed.)

Verse 22.—'And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried.'

The former verses do briefly hold forth the carriage of the ungodly in this life toward the saints. Now this verse doth hold forth the departure, both of the godly and ungodly, out of this life.

Where he said, 'And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried into Abraham's bosom,' and 'the rich man also died;'—the beggar died, that represents the godly; and the rich man died, that represents the ungodly. From whence observe, neither godly nor ungodly must live always without a change, either by death or judgment; the good man died and the bad man died. That scripture doth also back this truth, that good and bad must die, marvellous well, where it is said, 'And it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment.' He. ix. 27.

Mark, he doth not say it is so that men by chance may die; which might beget, in the hearts of the ungodly especially, some hope to escape the bitterness of it. But he saith it is a thing most certain, it is appointed; mark, 'it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment.' God hath decreed it, that since men have fallen from that happy estate that God at the first did set them in, they shall die. Ro. vi. 23. Now when it is said the beggar died and the rich man died, part of the meaning is they ceased to be any more in this world; I say partly the meaning, but not altogether. Though it be altogether the meaning when some of the creatures die, yet it is but in part the meaning when it is said that men, women, or children die; for there is to them something else to be said, more than barely agoing out of the world. For if when unregenerate men and women die there were an end of them, not only in this world but also in the world to come, they would be happy over they will be now, for when ungodly men and women die there is that to come after death that will be very terrible to them, namely, to be carried by the angels of darkness from their death-beds to hell, there to be reserved to the judgment of the great day, when both body and soul shall meet and be united together again, and made capable to undergo the uttermost vengeance of the Almighty to all eternity. This is that, I say, which doth follow a man that is not born again, after death, as is clear from that in 1 Pe. iii. 18, 19, where, before speaking of Christ being raised again, by the power of his eternal Spirit, he saith, By which, that is, by that Spirit, 'he went and preached unto the spirits in prison.' But what is the meaning of this? Why, thus much, that those souls who were once alive in the world in the time or days in which Noah lived, being disobedient in

their times to the calls of God by his Spirit in Noah, for so I understand it, was, according to that which was foretold by that preacher, deprived of life and overcome by the flood, and are now in prison. Mark, he preached to the spirits in prison; he doth not say, who were in prison, but to them in, that is, now in prison, under chains of darkness, reserved, or kept there in that prison, in which now they are, ready, like villains in the jail, to be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ at the great day. But of this I shall speak further by and by.

Now if this one truth, that men must die and depart this world, and either enter into joy or else into prison, to be reserved to the day of judgment, were believed, we should not have so many wantons walk up and down the streets as there do, at least it would put a mighty check to their filthy carriages, so that they would not, could not walk so basely and sinfully as they do. Belshazzar, notwithstanding he was so far from the fear of God as he was, yet, when he did but see that God was offended and threatened him for his wickedness, it made him hang down his head and knock his knees together. Da. v. 5, 6. If you read the verses before you will find he was careless, and satisfying his lusts in drinking and playing the wanton with his concubines. But so soon as he did perceive the finger of a hand-writing, '*then*,' saith the scripture, 'the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.' And when Paul told Felix of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, it made him tremble. And let me tell thee, soul, whosoever thou art, that if thou didst but verily believe that thou must die and come into the judgment, it would make thee turn over a new leaf. But this is the misery, the devil doth labour by all means as to keep out other things that are good, so to keep out of the heart, as much as in him lies, the thoughts of passing from this life into another world; for he knows, if he can but keep them from the serious thoughts of death, he shall the more easily keep them in their sins, and so from closing with Jesus Christ; as Job saith, 'Their houses *are* safe from fear, neither *is* the rod of God upon them.' Which makes them say to God, 'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways.' Job xxi. 14. Because there is no fear of death and judgment to come, therefore they do put off God and his ways, and spend their days in their sins, and in a moment, that is, before they are aware, go down to the grave. Job xxi. 17. And thus it fared also with the man spoken of in Lu. xii. 20. The man, instead of thinking of death, he thought how he might make his barns bigger. But, in the midst of his business in the world, he lost his soul before he was aware, supposing that death had been many years off. But God said unto him, '*Thou* fool,' thou troublest thyself about things of this life, thou puttest off the thoughts of departing this world, when this night thy soul shall be taken from thee; or, this night, they, that is, the devil, will fetch away thy soul from thee. And here it comes to pass, men's not being exercised with the thoughts of departing this life, that they are, so unexpectedly to themselves and their neighbours, taken away from the pleasures and profits, yea, and all the enjoyments they busy themselves withal while they live in this world. And hence it is again, that you have some in your towns and cities that are so suddenly taken away, some from haunting the ale-houses, others from haunting the whore-houses, others from playing and gaming, others from the cares and covetous desires after this world, unlooked for as by themselves or their companions. Hence it is also that men do so wonder at such tidings as this. There is such a one dead, such a one is departed; it is because they do so little consider both the transitoriness of themselves and their neighbours. For had they but their thoughts well exercised about the shortness of this life, and the danger that will befall such as do miss of the Lord Jesus Christ, it would make them more wary and sober, and spend more time in the service of God, and be more delighted and diligent in inquiring after the Lord Jesus, who is the deliverer 'from the wrath to come.' 1 Th. i. 10. For, as I said before, it is evident, that they who live after the flesh in the lusts thereof, do not really and seriously think on death, and the judgment that doth follow after: neither do they indeed endeavour so to do; for did they, it would make them say with holy Job, 'All the days of my appointed time will I wait till my change come.' Job xiv. 14. And as I said before, that not only the wicked, but also the godly have their time to depart this life. And the beggar died. The saints of the Lord, they must be deprived of this life also, they must yield up the ghost into the hands of the Lord their God; they must also be separated from their wives, children, husbands, friends, goods, and all that they have in the world. For God hath decreed it; it is appointed, namely, by the Lord, for men once to die, and 'we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ,' as it is, 2 Co. v. 10, 11.

But it may be objected, if the godly do die as well as the wicked, and if the saints must appear before the judgment-seat as well as the sinners, then what advantage have the godly more than the ungodly, and how can the saints be in a better condition than the wicked?

Answ. Read the 22d verse over again, and you will find a marvellous difference between them, as

much as is between heaven and hell, everlasting joy and everlasting torments; for you find, that when the beggar died, which represents the godly, he was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom, or into everlasting joy. Ps. i. But the ungodly are not so, but are hurried by the devils into the bottomless pit, drawn away in their wickedness, Pr. xiv. 32, for he saith, 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes.' When the ungodly do die, their misery beginneth, for then appear the devils, like so many lions, waiting every moment till the soul depart from the body. Sometimes they are very visible to the dying party,[1] but sometimes more invisible; but always this is certain, they never miss of the soul if it do die out of the Lord Jesus Christ; but do hale it away to the prison, as I said before, there to be tormented and reserved until that great and general day of judgment, at which day they must, body and soul, receive a final sentence from the righteous Judge, and from that time be shut out from the presence of God into everlasting woe and distress. But the godly, when the time of their departure is at hand, then also are the angels of the Lord at hand; yea, they are ready waiting upon the soul to conduct it safe into Abraham's bosom. I do not say but the devils are ofttimes very busy doubtless, and attending the saints in their sickness: ay, and no question but they would willingly deprive the soul of glory. But here is the comfort, as the devils come from hell to devour the soul, if it be possible, at its departure, so the angels of the Lord come from heaven, to watch over and conduct the soul, in spite of the devil, safe into Abraham's bosom.

David had the comfort of this, and speaks it forth for the comfort of his brethren, Ps. xxxiv. 7, saying, 'The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them.' Mark, the angel of the Lord encampeth round about his children, to deliver them. From what? From their enemies, of which the devil is not the least. This is an excellent comfort at any time, to have the holy angels of God to attend a poor man or woman; but especially it is comfortable in the time of distress, at the time of death, when the devils beset the soul with all the power that hell can afford them. But now it may be, that the glorious angels of God do not appear at the first, to the view of the soul; nay, rather hell stands before it, and the devils ready, as if they would carry it thither. But this is the comfort, the angels do always appear at the last, and will not fail the soul, but will carry it safe into Abraham's bosom. Ah friends, consider, here is an ungodly man upon his death-bed, and he hath none to speak for him, none to speak comfort unto him; but it is not so with the children of God, for they have the Spirit to comfort them. Here is the ungodly, and they have no Christ to pray for their safe conduct to glory; but the saints have an intercessor. Jn. xvii. 9. Here is the world, when they die, they have none of the angels of God to attend upon them; but the saints have their company. In a word, the unconverted person, when he dieth, he sinks into the bottomless pit; but the saints, when they die, do ascend with, and by the angels, into Abraham's bosom, or into unspeakable glory. Lu. xxiii. 43.

Again, it is said, that the rich man when he died was buried or put into the earth; but when the beggar died, he was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom. The one is a very excellent style, where he saith he was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom; it denotes the excellent condition of the saints of God, as I said before; and not only so, but also the preciousness of the death of the saints in the eyes of the Lord. Ps. cxvi. 15. That after-generations may see how precious in the sight of the Lord the death of his saints is, when he saith they are carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.

Thus many times the Lord adorneth the death and departure of his saints, to hold forth unto after-generations, how excellent they are in his eyes. It is said of Enoch, that God took him; of Abraham, that he died in a good old age; of Moses, that the Lord buried him; of Elijah, that he was taken up into heaven; that the saints sleep in Jesus; that they die in the Lord; that they rest from their labour, that their works follow them; that they are under the altar; that they are with Christ; that they are in light; that they are to come with the Lord Jesus to judge the world. All which sayings signify thus much, that to die a saint is very great honour and dignity. But the ungodly are not so. The rich or ungodly die and are buried; he is carried from his dwelling to the grave, and there he is buried, hid in the dust; and his body doth not so fast moulder and come to nought there, but his name doth stink as fast in the world, as saith the holy scripture: 'The name of the wicked shall rot.' Pr. x. 7. And indeed, the names of the godly are not in so much honour after their departure, but the wicked and their names do as much rot. What a dishonour to posterity was the death of Balaam, Agag, Ahithophel, Haman, Judas, Herod, with the rest of their companions?

[1] It is a very ancient and prevailing opinion, that man is always attended by *invisible* spirits, whose powers or mode of intercourse with our spirits is unknown. These attendants are most active at the hour of death. They cannot be seen unless the eyes are made to possess new or miraculous powers. It may be that, when dying, the spirit, before it entirely quits its mortal habitation, has a glimpse of spiritual existences. If so, how awful for the sinner to see the infernal demons ready to drag away his soul; but most joyful for the Christian to embrace his celestial guides. This is illustrated in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, during Christian's conflict at the hour of death.—Vol. iii., p. 163.—(Ed.)

Thus the wicked have their names written in the earth, and they do perish and rot, and the name of the saints do cast forth a dainty savour to following generations; and that the Lord Jesus doth signify where he saith the godly are 'carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom;' and that the wicked are nothing worth, where he saith the ungodly die and are buried.

Verse 23.—'And in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.'

The former verse speaks only of the departure of the ungodly out of this life, together with the glorious conduct[1] that the godly have into the kingdom of their Father. Now our Lord doth show, in this verse, partly what doth and shall befal to the reprobate after this life is ended, where he saith, 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes.' That is, the ungodly, after they depart this life, do lift up their eyes in hell.

From these words may be observed these things, *First.* That there is a hell for souls to be tormented in, when this life is ended. Mark, after he was dead and buried, 'In hell he lifted up his eyes.' *Second.* That all that are ungodly, and do live and die in their sins, so soon as ever they die, they go into hell: he died and was buried; 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes.' *Third.* That some are so fast asleep, and secure in their sins, that they scarce know well where they are till they come into hell; and that I gather from these words, 'In hell he lifted up his eyes.' He was asleep before, but hell makes him lift up his eyes.

[*First.*] As I said before, it is evident that there is a hell for souls, yea, and bodies too, to be tormented in after they depart this life, as is clear, first, because the Lord Jesus Christ, that cannot lie, did say that after the sinner was dead and buried, 'In hell he lifted up his eyes.'

Now if it be objected that by hell is here meant the grave, that I plainly deny: 1. Because there the body is not sensible of torment or ease; but in that hell into which the spirits of the damned depart, they are sensible of torment, and would very willingly be freed from it, to enjoy ease, which they are sensible of the want of; as is clearly discovered in this parable, 'Send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue.' 2. It is not meant the grave, but some other place, because the bodies, so long as they lie there, are not capable of lifting up their eyes, to see the glorious condition of the children of God, as the souls of the damned do. 'In hell he lifted up his eyes.' 3. It cannot be the grave, for then it must follow that the soul was buried there with the body, which cannot stand with such a dead state as is here mentioned; for he saith, 'The rich man died;' that is, his soul was separated from his body. 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes.'

If it be again objected that there is no hell but in this life; that I do also deny, as I said before: after he was dead and buried, 'In hell he lifted up his eyes.' And let me tell thee, O soul, whoever thou art, that if thou close not in savingly with the Lord Jesus Christ, and lay hold on what he hath done and is doing in his own person for sinners, thou wilt find such a hell after this life is ended, that thou wilt not get out of again for ever and ever. And thou that art wanton, and dost make but a mock at the servants of the Lord, when they tell thee of the torments of hell, thou wilt find that when thou departest out of this life, that hell, even the hell which is after this life, will meet thee in thy journey thither; and will, with its hellish crew, give thee such a sad salutation that thou wilt not forget it to all eternity. When that scripture comes to be fulfilled on thy soul, in Is. xiv. 9, 10, 'Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet *thee* at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, *even* all the chief ones of the earth; it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. All they,' that is, that are in hell, shall say, 'Art thou also become weak as we? art thou become like unto us?' O sometimes when I have had but thoughts of going to hell, and consider the everlastingness of their ruin that fall in thither, it hath stirred me up rather to seek to the Lord Jesus Christ to deliver me from thence, than to slight it, and make a mock at it. 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes.'

[*Second.*] The second thing I told you was this, that all the ungodly that live and die in their sins, so soon as ever they depart this life, do descend into hell. This is also verified by the words in this parable, where Christ saith, He 'died and was buried, and in hell he lifted up his eyes.' As the tree falls, so it shall be, whether it be to heaven or hell. Ec. xi. 3. And as Christ said to the thief on the cross, 'To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise.' Even so the devil in the like manner may say unto thy soul, To-morrow shalt thou be with me in hell. See then what a miserable case he that dies in an unregenerate state is in; he departs from a long sickness to a longer hell; from the gripings of death, to the everlasting torments of hell. 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes.' Ah friends! If you were but yourselves, you would have a care of your souls; if you did but regard, you would see how mad they are that slight the salvation of their souls. O what will it profit thy soul to have pleasure in this life, and torments in hell? Mar. viii. 36. Thou hadst better part with all thy sins, and pleasures, and companions, or whatsoever thou delightest in, than to

[1] Guard, convoy, or escort. See *Pilgrim's Progress*, the entrance into the celestial city.—(Ed.)

have soul and body to be cast into hell. O then do not now neglect our Lord Jesus Christ, lest thou drop down to hell. He. ii. 3. Consider, would it not wound thee to thine heart to come upon thy death-bed, and instead of having the comfort of a well spent life, and the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, together with the comforts of his glorious Spirit: to have, first, the sight of an ill-spent life, thy sins flying in thy face, thy conscience uttering itself with thunder-claps against thee, the thoughts of God terrifying of thee, death with his merciless paw seizing upon thee, the devils standing ready to scramble for thy soul, and hell enlarging herself, and ready to swallow thee up; and an eternity of misery and torment attending upon thee, from which there will be no release. For mark, death doth not come alone to an unconverted soul, but with such company, as wast thou but sensible of it would make thee tremble. I pray consider that scripture, Re. vi. 8, 'And I looked and behold a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was Death, and hell followed with him.' Mark, death doth not come alone to the ungodly, no, but hell goeth with him. O miserable comforters! O miserable society! Here comes death and hell unto thee. Death goeth into thy body, and separates body and soul asunder; hell stands without, as I may say, to embrace, or rather, to crush thy soul between its everlasting grinders. Then thy mirth, thy joy, thy sinful delights will be ended when this comes to pass. Lo it will come. Blessed are all those that through Christ Jesus his merits, by faith, do escape these soul-murdering companions. 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes.'

[*Third.*] The third thing you know that we did observe from these words was this, That some are so fast asleep, and secure in their sins, that they scarce know where they are, until they come into hell. And that I told you I gather by these words, 'In hell he lifted up his eyes.' Mark, it was in hell that he lift up his eyes. Now some do understand by these words that he came to himself, or began to consider with himself, or to think with himself in what an estate he was, and what he was deprived of; which is still a confirmation of the thing laid down by me. There it is that they come to themselves, that is, there they are sensible where they are indeed. Thus it fares with some men that they scarce know where they are, till they lift up their eyes in hell. It is with those people as with those that fall down in a swoon; you know if a man do fall down in a swoon in one room, though you take him up and carry him into another, yet he is not sensible where he is till he cometh unto himself, and lifteth up his eyes.

Truly thus, it is to be feared, it is with many poor souls, they are so senseless, so hard, so seared in their conscience [1 Ti. iv. 2], that they are very ignorant of their state; and when death comes it strikes them as it were into a swoon, especially if they die suddenly, and so they are hurried away, and scarce know where they are till in hell they lift up their eyes: this is he who 'dieth in his full strength, being wholly at ease and quiet.' Job xxi. 23.

Of this sort are they spoken of in Ps. lxxiii., where he saith, '*There are* no bands in their death: but their strength *is* firm.' 'They *are* not in trouble *as other* men, neither are they plagued like *other* men.' And again, 'they spend their days in wealth, and in a moment,' mark, 'in a moment,' before they are aware, they 'go down to the grave.' Job xxi. 13.

Indeed this is too much known by woeful and daily experience; sometimes when we go to visit them that are sick in the towns and places where we live, O how senseless, how seared in their consciences are they! They are neither sensible of heaven nor of hell, of sin nor of a Saviour; speak to them of their condition, and the state of their souls, and you shall find them as ignorant as if they had no souls to regard. Others, though they lie ready to die, yet they are busying themselves about their outward affairs, as though they should certainly live here, even to live and enjoy the same for ever. Again, come to others, speak to them about the state of their souls, though they have no more experience of the new birth than a beast, yet will they speak as confidently of their eternal state, and the welfare of their souls, as if they had the most excellent experience of any man or woman in the world, saying, 'I shall have peace.' De. xxix. 19. When, as I said even now, the Lord knows they are as ignorant of the new birth, of the nature and operation of faith, of the witness of the Spirit, as if there were no new birth, no faith, no witness of the Spirit of Christ in any of the saints in the world. Nay, thus many of them are, even an hour or less before their departure. Ah, poor souls! though they may go away here like a lamb, as the world says, yet, if you could but follow them a little, to stand and listen soon after their departure, it is to be feared, you should hear them roar like a lion at their first entrance into hell, far worse than even did Korah, &c., when they went down quick into the ground. Nu. xvi. 31–35.

Now, by this one thing doth the devil take great advantage on the hearts of the ignorant, suggesting unto them that because the party deceased departed so quietly, without all doubt they are gone to rest and joy; when, alas! it is to be feared the reason why they went away so quietly, was rather because they were senseless and hardened in their consciences; yea, dead before in sins and trespasses. For, had they had but some awakenings on their death-beds, as some have had,

they would have made all the town to ring of their doleful condition; but because they are seared and ignorant, and so depart quietly, therefore the world takes heart at grass,[1] as we use to say, and make no great matter of living and dying they cannot tell how; '*therefore pride compasseth them as a chain.*' Ps. lxxv. 6. But let them look to themselves, for if they have not an interest in the Lord Jesus now, while they live in the world, they will, whether they die raging or still, go unto the same place; 'and lifted up their eyes in hell.'

O, my friends, did you but know what a miserable condition they are in that go out of this world without an interest in the Son of God, it would make you smite upon your thigh, and in the bitterness of your souls cry out, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?' Ac. xvi. 29–31. And not only so, but thou wouldst not be comforted until thou didst find a rest for thy soul in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Verse 23. 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.'

Something, in brief, I have observed from the first part of this verse, namely, from these words, 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes.' And, indeed, I have observed but something, for they are very full of matter, and many things might be taken notice of in them. There is one thing more that I might touch upon, as touched in this saying, and that is this:—Methinks the Lord Jesus Christ doth hereby signify that men are naturally unwilling to see or take notice of their sad state, I say by nature; but though now they are willingly ignorant, yet in hell they shall lift up their eyes. That is, in hell they shall see and understand their miserable condition; and, therefore, to these words: 'In hell he lifted up his eyes,' he adds, 'being in torments.' As if he had said, though once they shut their eyes, though once they were willingly ignorant (2 Pe. iii. 5), yet, when they depart into hell, they shall be so miserably handled and tormented, that they shall be forced to lift up their eyes. While men live in this world, and are in a natural state, they will have a good conceit of themselves, and of their condition—they will conclude that they are Christians, that Abraham is their father, and their state to be as good as the best. Mat. iii. 7–9. They will conclude they have faith, the Spirit, a good hope, and an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ; but then, when they drop into hell, and lift up their eyes there, and behold first their soul to be in extreme torments; their dwelling to be the bottomless pit; their company thousands of damned souls; also the innumerable company of devils; and the hot scalding vengeance of God, not only to drop, but to fall very violently upon them; then they will begin to be awakened, who all their lifetime were in a dead sleep. I say, when this comes to pass, lo it will; then in hell they shall lift up their eyes, in the midst of torments they shall lift up their eyes.

Again, you may observe in these words, 'And in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torments,' that the time of the ungodly men's smarting for their sins will be in the torments of hell. Now here I am put to a stand, when I consider the torments of hell into which the damned do fall. O unspeakable torments! O endless torments! Now that thy soul might be made to flee from those intolerable torments into which the damned do go, I shall show you briefly what are the torments of hell. *First.* By the names of it. *Second.* By the sad state thou wilt be in, if thou comest there.

First. The names. It is called a never-dying worm, Mar. ix. It is called an oven fire, hot, Mal. iv. 1. It is called a furnace, a fiery-furnace, Mat. xiii. It is called the bottomless pit, the unquenchable fire, fire and brimstone, hell fire, the lake of fire, devouring fire, everlasting fire, eternal fire, a stream of fire, Re. xxi.

[*Second. By the sad state thou wilt be in, if thou comest there.*]

1. One part of thy torments will be this, thou shalt have a full sight of all thy ill spent life, from first to last; though here thou canst sin today and forget it by to-morrow, yet there thou shalt be made to remember how thou didst sin against God at such a time, and in such a place, for such a thing, and with such a one, which will be a hell unto thee. God will 'set *them* in order before thine eyes.' Ps. l. 21.

2. Thou shalt have the guilt of them all lie heavy on thy soul, not only the guilt of one or two, but the guilt of them all together, and there they shall lie in thy soul, as if thy belly were full of pitch, and set on a light fire. Here men can sometimes think on their sins with delight, but there with unspeakable torment; for that I understand to be the fire that Christ speaketh of, which shall never be quenched. Mar. ix. 43–49. While men live here, O how doth the guilt of one sin sometimes crush the soul! It makes a man in such plight that he is weary of his life, so that he can neither rest at home nor abroad, neither up nor in bed.[2] Nay, I do know that they have been so tormented with the guilt of one sinful thought, that they have been even at their wits' end, and have

[1] This proverb was very probably founded upon Je. l. 11: 'Ye are grown fat as the heifer at grass, and bellow as bulls.' —(Ed.)

[2] Bunyan is here expressing what he had most acutely felt. 'I blessed the condition of the dog and toad, because they had no soul to perish under the everlasting weight of hell. I was broken to pieces,' until he found refuge in Jesus. See *Grace Abounding*, No. 104.—(Ed.)

hanged themselves. But now when thou comest into hell, and hast not only one or two, or an hundred sins, with the guilt of them all on thy soul and body, but all the sins that ever thou didst commit since thou camest into the world, altogether clapped on thy conscience at one time, as one should clap a red hot iron to thy breasts, and there to continue to all eternity: this is miserable.

3. Again, then thou shalt have brought into thy remembrance the slighting of the gospel of Christ; here thou shalt consider how willing Christ was to come into the world to save sinners, and for what a trifle thou didst reject him. This is plainly held forth in Is. xxviii., where, speaking of the Lord Jesus Christ, the foundation of salvation, ver. 16, he saith of them that reject the gospel, that, when the overflowing scourge doth pass through the earth, which I understand to be at the end of the world, then, saith he, it shall take you morning by morning, by day and by night shall it pass over you; that is, continually, without any intermission. 'And it shall be a vexation only to understand the report.' 'A vexation,' that is, a torment, or a great part of hell only to understand the report, to understand the good tidings that came into the world by Christ's death for poor sinners. And you will find this verily to be the mind of the Spirit, if you compare it with Is. liii. 1, where he speaks of men's turning their backs upon the tenders of God's grace in the gospel, he saith, 'Who hath believed our report?' or the gospel declared by us? Now this will be a mighty torment to the ungodly, when they shall understand the goodness of God was so great that he even sent his Son out of his bosom to die for sinners, and yet that they should be so foolish as to put him off from one time to another; that they should be so foolish as to lose heaven and Christ, and eternal life in glory, for the society of a company of drunkards; that they should lose their souls for a little sport, for this world, for a strumpet, for that which is lighter than vanity and nothing; I say this will be a very great torment unto thee.

4. Another part of thy torment will be this: Thou shalt see thy friends, thy acquaintance, thy neighbours; nay, it may be thy father, thy mother, thy wife, thy husband, thy children, thy brother, thy sister, with others, in the kingdom of heaven, and thyself thrust out. Lu. xiii. 28. 'There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham (your father), and Isaac, and Jacob, (together with your brethren), and all the prophets in the kingdom of heaven, and you *yourselves* thrust out.' Nay, saith he, 'They shall come from the east, and *from* the west'—that is, those that thou didst never see in all thy life before, and they shall sit down with thy friends, and thy neighbours, thy wife and thy children, in the kingdom of heaven, and thou, for thy sins and disobedience, shall be shut, nay, thrust out. O wonderful torment!.

5. Again, thou shalt have none but a company of damned souls, with an innumerable company of devils, to keep company with thee. While thou art in this world, the very thoughts of the devils appearing to thee makes thy flesh to tremble, and thine hair ready to stand upright on thy head. But O! what wilt thou do, when not only the supposition of the devils appearing, but the real society of all the devils in hell will be with thee howling and roaring, screeching and roaring in such a hideous manner, that thou wilt be even at thy wits' end, and be ready to run stark mad again for anguish and torment?

6. Again, that thou mightest be tormented to purpose, the mighty God of heaven will lay as great wrath and vengeance upon thee as ever he can, by the might of his glorious power. As I said before, thou shalt have his wrath, not by drops, but by whole showers shall it come, thunder, thunder, upon thy body and soul so fast, and so thick, that thou shalt be tormented out of measure. And so saith the Scripture, 2 Th. i. 9, speaking of the wicked, 'Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power,' when the saints shall be admiring his goodness and glory. Again, this thou shalt have, as I said before, without any intermission; thou shalt not have any ease so long as while a man may turn himself round; thou shalt have it always every hour, day and night; for their worm never dies, but always gnaws, and their fire is never quenched; as it is written in Mar. ix.

7. Again, in this condition thou must be for ever, and that is as sad as all the rest. For if a man were to have all his sins laid to his charge, and communion with the devils, and as much wrath as the great God of heaven can inflict unto him; I say, if it were but for a time, even ten thousand years, and so end, there would be ground of comfort, and hopes of deliverance; but here is thy misery, this is thy state for ever, here thou must be for ever: when thou lookest about thee, and seest what an innumerable company of howling devils thou art amongst, thou shalt think this again, this is my portion for ever. When thou hast been in hell so many thousand years as there are stars in the firmament, or drops in the sea, or sands on the sea-shore, yet thou hast to lie there for ever. O this one word EVER, how will it torment thy soul!

Friends, I have only given a very short touch of the torments of hell. O! I am set, I am set, and am not able to utter what my mind conceives of the torments of hell. Yet this let me say to thee, accept of God's mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ, lest thou feel THAT with thy con-

science which I cannot express with my tongue, and say, I am sorely tormented in this flame.

'*And seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.*'

When the damned are in this pitiful state, surrounded with fears, with terrors, with torment and vengeance, one thing they shall have, which is this, they shall see the happy and blessed state of God's children. He seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom; which, as I said before, is the happy state of the saints when this life is ended. This now shall be so far from being an ease unto them, that it shall most wonderfully aggravate or heighten their torment, as I said before. There shall be weeping, or cause of lamentation, when they shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven, and themselves thrust out.

1. Observe, Those that die in their sins are far from going to heaven; he seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And, indeed, it is just with God to deal with them that die in their sins according to what they have done; and to make them who are far from righteousness now, to stand far from heaven to all eternity. Hearken to this, ye stout-hearted, that are far from righteousness, and that are resolved to go on in your sins, when you die you will be far from heaven; you will see Lazarus, but it will be afar off.

Again, he 'seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.'

These are some of the things the damned do behold, so soon as they come into torment. Mark, and he 'seeth Lazarus in Abraham's bosom.' Lazarus, who was he? Why even he that was so slighted, so disregarded, so undervalued by this ungodly one while he was in the world, he seeth Lazarus in Abraham's bosom.

From whence observe, That those who live and die the enemies of the saints of God, let them be never so great, or stout, let them bear never so much sway while they are in the world, let them brag and boast never so much while they are here, they shall, in spite of their teeth, see the saints, yea, the poor saints, even the Lazaruses or the ragged ones that belong to Jesus, to be in a better condition than themselves. O! who do you think was in the best condition? who do you think saw themselves in the best condition? He that was in hell, or he that was in heaven? He that was in darkness, or he that was in light? He that was in everlasting joy, or he that was in everlasting torments? The one with God, Christ, saints, angels, the other in tormenting flames, under the curse of God's eternal hatred, with the devils and their angels, together with an innumerable company of howling, roaring, cursing, ever-burning reprobates? Certainly, this observation will be easily proved to be true here in this world, by him that looks upon it with an understanding heart, and will clear itself to be true in the world to come, by such as shall go either to heaven or to hell.

2. The second observation from these words, 'And seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom,' is this; they that are the persecutors of the saints of the Lord now in this world, shall see the Lord's persecuted ones to be they that are so highly esteemed by the Lord, as to sit or to be in Abraham's bosom, in everlasting glory, though they, the enemies to the children of God,[1] did so lightly esteem them, that they scorned to let them gather up the dog's meat that falls under their table. This is also verified, and held forth plainly by this parable. And therefore be not grieved, O you that are the tempted, persecuted, afflicted, sighing, praying saints of the Lord, though your adversaries look upon you now with a disdainful, surly, rugged, proud, and haughty countenance, yet the time shall come when they shall spy you in Abraham's bosom!

I might enlarge upon these things, but shall leave them to the Spirit of the Lord, which can better by ten thousand degrees enlarge them on thy heart and conscience, than I can upon a piece of paper. Therefore, leaving these to the blessing of the Lord, I shall come to the next verse, and shall be brief in speaking to that also, and so pass to the rest.

Verse 24.—'And he cried, and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, *and* cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame.'

You know I told you that ver. 22 is a discovery of the departure of the godly and the ungodly out of this life; where he saith the beggar died, and the rich man also died. The 23d verse is a discovery of the proper places, both of the godly and the ungodly after death; one being in Abraham's bosom, or in glory, the other in hell. Now this 24th verse is a discovery of part of the too late repentance of the ungodly, when they are dropped down into hell; 'And he cried, and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me.' From these words, 'And he cried,' we may observe,

First. What a change the ungodly will have when they come into hell. 'He cried.' It is like he was laughing, jesting, jeering, drinking, mocking, swearing, cursing, prating, persecuting of the godly in his prosperity, among his filthy companions. But now the case is otherwise, now he is in another frame, now his proud, stout, cur-

[1] The first edition has, 'and the practice of the saints.' This was left out in all the subsequent editions.—(Ed.)

rish carriage, is come down ; 'And he cried.' The laughter of the ungodly will not last always, but will be sure to end in a cry ; 'The triumphing of the wicked *is* short.' Job xx. 5. Consider, you must have a change either here or in hell. If you be not new creatures, regenerate persons, new-born babes, in this world, before you go hence, your note will be changed, your conditions will be changed ; for if you come into hell, you must cry. O did but the singing drunkards, when they are making merry on the ale bench,[1] think on this, it would make them change their note, and cry, What shall I do? Whither shall I go when I die? But, as I said before, the devil, as he labours to get poor souls to follow their sins, so he labours also to keep the thoughts of eternal damnation out of their minds ; and, indeed, these two things are so nearly linked together, that the devil cannot well get the soul to go on in sin with delight unless he can keep the thoughts of that terrible after clap out of their minds.

But let them know that it shall not always be thus with them ; for if, when they depart, they drop down into eternal destruction, they shall have such a sense of their sins, and the punishment due to the same, that it shall make them to cry; 'And he cried.' O what an alteration will there be among the ungodly when they go out of this world? It may be a fortnight, or a month before their departure, they were light, stout, surly, drinking themselves drunk, slighting God's people, mocking at goodness, and delighting in sin, following the world, seeking after riches, faring deliciously, keeping company with the bravest ;[2] but now, they are dropped down into hell, they cry. A little while ago they were painting their faces, feeding their lusts, following their whores, robbing their neighbours, telling of lies, following of plays and sports, to pass away the time ; but now they are in hell, they do cry. It may be last year they heard some good sermons, were invited to receive heaven, were told their sins should be pardoned if they closed in with Jesus ; but, refusing his proffers, and slighting the grace that was once tendered, they are now in hell, and do cry.

Before, they had so much time, they thought that they could not tell how to spend it, unless it were in hunting, and whoring, in dancing, and playing, and spending whole hours, yea, days, nay, weeks, in the lusts of the flesh ; but when they depart into another place, and begin to lift up their eyes in hell, and consider their miserable and irrecoverable condition, they will cry.

O what a condition wilt thou fall into, when thou dost depart this world ; if thou depart unconverted, and not born again, thou hadst better have been smothered the first hour thou wast born ; thou hadst better have been plucked one limb from another ; thou hadst better have been made a dog, a toad, a serpent, nay, any other creature in the visible world, than to die unconverted ;[3] and this thou wilt find to be true, when in hell thou dost lift up thine eyes, and dost cry.

Here then, before we go any further, you may see that it is not without good ground that these words are here spoken by our Lord, that when any of the ungodly do depart into hell, they will cry. Cry, why so? 1. They will cry to think that they should be cut off from the land of the living, never more to have any footing therein. 2. They will cry to think that the gospel of Christ should be so often proffered them, and yet they are not profited by it. 3. They will cry to think that now, though they would never so willingly repent and be saved, yet they are past all recovery. 4. They will cry to think that they should be so foolish as to follow their pleasures, when others were following of Christ. Lu. xiii. 28. 5. They will cry to think that they must be separated from God, Christ, and the kingdom of heaven, and that for ever. 6. To think that their crying will now do them no good. 7. To think that, at the day of judgment, they must stand at the left hand of Christ, among an innumerable company of the damned ones. 8. They will cry to think that Lazarus, whom once they slighted, must be of them that must sit down with Christ to judge ; or together with Christ, to pass a sentence of condemnation on their souls for ever and ever. 1 Co. vi. 2, 3. 9. Cry to think that when the judgment is over, and others are taken into the everlasting kingdom of glory, then they must depart back again into that dungeon of darkness from whence they came out, to appear before the terrible tribunal. There they shall be tormented so long as eternity lasts, without the least intermission or ease.

How sayest thou, O thou wanton, proud, swearing, lying, ungodly wretch, whether this be to be slighted and made a mock at. And again tell me now, if it be not better to leave sin, and to close in with Christ Jesus, notwithstanding that reproach thou shalt meet with for so doing, than to live a little while in this world in pleasures and feeding thy lusts, in neglecting the welfare of thy soul, and refusing to be justified by Jesus; and in a moment to drop down to hell and to cry? O! consider, I say, consider betimes, and put not off the tenders of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,

[1] Ale bench, in Bunyan's time, was very similar to a taproom; more generally the place of resort for the idle tipplers, but sometimes of refreshment to the weary traveller.—(Ed.)

[2] Formerly designated not only a courageous man, but his counterpart, a braggart, a bully, or a dandy. In these latter senses it is obsolete.—(Ed.)

[3] These feelings appear in awful reality in *Grace Abounding*, Nos. 87 and 104.—(Ed.)

lest you lift up your eyes in hell, and cry for anguish of spirit.

'And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus,' &c.

[*Second.*] These words do not only hold forth the lamentable condition of the damned, and their lamentable howling and crying out under their anguish of spirit, but also they do signify to us, as I said before, their too late repentance; and also that they would very willingly, if they might, be set at liberty from that everlasting misery that by their sins they have plunged themselves into. I say, these words do hold forth a desire that the damned have, to be delivered from those torments that they now are in: O 'Father Abraham,' saith he, 'have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame.' These words, 'Father Abraham,' may have some difficulty in them. It is possible that some may think them to be meant of Abraham; and those, or him that crieth out here, to be the Jews. Or it may be some may understand it to be God, or Jesus Christ his Son, which I rather suppose it may be, that is here cried out unto; because you find the same cry to him as it were uttered by the ungodly in other places of the Scripture; as in Lu. xiii. 25, 26. Then shall they say, 'Lord, Lord, we have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets.' Nay more, 'In thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works.' Mat. vii. 22. This was just at their rejection. And again, in Mat. xxv. 11, they cry again to him, even to Jesus, 'Lord, Lord, open to us.' And he there again gives them a repulse, as also in this parable.

But however or whosoever Abraham is, yet these truths may be observed from the words. 1. That the damned, when in an irrecoverable estate, will seek for, or desire deliverance from the wrath that they are and shall be in for eternity. 'Surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh unto him.' Ps. xxxii. 6. 2. That they will pray, if I may so call it, earnestly for deliverance from their miserable estate. These two things are clear from the words. For mark, he not only said, 'Father Abraham, have mercy on me;' but 'he CRIED,' and said, 'Father Abraham, have mercy on me.' 3. From whence take a third observation; and that is, there is a time coming wherein, though men shall both cry and pray, yet they are like to have no mercy at the hands of God; for so was this man served, as I shall further show by and by when I come to it.

Some people are so deluded by the devil as to think that God is so merciful as to own or regard anything for prayer; they think anything will go for current and good satisfaction, while they are here in this world, through ignorance of the true nature of the mercy of God, and the knowledge in what way God is satisfied for sinners. Now I say, through ignorance they think, that if they do but mutter over some form of prayers,[1] though they know not what they say, nor what they request, yet God is satisfied, yea, very well satisfied with their doings; when, alas! there is nothing less. O friends, I beseech you to look about you, and seek in good earnest for the Spirit of Christ so to help you now, to strive and pray, and to enable you to lay hold of Christ, that your souls may be saved, lest the time come that though you cry and pray, and wish also that you had laid hold on the Lord Jesus, yet you must and shall be damned.

Then again, you may see that though God be willing to save sinners at some time, yet this time doth not always last. No, he that can find in his heart to turn his back upon Jesus Christ now, shall have the back turned upon him hereafter, when he may cry and pray for mercy, and yet go without it. God will have a time to meet with them that now do not seek after him. They shall have a time, yea time enough hereafter to repent their folly, and to befool themselves, for turning their backs upon the Lord Jesus Christ. 'I will laugh at your calamity,' saith he, and 'mock when *your* fear cometh.' Pr. i. 26.

Again, this should admonish us to take time while it is proffered, lest we repent us of our unbelief and rebellion when we are deprived of it. Ah friends! Time is precious, an hour's time to hear a sermon is precious. I have sometimes thought thus with myself, Set the case, the Lord should send two or three of his servants, the ministers of the gospel, to hell among the damned, with this comission; Go ye to hell, and preach my grace to those that are there. Let your sermon be an hour long, and hold forth the merits of my Son's birth, righteousness, death, resurrection, ascension, and intercession, with all my love in him, and proffer it to them, telling them that now once more, and but once, do I proffer the means of reconciliation to them. They who are now roaring, being past hope, would then leap at the least proffer of mercy. O they that could spend whole days, weeks, nay, years, in rejecting the Son of God, would now be glad of one tender of that mercy. 'Father,' saith he, 'have mercy on me.'

Again, from these words you may observe, that mercy would be welcome when souls are under judgment. Now his soul is in the fire, now he is under the wrath of God, now he is in hell, there

[1] How awfully general is this wretched delusion. The chattering of monkeys or parrots is more acceptable than to mock God with a solemn sound upon a thoughtless tongue. Jews gabble Hebrew, and Papists Latin, and, alas! others who NEVER prayed, have been from childhood in the habit of repeating or reading a form of words, called, with devilish subtlety, 'saying prayers.'—(ED.)

to be tormented ; now he is with the devils and damned spirits ; now he feels the vengeance of God. Now, O now, have mercy on me ! Here you may see, that mercy is prized by them that are in hell, they would be glad if they could have it. Father, have mercy on me ; for my poor soul's sake, send me a little mercy.

'And send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue.'

[*Third.*] These words do not only hold forth that the ungodly have a desire of mercy, but what those mercies are, what these poor creatures would be glad of. As, 1. to have the company of a Lazarus granted to them. Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus. Now Lazarus was he that was beloved of God, and also he that was hated of them. Therefore, 2. Observe, that those saints, that the world in their lifetime could not endure, now they are departed, they would be glad to have society with them. O now send Lazarus! Though the time was when I cared not for him, yet now let me have some society with him.

Though the world disregard the society of God's children now, yet there is a time coming in which they would be glad to have the least company with them. Nay, do but observe, those of the saints that are now most rejected by them, even from them shall they be glad of comfort, if it might be. Send Lazarus ; he that I slighted more than my dogs, he that I could not endure should come into my house, but must lie at my gate, send him. Now Lazarus shall be welcome to me, now do I desire some comfort from him ; but he shall go without it.

From whence again observe, that there is a time coming, O ye surly dogged persecutors of the saints, that they shall slight you as much as ever you slighted them. You have given them many an hard word, told many a lie of them, given them many a blow. And now in your greatest need and extremity they shall not pity you, the righteous shall rather 'rejoice when he seeth the vengeance' of God upon thee. Ps. lviii. 10.

Again, Send Lazarus. From whence observe, that any of the saints shall then be owned by you to be saints. Now you look upon them to be the sect with Hymeneus and Philetus, but then you shall see them to be the Lazaruses of God, even God's dear children. Though now the saints of the Lord will not be owned by you, because they are beggarly, low, poor, contemptible among you; yet the day is coming that you shall own them, desire their company, and wish for the least courtesy from them.

'Send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue ; for I am tormented in this flame.'

Thus shall the souls that abide in their sins cry out in the bitterness of their spirits, with wonderful anguish and torment of conscience, without intermission ; 'That he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue.' That he, namely, the man who before I scorned should eat with the dogs of my flock, that before I slighted and had no regard of, that I shut out of door ; send him, 'that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue.'

Now these words, 'that he may dip the tip of his finger in water,' &c., do hold forth the least friendship or favour; as if he should have said, Now I would be glad of the least mercy, now I would be glad of the least comfort, though it be but one drop of cold water on the tip of his finger. One would have thought that this had been a small request, a small courtesy—ONE DROP OF WATER—what is that? Take a pail full of it if that will do thee any good. But mark, he is not permitted to have so much as one drop, not so much as a man may hold upon the tip of his finger; this signifies that they that fall short of Christ shall be tormented even as long as eternity lasteth, and shall not have so much as the least ease, no not so long as while a man may turn himself round, not so much leave as to swallow his spittle, not a drop of cold water.

O that these things did take place in your hearts, how would it make you to seek after rest for your souls before it be too late, before the sun of the gospel be set upon you! Consider, I say, the misery of the ungodly that they shall be in, and avoid their vices, by closing in with the tenders of mercy; lest you partake of the same portion with them, and cry out in the bitterness of your souls, One drop of cold water to cool my tongue.

'For I am tormented in this flame.'

Indeed, the reason why the poor world does not so earnestly desire for mercy, is partly because they do not so seriously consider the torment that they must certainly fall into if they die out of Christ. For let me tell you, did but poor souls indeed consider that wrath, that doth by right fall to their shares because of their sins against God, they would make more haste to God through Christ for mercy than they do ; then we should have them say, It is good closing with Christ to-day, before we fall into such distress.

But why is it said, Let him 'dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue?' Because that, as the several members in the body have their share in sin, and committing of that, so the several members of the body shall at that time be punished for the same. Therefore, when Christ is admonishing his disciples, that they should not turn aside from him, and that they should rather fear and dread the power of their God than any other power, he saith, 'Fear him,' therefore, that can

cast both body and soul into hell. Lu. xii. 4. And again, 'Fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.' Mat. x. 28. Here is not one member only, but all the body, the whole body of which the hands, feet, eyes, ears, and tongue are members. And I am persuaded, that though this may be judged carnal by some now, yet it will appear to be a truth then, to the greater misery of those who shall be forced to undergo that which God, in his just judgment, shall inflict upon them. O then they will cry, One dram of ease for my cursing, swearing, lying, jeering tongue. Some ease for my bragging, braving, flattering, threatning, dissembling tongue. Now men can let their tongues run at random, as we used to say; now they will be apt to say, Our tongues are our own, who shall control them? Ps. xii. 4. But then they will be in another mind. Then, O that I might have a little ease for my deceitful tongue? Methinks sometimes to consider how some men do let their tongues run at random, it makes me marvel. Surely they do not think they shall be made to give an account for their offending with their tongue. Did they but think they shall be made to give an account to him who is ready to judge the quick and the dead, surely they would be more wary of, and have more regard unto their tongue.

'The tongue,' saith James, 'is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison;' 'it setteth on fire the course of nature, and it is set on fire of hell.' Ja. 3. The tongue, how much mischief will it stir up in a very little time! How many blows and wounds doth it cause! How many times doth it, as James saith, curse man! How oft is the tongue made the conveyer of that hellish poison that is in the heart, both to the dishonour of God, the hurt of its neighbours, and the utter ruin of its own soul! And do you think the Lord will sit still, as I may say, and let thy tongue run as it lists, and yet never bring you to an account for the same? No, stay. The Lord will not always keep silence, but will reprove thee, and set thy sins in order before thine eyes, O sinner. Yea, and thy tongue, together with the rest of thy members, shall be tormented for sinning. And I say, I am very confident, that though this be made light of now, yet the time is coming when many poor souls will rue the day that ever they did speak with a tongue. O, will one say, that I should so disregard my tongue! O that I, when I said so and so, had before bitten off my tongue! That I had been born without a tongue! my tongue, my tongue, a little water to cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame; even in that flame that my tongue, together with the rest of my members, by sinning, have brought me to. Poor souls now will let their tongues say anything for a little profit, for two-pence or three-pence gain. But, O what a grief will this be at that day when they, together with their tongue, must smart for that which they by their tongues have done while they were in this world. Then, you that love your souls, look to your tongues, lest you bind yourselves down so fast to hell with the sins of your tongues, that you will never be able to get loose again to all eternity. 'For by thy words thou shalt be condemned,' if thou have not a care of thy tongue. For 'I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.' Mat. xii. 36.

Verse 25.—'But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.'

These words are the answer to the request of the damned. The verse before, as I told you, is a discovery of the desires they have after they depart this world. Here is the answer, '*Son, remember,*' &c.

The answer signifies this much, that, instead of having any relief or ease they are hereby the more tormented, and that by fresh recollections, or by bringing afresh their former ill-spent life, while in the world, into their remembrance. Son, remember thou hadst good things in thy lifetime; as much as if he had said, Thou art now sensible what it is to lose thy soul; thou art now sensible what it is to put off repentance; thou art now sensible that thou hast befooled thyself, in that thou didst spend that time in seeking after outward, momentary, earthly things, which thou shouldest have spent in seeking to make Jesus Christ sure to thy soul; and now, through thy anguish of spirit, in the pains of hell thou wouldest enjoy that which in former time thou didst make light of; but alas! thou art here beguiled and altogether disappointed, thy crying will now avail thee nothing at all; this is not the acceptable time. 2 Cor. vi. 2. This is not a time to answer the desires of damned reprobates; if thou hadst cried out in good earnest whilst grace was offered, much might have been; but then thou wast careless, and didst turn the forbearance and goodness of God into wantonness. Wast thou not told, that those who would not hear the Lord when he did call, should not be heard, if they turned away from him, when they did call. But contrariwise he would laugh at their calamity, and mock when their fear did come. Pr. i. 24–28.

Now, therefore, instead of expecting the least drop of mercy and favour, call into thy mind how thou didst spend those days which God did permit thee to live; I say, remember that in thy lifetime thou didst behave thyself rebelliously against the Lord, in that thou wert careless of his word and

ordinances, yea, and of the welfare of thine own soul also. Therefore, now I say, instead of expecting or hoping for any relief, thou must be forced to call to remembrance thy filthy ways, and feed upon them, to thine everlasting astonishment and confusion.

From these words, therefore, which say, 'Remember that thou in thy life-time receivedst THY GOOD THINGS,' there are these things to be taken notice of,

First. They that, by putting off repentance and living in their sins, lose their souls, shall, instead of having the least measure of comfort when they come into hell, have their ill-spent life always very fresh in their remembrance. While they live here they can sin and forget it, but when they depart they shall have it before them; they shall have a remembrance, or their memory notably enlightened, and a clearer, and a continual sight of all their wicked practices that they wrought and did while they were in the world. 'Son, remember,' saith he; then you will be made to remember: 1. How you were born in sin, and brought up in the same. 2. Remember how thou hadst many a time the gospel preached to thee for taking away of the same, by him whom the gospel doth hold forth. 3. Remember that out of love to thy sins and lusts, thou didst turn thy back on the tenders of the same gospel of good tidings and peace. 4. Remember that the reason why thou didst lose thy soul, was because thou didst not close in with free grace, and the tenders of a loving and free-hearted Jesus Christ. 5. Remember how near thou wast to turning at such and such a time, only thou wast willing to give way to thy lusts when they wrought; to drunkards when they called; to pleasures when they proffered themselves; to the cares and incumbrances of the world, which, like so many thorns, did choke that or those convictions that were set on thy heart. 6. Remember how willing thou wast to satisfy thyself with a hypocrite's hope, and with a notion of the things of God, without the real power and life of the same. 7. Remember how thou, when thou wast admonished to turn, didst put off turning and repenting till another time. 8. Remember how thou didst dissemble at such a time, lie at such a time, cheat thy neighbour at such a time, mock, flout, scoff, taunt, hate, persecute,[1] the people of God at such a time, in such a place, among such company. 9. Remember that while others were met together in the fear of the Lord to seek him, thou wast met with a company of vain companions to sin against him; whilst the saints were a praying, thou wert a cursing; while they were speaking good of the name of God, thou wast speaking evil of the saints of God. O then thou shalt have a scalding hot remembrance of all thy sinful thoughts, words, and actions, from the very first to the last of them that ever thou didst commit in all thy life-time. Then thou wilt find that scripture to be a truth, 'The Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind. And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.' De. xxviii. 65–67. Nay, thou wilt find worse things to thy woe than this scripture doth manifest. For, indeed, there is no tongue able to express the horror, terror, torment, and eternal misery that those poor souls shall undergo, without the least mitigation of ease, and a very great part of it shall come from that quick, full, and continual remembrance of their sins that they shall have. And, therefore, there is much weight in these words, '*Son, remember that thou* in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things.'

From these words you see this is to be observed, That the ungodly shall remember, or have in remembrance, the misspending their lives; 'Remember that in thy lifetime thou receivedst thy good things.' You may take these words, good things, either simply for the things of this world, which in themselves are called, and may be called good things; or else with these words, namely, the things of this life, all the pleasures, delights, profits, and vanities, which the ignorant people of the world do count their good things, and do very much cheer themselves therewith. Soul, soul, eat, drink, and be merry; for thou hast much goods laid up for many years. Lu. xii. 19, 20. Now I say, God, according to his glorious power and wisdom, will make poor creatures have always in their minds a fresh and clear remembrance of their ill-spent life; he will say unto them, Remember, remember, that in thy lifetime it was thus and thus with thee, and in thy lifetime thy carriage was so and so.

[1] The intelligent reader should notice that these terms are not jumbled together. Their selection and arrangement would confer honour upon the most profound doctor of philology; while from Bunyan they flowed from native genius, little inferior to inspiration. To show the enmity of the unconverted to those who bear the image of Christ, he descends step by step. They first mock, or deride them by mimicry; second, flout, or treat them with contemptuous sneers, both by words and actions; third, scoff at them with insolent ridicule, sometimes accompanied by a push or blow; fourth, taunt, revile, upbraid, bully, and challenge them: all these produce, fifth, hate, abhorrence, and detestation, leading inevitably to, sixth, persecution —to pursue with malignity—to afflict, harass, and destroy. Such are the gradations in the opposition of the carnal mind to the most excellent of the earth; and such the worldly inheritance of the followers of our once lowly, but now exalted Saviour.—(Ed.)

If sinners might have their choice, they would not have their sins and transgressions so much in the remembrance, as it is evident by their carriages here in this world; for they will not endure to entertain a serious thought of their filthy life, they 'put far away the evil day,' Am. vi. 3. Eze. xii. 27; but will labour by all means to put the thoughts of it out of their mind; but there they shall be made to remember to purpose, and to think continually of their ungodly deeds. And therefore it is said, that when our Lord Jesus Christ comes to judgment, it will be to convince the ungodly world of their wicked and ungodly deeds; mark, 'to convince' them. Jude 14, 15. They will not willingly take notice of them now. But then they shall hereafter, in spite of their teeth. And also, between this and then, these that die out of Christ shall be made to see, acknowledge, and confess, do what they can, when they lift up their eyes in hell, and remember their transgressions. God will be a swift witness against them, [Mal. iii. 5], and will say, Remember that thou didst in thy lifetime, how thou didst live in thy lifetime. Ha, friend! if thou dost not in these days of light 'remember the days of darkness,' [Ec. xi. 8], the days of death, hell, and judgment, thou shalt be made in the days of darkness, death, hell, and at the judgment too, to remember the days of the gospel, and how thou didst disregard them too, to thy own destruction, and everlasting misery. This is intimated in that 25th of St. Matthew.

'Remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things.'

The great God, instead of giving the ungodly any ease, will even aggravate their torments; first, by slighting their perplexities, and by telling of them what they must be thinking of. Remember, saith he, O ye lost souls, that you had your joy in your lifetime, your peace in your lifetime, your comforts, delights, ease, wealth, health, your heaven, your happiness, and your portion in your lifetime.

O miserable state! Thou wilt then be in a sad condition indeed, when thou shalt see that thou hast had thy good things, thy best things, thy pleasant things; for that is clearly signified by these words, 'Remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things,' or all the good things thou art like to have.

Second. From whence take notice of another truth, though it be a dreadful one, which is this; there are many poor creatures, who have all their good, sweet, and comfortable things in this life, or while they are alive in this world; 'Remember,' saith he, 'that in thy lifetime thou receivedst thy good things.' Ps. xvii. 14.

The wicked's good things will shortly have an end; they will last no longer with them than this life, or their lifetime. That scripture was not written in vain; it is like the crackling of thorns under a pot, make a little blaze for a sudden, a little heat for a while; but come and consider them by and by, and instead of a comfortable heat, you will find nothing but a few dead ashes; and instead of a flaming fire, nothing but a smell of smoke.

There is a time coming, that the ungodly would be glad of a better portion, when they shall see the vanity of this, that is, when they shall see what a poor thing it is for a man to have his portion in this world. It is true, while they are here on this side hell, they think there is nothing to be compared with riches, honours, and pleasures in this world; which makes them cry out, 'Who will shew us any good?' Ps. iv. 6. That is comparable to the pleasures, profits, and glory of this world? But then they will see there is another thing that is better, and of more value than ten thousand worlds. And seriously, friends, will it not grieve you, trouble, perplex, and torment you, when you shall see that you lost heaven for a little pleasure and profit in your lifetime? Certainly, it will grieve you and perplex you exceedingly, to see what a blessed heaven you left for a dunghill-world. O! that you did but believe this! that you did but consider this, and say within yourselves, What! shall I be contented with my portion in this world! what! shall I lose heaven for this world! I say, consider it while you have day-light, and gospel-light, while the Son of God doth hold out terms of reconciliation to you, lest you be made to hear such a voice as this is, 'Son, remember that in thy lifetime thou receivedst thy good things;' thy comforts, thy joys, thy ease, thy peace, and all the heaven thou art like to have. O poor heaven! O short pleasures! What a pitiful thing it is to be left in such a case? Soul, consider, is it not miserable to lose heaven for twenty, thirty, or forty years' sinning against God? When thy life is done, thy heaven is also done? when death comes to separate thy soul and body, in that day also thou must have thy heaven and happiness separated from thee, and thou from that. Consider these things betimes, lest thou have thy portion in thy lifetime. '*For if in this life only we have hope,*' *our portion,* '*we are of all men most miserable.*' 1 Co. xv. 19. Again consider, that when other men, the saints, are to receive their good things, then thou hast had thine. When others are to enter into joy, then thou art to leave and depart from thy joy. When others are to go to God, thou must go to the devil. O miserable! Thou hadst better thou hadst never been born, than to be an heir of such a portion; therefore, I say, have a care it be not thy condition.

'Remember that thou receivedst thy good things, and LAZARUS EVIL THINGS.'

These words do not only hold forth the misery

of the wicked in this life, but also great consolation to the saints; where he saith, 'And Lazarus evil things;' that is, Lazarus had his evil things in his lifetime, or when he was in the world. From whence observe,

1. That the life of the saints, so long as they are in this world, is attended with many evils or afflictions; which may be discovered to be of divers natures; as saith the Scripture, 'Many *are* the troubles[1] of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all.' Ps. xxxiv. 19

2. Take notice, that the afflictions or evils that accompany the saints, may continue with them their lifetime, so long as they live in this vale of tears; yea, and they may be divers, that is, of several sorts; some outward, some inward, and that as long as they shall continue here below, as hath been the experience of all saints in all ages; and this might be proved at large, but I only hint in these things, although I might enlarge much upon them.

3. The evils that do accompany the saints will continue with them no longer than their lifetime; and here indeed lies the comfort of believers, the Lazaruses, the saints, they must have all their bitter cup wrung out to them in their lifetime. Here must be all their trouble, here must be all their grief; Behold, saith Christ, 'the world shall rejoice, but ye shall lament; but your mourning' shall, mark, it 'shall be turned into joy.' Jn. xvi. 20. You shall lament, you shall be sorrowful, you shall weep in your lifetime; but your sorrow shall be turned into joy, and your joy no man, let him be what he will, no man shall take away from you. Now if you think, when I say the saints have all their evil things in their lifetime, that I mean, they have nothing else but trouble in this their lifetime, this is your mistake. For let me tell you, that though the saints have all their evil things in their lifetime, yet even in their lifetime they have also joy unspeakable, and full of glory, while they look not at the things that are seen, but at the things which are not seen. The joy that the saints have sometimes in their heart, by a believing consideration of the good things to come, when this life is ended, doth fill them fuller of joy, than all the crosses, troubles, temptations, and evils, that accompany them in this life can fill them with grief. 2 Co. iv.

But some saints may say, My troubles are such as are ready to overcome me. Answ. Yet be of good comfort, they shall last no longer than thy lifetime. But my trouble is, I am perplexed with a heart full of corruption and sin, so that I am much hindered in walking with God. Answ. It is like so, but thou shalt have these troubles no longer than thy lifetime. But I have a cross husband, and that is a great grief to me. Well, but thou shalt be troubled with him no longer than thy lifetime, and therefore be not dismayed, be not discomforted, thou shalt have no trouble longer than this lifetime. Art thou troubled with cross children, cross relations, cross neighbours? They shall trouble thee no longer than this lifetime.

Art thou troubled with a cunning devil, with unbelief; yea, let it be what it will, thou shalt take thy farewell of them all, if thou be a believer, after thy lifetime is ended. O! excellent! 'Then God shall wipe away all tears from your eyes; and there shall be no more death nor sorrow, neither crying, nor any more pain; for the former things are passed away.' Re. xxi. 4. But now on the contrary, if thou be not a right and sound believer; then, though thou shouldest live a thousand years in this world, and meet with sore afflictions every day, yet these afflictions, be they never so great and grievous, they are nothing to that torment that will come upon thee, both in soul and in body, after this life is ended.

I say, be what thou wilt, if thou be found in unbelief, or under the first covenant, thou are sure to smart for it at the time when thou dost depart this world. But the thing to be lamented is, for all this is so sad a condition to be fallen into, yet poor souls are, for the most part, senseless of it, yea, so senseless, at some times, as though there was no such misery to come hereafter. Because the Lord doth not immediately strike with his sword, but doth bear long with his creature, waiting that he might be gracious. Therefore, I say, the hearts of some of the sons of men are wholly set upon it to do mischief. Ec. viii. 11. And that forbearance and goodness of God, that one would think should lead them to repentance; the devil hardening of them, by their continuing in sin, and by blinding their eyes, as to the end of God's forbearance towards them, they are led away with a very hardened and senseless heart, even until they drop into eternal destruction.

But poor hearts, they must have a time in which they must be made sensible of their former behaviours, when the just judgments of the Lord shall flame about their ears, insomuch, that they shall be made to cry out again with anguish, I am sorely 'tormented in this flame.'

'But now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.' As if he should say, Now hath God recompensed both Lazarus and you, according to what you sought after while you were in this world. As for your part, you did neglect the precious mercy and goodness of God, you did turn your back on the Son of God, that came into the world to save sinners; you made a mock of preaching the gospel; you was admonished over and over, to close in with the loving kindness of the Lord, in

[1] 'Troubles,' see Puritan translation.—(Ed.)

his Son Jesus Christ. The Lord let you live twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty years; all which time you, instead of spending it 'to make your calling and election sure,' [2 Pe. i. 10], did spend it in making of eternal damnation sure to thy soul. Job xxi. 29, 30. And also Lazarus, he in his lifetime did make it his business to accept of my grace and salvation in the Lord Jesus Christ. When thou wast in the ale-house, he frequented the word preached; when thou wert jeering at goodness, he was sighing for the sins of the times. Ec. ix. 4–6. While thou wert swearing, he was praying; in a word, while thou wert making sure of eternal ruin, he, by faith in the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, was making sure of eternal salvation. Therefore, 'Now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.'

Here, then, you may see, that as the righteous shall not be always void of comfort and blessedness; so neither shall the ungodly go always without their punishment. As sure as God is in heaven, it will be thus. They must have their several portions. And, therefore, you that are the saints of the Lord, follow on, be not dismayed, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord. 1 Co. xv. 58. Your portion is eternal glory. And you that are so loth now to close in with Jesus Christ, and to leave your sins to follow him, your 'day is coming,' Ps. xxxvii. 13, in which you shall know, that your sweet morsels of sin, that you do so easily take down, Job xx. 12–14, and it scarce troubles you, will have a time so to work within you to your eternal ruin, that you will be in a worse condition than if you had ten thousand devils tormenting of you. Nay, you had better have been plucked limb from limb a thousand times, if it could be, than to be partakers of this torment that will, assuredly without mercy, lie upon you.

Verse 26.—'And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed; so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that *would come* from thence.'

These words are still part of that answer, that the souls in hell shall have for all their sobbings, sighings, grievous cries, tears, and desires, that they have, to be released out of those intolerable pains they feel, and are perplexed with. And O! methinks the words at the first view, if rightly considered, are enough to make any hard-hearted sinner in the world to fall down dead. The verse I last spake to was and is a very terrible one, and aggravates the torments of poor sinners wonderfully. Where he saith, 'Remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus evil things,' &c. I say, these words are very terrible to those poor souls that die out of Christ. But these latter words do much more hold out their sorrow. They were spoken as to the present condition then upon the sinner. These do not only back the former, but do yet further aggravate their misery, holding forth that which will be more intolerable. The former verse is enough to smite any sinner into a swoon, but this is to make him fall down dead. Where he saith, 'And beside all this.' There is still something to aggravate thy misery yet far more abundantly. I shall briefly speak to the words as they have relation to the terror spoken of in the verses before. As if he had said, Thou thinkest thy present state unsupportable, it makes thee sob and sigh, it makes thee to rue the time that ever thou wert born. Now thou findest the want of mercy; now thou wouldst leap at the least dram of it; now thou feelest what it is to slight the tenders of the grace of God; now it makes thee to sob, sigh, and roar exceedingly for the anguish that thou art in. 'But beside all this,' I have other things to tell thee of, that will break thine heart indeed. Thou art now deprived of a being in the world; thou art deprived of hearing the gospel; the devil hath been too hard for thee, and hath made thee miss of heaven; thou art now in hell among an innumerable company of devils, and all thy sins beset thee round; thou art all over wrapped in flames, and canst not have one drop of water to give thee any ease; thou criest in vain, for nothing will be granted. Thou seest the saints in heaven, which is no small trouble to thy damned soul; thou seest that neither God nor Christ takes any care to ease thee, or speak any comfort unto thee. 'But beside all this,' there thou art, and there thou art like to lie, never think of any ease, never look for any comfort; repentance now will do thee no good, the time is past, and can never be called again, look what thou hast now, thou must have for ever.

It is true, I spoke enough before to break thine heart asunder; 'But beside all this,' there lie and swim in flames for ever. These words, 'Beside all this,' are terrible words indeed. I will give you the scope of them in a similitude. Set the case you should take a man, and tie him to a stake, and with red-hot pinchers, pinch off his flesh by little pieces for two or three years together, and at last, when the poor man cries out for ease and help, the tormentors answer, Nay, 'but beside all this,' you must be handled worse. We will serve you thus these twenty years together, and after that we will fill your mangled body full of scalding lead, or run you through with a red-hot spit; would not this be lamentable? Yet this is but a flea-biting to the sorrow of those that go to hell; for if a man were served so there would, ere it were long, be an end of him. But he that goes to hell shall suffer ten thousand times worse torments than these, and yet shall never be quite dead under them. There they shall be ever

whining, pining, weeping, mourning, ever tormented without ease; and yet never dissolved into nothing. If the biggest devil in hell might pull thee all to pieces, and rend thee small as dust, and dissolve thee into nothing, thou wouldst count this a mercy. But here thou mayst lie and fry, scorch, and broil, and burn for ever. For ever, that is a long while, and yet it must be so long. 'Depart from me, ye cursed,' saith Christ, 'into everlasting fire,' into the fire that burns for ever, 'prepared for the devil and his angels.' Mat. xxv. 41. O! thou that wast loth to foul thy foot if it were but dirty, or did but rain; thou that was loth to come out of the chimney-corner, if the wind did but blow a little cold; and was loth to go half-a-mile, yea, half-a-furlong to hear the word of God, if it were but a little dark; thou that wast loth to leave a few vain companions, to edify thy soul; thou shalt have fire enough, thou shalt have night enough, and evil company enough, thy bellyfull, if thou miss of Jesus Christ; and 'beside all this,' thou shalt have them for ever, and for ever.

O thou that dost spend whole nights in carding and dicing, in rioting and wantonness; thou that countest it a brave thing to swear as fast as the bravest, to spend with the greatest spendthrift in the country; thou that lovest to sin in a corner when nobody sees thee! O thou that for by-ends dost carry on the hypocrite's profession, because thou wouldest be counted somebody among the children of God,[1] but art an enemy to the things of Christ in thine heart. Thou that dost satisfy thyself, either with sins, or a bare profession of godliness, thy soul will fall into extreme torment and anguish, so soon as ever thou dost depart this world, and there thou shalt be weeping and gnashing thy teeth. Mat. viii. 12. 'And beside all this,' thou art like never to have any ease or remedy, never look for any deliverance, thou shalt die in thy sins, and be tormented as many years as there are stars in the firmament, or sands on the sea-shore; 'and beside all this,' thou must abide it for ever.

'And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you, cannot; neither can they pass to us that *would come* from thence.' 'There is a great gulf fixed.' You will say, what is that? *Answ.* It is a nice question; therefore,

1. Seek thou rather to enter in at the strait gate, than curiously to inquire what this gulf is. But,

2. If thou wouldest needs know if thou do fall short of heaven, thou wilt find it this, namely, the everlasting decree of God; that is, there is a decree gone forth from God, that those who fall short of heaven in this world, God is resolved they shall never enjoy it in the world to come. And thou wilt find this gulf so deep, that thou shalt never be able to wade through it as long as eternity lasts. As Christ saith, 'Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him,' Mat. v. 25; 'lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. I tell thee thou shalt by no means come out thence,' there is the gulf, the decree, 'thou shalt not depart thence till thou hast paid the' utmost farthing, or 'very last mite.' Lu. xii. 58, 59. These words therefore, 'there is a great gulf fixed,' I do understand to be the everlasting decree of God. God hath decreed that those who go to heaven shall never go from thence again into a worse place; and also those that go to hell, and would come out, they shall not come out thence again. And friend, this is such a gulf, so fixed by him that cannot lie, that thou wilt find it so, which way soever thou goest, whether it be to heaven or hell.

Here therefore thou seest how secure God will make those who die in the faith; God will keep them in heaven; but those that die in their sins, God will throw them to hell and keep them there; so that they that would go from heaven to hell, cannot; neither can they come from hell that would go to heaven. Mark, he doth not say, they would not—for, O how fain would these who have lost their souls for a lust, for two-pence, for a jug of ale, for a strumpet, for this world, come out of that hot scalding fiery furnace of God's eternal vengeance, if they might—but here is their misery, they that would come from you to us, that is, from hell to heaven, cannot, they must not, they shall not; they cannot, God hath decreed it, and is resolved the contrary; here therefore lies the misery, not so much that they are in hell, but there they must lie for ever and ever. Therefore, if thy heart would at any time tempt thee to sin against God, cry out, No, for then I must go to hell, and lie there for ever. If the drunkards, swearers, liars, and hypocrites did but take this doctrine soundly down, it would make them tremble when they think of sinning. But poor souls, now they will 'make a mock of sin,' Pr. xiv. 9, and play with it as a child doth play with a rattle; but the time is coming, that these rattles that now they play with will make such a noise in their ears and consciences, that they shall find, that if all the devils in hell were yelling at their heels, the noise would not be comparable to it. Friend, thy sins, as so many bloodhounds, will first hunt thee out, Nu. xxxii. 23, and then take thee and bind thee, and hold thee down for ever. Pr. v. 22. They will gripe thee and gnaw thee as if thou hadst a nest of poisonous

[1] With what searching truthfulness is the character of Byends drawn in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 132: 'looking one way and rowing another.'—(Ed.)

serpents in thy bowels. Job xx. 14. And this will not be for a time, but, as I have said, for ever, for ever, for ever.

Verse 27.—'Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house.'

The verses before, I told you, were spoken partly to hold forth the desire that the damned have to be freed of their endless misery. Now this verse still holds forth the cries of those poor souls very vehement, they would very fain have something granted to them, but it will not be; as will more clearly appear afterward.

'Then he said, I PRAY THEE THEREFORE, FATHER,' &c. As if he should say, seeing I have brought myself into such a miserable condition, that God will not regard me, that my exceeding loud and bitter cries will not be heard for myself; seeing I must not be admitted to have so much as one drop of cold water, nor the least help from the poorest saints. And seeing, 'beside all this,' here my soul must lie to all eternity, broiling and frying; seeing I must, whether I will or no, undergo the hand of eternal vengeance, and the rebukes of devouring fire; seeing my state is such, that I would not wish a dog in my condition, 'send him to my father's house.' It is worthy to be taken notice of, again, who it is he desired to be sent, namely, Lazarus. O friend, see here how the stout hearts and stomachs of poor creatures will be humbled, as I said before, they will be so brought down, that those things that they disdained and made light of in this world, they would be glad of in the life to come. He who by this man was so slighted, as that he thought it a dishonour that he should eat with the dogs of his flock. What, shall I regard Lazarus, scrubbed, beggarly Lazarus! what, shall I so far dishonour my fair, sumptuous, and gay house, with such a scabbed creep-hedge as he! No, I scorn he should be entertained under my roof. Thus in his life-time, while he was in his bravery; but now he is come into another world, now he is parted from his pleasures, now he sees his fine house, his dainty dishes, his rich neighbours and companions, and he, are parted asunder; now he finds instead of pleasures, torments; instead of joys, heaviness; instead of heaven, hell; instead of the pleasures of sin, the horror and guilt of sin; O now send Lazarus!

Lazarus, it may be, might have done him some good, if he might have been entertained in time past, and might have persuaded him, at least not to have gone on so grievously wicked, but he slights him, he will not regard him, he is resolved to disown him, though he lose his own soul for so doing. Ay, but now send Lazarus, if not to me, yet to my father's house, and let him tell them, from me, that if they run on in sin, as I have done, they must and shall receive the same wages that I have received.

Take notice of this, you that are despisers of the least of the Lazaruses of our Lord Jesus Christ; it may be now you are loth to receive these little ones of his, because they are not gentlemen, because they cannot, with Pontius Pilate, speak Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.[1] Nay, they must not, shall not speak to them, to admonish them, and all because of this.

Though now the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ may be preached to them freely, and for nothing; nay, they are now desired to hear and receive it; though now they will not own, regard, or embrace these Christian proffers of the glorious truth of Jesus, because they come out of some of the basest earthen vessels; yet the time is coming, when they will both sigh and cry, Send him to my father's house. 1 Co. i. 26. I say, remember this, ye that despise the day of small things; the time is coming, when you would be glad, if you might enjoy from God, from Christ, or his saints, one small drop of cold water, though now you are unwilling to receive the glorious distilling drops of the gospel of our Lord Jesus.

Again, see here the lamentable state they are in, that go to hell from their fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, &c. While they are in this world, men delight to set their children ill examples; and also children love to follow the wicked steps of their ungodly parents; but when they depart this life, and drop down into hell, and find themselves in irrecoverable misery, then they cry, send some body to my father's house, to my brother's house. Tell them my state is miserable, tell them I am undone for ever; and tell them also, that if they will be walking in these ungodly steps wherein I left them, they will assuredly fall into this place of torments.

'I pray thee - SEND HIM TO MY FATHER'S HOUSE.' Ah, friends and neighbours, it is like you little think of this, that some of your friends and relations are crying out in hell, Lord, send some body to my father's house, to preach the gospel to them, lest they also come into these torments.

Here, men while they live, can willingly walk together in the way of sin, and when they are parted by death, they that are living, seldom or never consider of the sad condition that they that are

[1] This is not intended to convey any reflection upon human learning, but to exhibit the contemptuous spirit of learned men, so generally manifested to the *illiterate*, but *really learned* followers of the Lamb. They sometimes meet their match, even in worldly wit. Thus, when three learned gentlemen from Oxford overtook a pious waggoner, they ironically saluted him as Father Abraham, Father Isaac, and Father Jacob; he replied, Gentlemen, you are mistaken: I am neither Abraham, Isaac, nor Jacob, but Saul, the son of Kish, who was sent to find his father's asses, and so I have found them.—(Ed.)

dead are descended into. But ye ungodly fathers, how are your ungodly children roaring now in hell? And you ungodly children, how are your ungodly parents that lived and died ungodly, now in the pains of hell also? And one drunkard is singing on the ale bench, and another roaring under the wrath of God, saying, O that I was with him, how would I rebuke him, and persuade him by all means to leave off these evil courses. O! that they did but consider what I now suffer for pride, covetousness, drunkenness, lying, swearing, stealing, whoring, and the like. O! did they but feel the thousandth part thereof, it would make them look about them, and not buy sin at so dear a rate as I have done; even with the loss of my precious soul.

'Send him to my father's house.' Not to my father, but to my 'father's house.' It may be there is ungodly children, there is ungodly servants, wallowing in their ungodliness; send him therefore to my father's house. It is like they are still the same that I left them; I left them wicked, and they are wicked still; I left them slighters of the gospel, saints, and ways of God, and they do it still; 'send him to my father's house,' it is like there is but a little between them and the place where I am; send him to-day, before to-morrow, 'lest they also come into the same place of torment. I pray thee that thou wouldst send him.' I beg it on my bended knee, with crying and with tears, in the agony of my soul. It may be they will not consider, if thou do not send him. I left them sottish enough, hardened as well as I; they have the same devil to tempt them, the same lusts and world to overcome them, 'I pray thee therefore, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house;' make no delay, lest they lose their souls, lest they come hither: if they do, they are like never to return again. O! little do they think how easily they may lose their souls; they are apt to think their condition to be as good as the best, as I once through ignorance did; but send him, send him without delay, 'lest they also come into this place of torment.' O that thou wouldst give him commission, do thou send him thyself; the time was when I, together with them, slighted those that were sent of God; though we could not deny but that he spake the word of God, and was sent of him, as our consciences told us; yet we preferred the calls of men before the calls of God. For though they had the one, yet because they had not the other in that antichristian way which we thought meet, we could not, would not, either hear him ourselves, nor yet give consent that others should. But now a call from God is worth all. Do THOU 'therefore send him to my father's house.'

The time was, when we did not like it, except it might be preached in the synagogue; we thought it a low thing to preach and pray together in houses. We were too high-spirited, too superstitious; the gospel would not down with us, unless we had it in such a place, by such a man; no, nor then neither effectually. But now, O that I was to live in the world again; and might have that privilege to have some acquaintance with blessed Lazarus, some familiarity with that holy man; what attendance would I give unto his wholesome words! How would I affect his doctrine, and close in with it! How would I square my life thereby! Now therefore, as it is better to hear the gospel under a hedge than to sit roaring in a tavern, it is better to welcome God's begging Lazaruses than the wicked companions of this world. It is better to receive a saint in the name of a saint, a disciple in the name of a disciple, than to do as I have done. Lu. x. 16. O! it is better to receive a child of God, that can by experience deliver the things of God, his free love, his tender grace, his rich forbearance, and also the misery of man, if without it, than to be 'daubed with untempered *mortar*.' Eze. xiii. 10. O! I may curse the day that ever I gave way to the flatteries and fawning of a company of carnal clergymen,[1] but this my repentance is too late; I should have looked about me sooner, if I would have been saved from this woeful place. Therefore send him, not only to the town I lived in, and unto some of my acquaintance, but to my father's house.

In my lifetime I did not care to hear that word that cut me most, and showed me mine estate aright. I was vexed to hear my sins mentioned, and laid to my charge; I loved him best that deceived me most—that said, Peace, peace, when there was no such thing. Je. v. 30, 31. But now, O that I had been soundly told of it! O that it had pierced both mine ears and heart, and had stuck so fast that nothing could have cured me, saving the blood of Christ! It is better to be dealt plainly with, than that we should be deceived; they had better see their lost condition in the world, than stay while they be damned, as I have done. Therefore send Lazarus, send him to my father's house. Let him go and say I saw your son, your brother, in hell, weeping and wailing, and gnashing his teeth. Let him bear them down in it, and tell them plainly it is so, and that they shall see their everlasting misery, if they have not a special care. 'Send him to my father's house.'

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[1] The word 'clergy' is omitted from all the editions published after Bunyan's death. These words are calculated to fix upon the mind the necessity of a visitation from heaven, of personal examination of the Scriptures, and of solemn, earnest, persevering prayer, without which no clergyman can do a sinner good. But how inexpressibly terrible will be the misery of carnal clergymen, who, by precept or example, have led their hearers to a false hope of heaven. How will such souls gnash their teeth in bitter anguish, and trample their devoted souls to the hottest hell!—(Ed.)

Verse 28.—'For I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment.'

These words are, if I may so say, a reason given by those in hell why they are so restless and do cry so loud; it is that their companions might be delivered from those intolerable torments which they must and shall undergo if they fall short of everlasting life by Jesus Christ. 'Send him to my father's house; for I have five brethren.' Though, while they lived among them in the world, they were not so sensible of their ruin, yet now they are passed out of the world, and do partake of that which before they were warned of; they can, I say, then cry out, Now I find that to be true indeed, which was once and again told and declared to me that it would certainly come to pass.

'FOR I HAVE FIVE BRETHREN.' Here you may see that there may be, and are, whole households in a damnable state and condition, as our Lord Jesus doth by this signify. 'Send him to my father's house,' for they are all in one state, I left all my brethren in a pitiful case. People, while they live here, cannot endure to hear that they should be all in a miserable condition; but when they are under the wrath of God they see it, they know it, and are very sure of it; for they themselves, when they were in the world, lived as they do, but they fell short of heaven, and therefore, if they go on, so shall they. O, therefore, send him quickly to my father's house, for all the house is in an undone condition, and must be damned if they continue so.

The thing observable is this, namely, that those that are in hell do not desire that their companions should come thither; nay rather, saith he, send him to my father's house, and let him testify to them that are therein, lest they also come, &c.

Quest. But some may say, What should be the reason that the damned should desire not to have their companions come into the same condition that they are fallen into, but rather that they might be kept from it, and escape that dreadful state?

Answ. I do believe there is scarce so much love in any of the damned in hell as really to desire the salvation of any. But in that there is any desire in them that are damned, that their friends and relations should not come into that place of torment, it appears to me to be rather for their own ease than for their neighbour's good; for, let me tell you, this I do believe, that it will aggravate the grief and horror of them to see their ungodly neighbours in the like destruction with them. For where the ungodly do live and die, and descend into the pit together, the one is rather a vexation to the other than any thing else. And it must needs be so, because there are no ungodly people that do live ungodly together but they do learn ill examples one of another, as thus: If there live one in the town that is very expert and cunning for the world, why now the rest that are of the same mind with him, they will labour to imitate and follow his steps: this is commonly seen.

Again, if there be one given to drunkenness, others of the town, through his means, run the more into that sin with him, and do accustom themselves the more unto it because of his enticing them, and also by setting such an ill example before them. And so if there be any addicted to pride, and must needs be in all the newest fashions, how do their example provoke others to love and follow the same vanity; spending that upon their lusts which should relieve their own and others' wants. Also if there be any given to jesting, scoffing, lying, whoring, backbiting, junketing,[1] wantonness, or any other sin, they that are most expert in these things do ofttimes entangle others, that peradventure would not have been so vile as now they are, had they not had such an example, and hence they are called corrupters. Is. i. 4.

Now these will, by their doings, exceedingly aggravate the condemnation of one another. He that did set his neighbour an ill example, and thereby caused him to walk in sin, he will be found one cause of his friend's destruction, insomuch that he will have to answer for his own sins and for a great part of his neighbour's too, which will add to his destruction; as that scripture in Ezekiel showeth, where, speaking of the watchman that should give the people warning, if he did not, though the man did die in his sins, *yet his blood shall be required at the watchman's hand.* Eze. xxxiii.

So here let me tell thee that if thou shouldst be such a one, as by thy conversation and practices shall be a trap and a stumbling-block to cause thy neighbour to fall into eternal ruin—though he be damned for his own sins—yet God may, nay he will charge thee as being guilty of his blood, in that thou didst not content thyself to keep from heaven thyself, but didst also, by thy filthy conversation, keep away others, and cause them to fall with thee. O, therefore, will not this aggravate thy torment? Yea, if thou shouldst die and go to hell before thy neighbour or companions, besides the guilt of thine own sins, thou wouldst be so loaden with the fear of the damnation of others to be laid to thy charge, that thou wouldest cry out, O send one from the dead to this companion and that companion with whom I had society in my lifetime, for I see my cursed

[1] Making an entertainment by stealth, privately indulging in wickedness.—(ED.)

carriage will be one cause of his condemnation, if he fall short of glory.

I left him living in foul and heinous offences; but I was one of the first instruments to bring him to them. O! I shall be guilty both of my own and his damnation too! O that he might be kept out hence, lest my torment be aggravated by his coming hither!

For where ungodly people do dwell together, they being a snare and stumbling-block one to another by their practices, they must needs be a torment one to another, and an aggravation of each other's damnation. O cursed be thy face, saith one, that ever I set mine eyes on thee. It was long of thee. I may thank thee. It was thee that did entice me and ensnare me. It was your filthy conversation that was a stumbling-block to me. It was your covetousness, it was your pride, your haunting the ale-house, your gaming and whoring. It was long of you that I fell short of life; if you had set me a good example, as you did set me an ill one, it may be I might have done better than now I do; but I learned of you, I followed your steps, I took counsel of you. O that I had never seen thy face! O that thou hadst never been born to do my soul this wrong, as you have done! O, saith the other, and I may as much blame you, for do not you remember how at such a time, and at such a time, you drew me out, and drew me away, and asked me if I would go with you, when I was going about other business, about my calling; but you called me away, you sent for me, you are as much in the fault as I; though I were covetous, you were proud; and if you learned covetousness of me, I learned pride and drunkenness of you. Though I learned you to cheat, you learned me to whore, to lie, to scoff at goodness. Though I, base wretch, did stumble you in some things, yet you did as much stumble me in others. I can blame you as you blame me; and if I have to answer for some of your most filthy actions, you have to answer for some of mine. I would you had not come hither, the very looks of you do wound my soul, by bringing my sins afresh into my mind, the time when, the manner how, the place where, the persons with whom. It was with you, you! Grief to my soul! Since I could not shun thy company there, O that I had been without thy company here!

This language is sometimes heard at the gallows, but, for ought I can learn, it is more to be heard in hell.

I say, therefore, for those that have sinned together to go to hell together, it will very much perplex and torment them both; therefore I judge this is one reason why they that are in hell do desire that their friends or companions do not come thither into the same place of torment that they are in. And therefore where Christ saith that these damned souls cry out, Send to our companions, that they may be warned and commanded to look to themselves, O send to my five brethren! it is because they would not have their own torments heightened by their company; and a sense, yea, a continual sense of their sins, which they did cause them to commit when they were in the world with them. For I do believe that the very looks of those that have been beguiled of their fellows, I say their very looks will be a torment to them: for thereby will the remembrance of their own sins be kept, if possible, the fresher on their consciences, which they committed with them; and also they will wonderfully have the guilt of the other's sins upon them, in that they were partly the cause of his committing them, being instruments in the hands of the devil to draw them in too. And, therefore, lest this come to pass, 'I pray thee send him to my father's house.' For if they might not come hither, peradventure my torment might have some mitigation; that is, if they might be saved, then their sins will be pardoned, and not so heavily charged on my soul. But if they do fall into the same place where I am, the sins that I have caused them to commit will lie so heavy, not only on their souls, but also on mine, that they sink me into eternal misery, deeper and deeper. O therefore send him to my father's house, to my five brethren, and let him testify to them, lest they come into this place of torment.

These words being thus understood, what a condition doth it show them to be in then, that now much delight in being the very ringleaders of their companions into sins of all sorts whatsoever?

While men live here, if they can be counted the cunningest in cheating, the boldest for lying, the archest for whoring, the subtilest for coveting and getting the world; if they can but cunningly defraud, undermine, cross, and anger their neighbours, yea, and hinder them from the means of grace, the gospel of Christ, they glory in it, take a pride in it, and think themselves pretty well at ease, and their minds are somewhat quiet, being beguiled with sin.

But, friend, when thou hast lost this life, and dost begin to lift up thine eyes in hell, and seest what thy sins have brought thee to; and not only so, but that thou, by thy filthy sins, didst cause others, devil-like, to fall into the same condemnation with thee; and that one of the reasons of their damnation was this, that thou didst lead them to the commission of those wicked practices of this world, and the lusts thereof; then, O that somebody would stop them from coming, lest they also come into this place of torment, and be damned as I am! How will it torment me! Balaam could not be contented to be damned himself, but also he must, by his wickedness, cause others to stumble

and fall. The Scribes and Pharisees could not be contented to keep out of heaven themselves, but they must labour to keep out others too. Therefore theirs is the greater damnation.

The deceived cannot be content to be deceived himself; but he must labour to deceive others also. The drunkard cannot be content to go to hell for his own sins, but he must labour to cause others to fall into the same furnace with him. But look to yourselves, for here will be damnation upon damnation, damned for thy own sins, and damned for thy being a partaker with others in their sins; and damned for being guilty of the damnation of others. O how will the drunkards cry for leading their neighbours into drunkenness! How will the covetous person howl for setting his neighbour, his friend, his brother, his children and relations, so wicked an example! by which he hath not only wronged his own soul, but also the souls of others. The liar, by lying, learned others to lie; the swearer learned others to swear; the whoremonger learned others to whore.

Now all these, with others of the like sort, will be guilty, not only of their own damnation, but also of the damnation of others. I tell you, that some men have so much been the authors of the damnation of others, that I am ready to think that the damnation of them will trouble them as much as their own damnation. Some men, it is to be feared, at the day of judgment, will be found to be the authors of destroying whole nations. How many souls do you think Balaam, with his deceit, will have to answer for? How many Mahomet? How many the Pharisees, that hired the soldiers to say the disciples stole away Jesus? Mat. xxviii. 11–15; and by that means stumbled their brethren to this day; and was one means of hindering them from believing the things of God and Jesus Christ, and so the cause of the damnation of their brethren to this very day.

How many poor souls hath Bonner to answer for, think you, and several filthy blind priests? How many souls have they been the means of destroying by their ignorance and corrupt doctrine? Preaching, that was no better for their souls than ratsbane to the body, for filthy lucre's sake.* They shall see, that they, many of them it is to be feared, will have whole towns to answer for; whole cities to answer for. Ah, friend, I tell thee, thou that hast taken in hand to preach to the people, it may be thou hast taken in hand thou canst not tell what. Will it not grieve thee to see thy whole parish come bellowing after thee to hell, crying out, This we may thank thee for, this is long of thee, thou didst not teach us the truth; thou didst lead us away with fables, thou wast afraid to tell us of our sins, lest we should not put meat fast enough in thy mouth. O cursed wretch, that ever thou shouldst beguile us thus, deceive us thus, flatter us thus! We would have gone out to hear the word abroad, but that thou didst reprove us, and also tell us that that which we see now is the way of God was heresy, and a deceivable doctrine; and wast not contented, blind guide as thou wert, to fall into the ditch thyself, but hast also led us thither with thee.[1]

* O ye priests, this word is for you.

I say, look to thyself, lest thou cry out when it is too late, Send Lazarus to my people, my friends, my children, my congregation to whom I preached, and beguiled through my folly. Send him to the town in which I did preach last, lest I be the cause of their damnation. Send him to my friends from whence I came, lest I be made to answer for their souls and mine own too. Eze. xxxiii. 1–6.

O send him therefore, and let him tell them, and testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. Consider this, ye that live thus in the world, while ye are in the land of the living, lest you fall into this condition. Set the case thou shouldest by thy carriage destroy but a soul, but one poor soul, by one of thy carriages or actions, by thy sinful works; consider it now, I say, lest thou be forced to cry, 'I pray thee therefore, that thou wouldst send him to my father's house, for I have five brethren, that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment.'

If so, then I shall not only say to the blind guides, Look you to yourselves, and shut not[2] out others; no, but this doth reach unto all those that do not only keep souls from heaven by preaching and the like, but speaks forth the doom of those that shall any ways be instrumental to hinder others from closing in with Jesus Christ. O what red lines will those be against all those rich ungodly landlords, that so keep under their poor tenants that they dare not go out to hear the word, for fear their rent should be raised, or they turned out of their houses! What sayest thou, landlord, will it not cut thy soul, when thou shalt see that thou couldest not be content to miss of heaven thyself, but thou must labour to hinder others also? Will it not give thee an eternal wound in thy heart, both at death and judgment, to be accused of the ruin of thy neighbour's soul, thy servant's soul, thy wife's soul, together with the ruin of thy own? Think on this, you drunken, proud, rich, and scornful landlords; think on this, you mad-brained blasphemous husbands, that are against the godly and chaste conversation of your wives; also you that

[1] Awful responsibility!! A heavy curse on the souls of those who labour to prevent private judgment, guided simply by the Bible—who lead poor sinners to rely upon acts of uniformity, liturgies, articles, or creeds, the grovelling inventions of men; instead of relying wholly on the revealed will of God, which alone is able to make man wise unto salvation.—(Ed.)

[2] The word 'not' is omitted from most of the editions published in Bunyan's life.—(Ed.)

hold your servants so hard to it that you will not spare them time to hear the word, unless it be where and when your lusts will let you. If you love your own souls, your tenants' souls, your wives' souls, your servants' souls, your children's souls; if you would not cry, if you would not howl, if you would not bear the burden of the ruin of others for ever, then I beseech you to consider this doleful story, and labour to avoid the soul-killing torment that this poor wretch groaneth under, when he saith, 'I pray thee therefore, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house,[1]

'For I have five brethren, THAT HE MAY TESTIFY,' mark, 'that he may testify UNTO THEM, lest they also come into this place of torment.'

These words have still something more in them than I have yet observed from them; there are one or two things more that I shall briefly touch upon, and therefore, mark, he saith, 'That he may testify unto them,' &c. Mark, I pray you, and take notice of the word TESTIFY. He doth not say, And let him go unto them, or speak with, or tell them such and such things. No, but let him testify, or affirm it constantly, in case any should oppose it. 'Let him testify unto them.' It is the same word the Scripture uses to set forth the vehemency of Christ, his telling of his disciples of him that should betray him. And he testified, saying, One of you shall betray me. And he testified, that is, he spake it so as to dash or overcome any that should have said it shall not be. It is a word that signifies, that in case any should oppose the thing spoken of, yet that the party speaking should still continue constant in his saying. And he commanded them to preach, 'and to testify, that it is he which was ordained of God *to be* the judge of quick and dead.' To testify, mark, that is, to be constant, irresistible, undaunted, in case it should be opposed and objected against. So here, let him testify to them, lest they come into this place of torment.

From whence observe, that it is not an easy matter to persuade them who are in their sins alive in this world, that they must and shall be damned if they turn not, and be converted to God. 'Let him testify to them,' let him speak confidently, though they frown upon him, or dislike his way of speaking. And how is this truth verified and cleared by the carriages of almost all men now in the world toward them that do preach the gospel; and show their own miserable state plainly to them, if they close not with it? If a man do but indeed labour to convince sinners of their sins and lost condition by nature, though they must be damned if they live and die in that condition, O how angry are they at it! Look how he judges, say they, hark how he condemns us; he tells us we must be damned if we live and die in this state. We are offended at him, we cannot abide to hear him, or any such as he; we will believe none of them all, but go on in the way we are going. 'Forbear, why shouldest thou be smitten,' said the ungodly king to the prophet, when he told him of his sins. 2 Ch. xxv. 16.

I say, tell the drunkard he must be damned if he leaves not his drunkenness, the swearer, liar, cheater, thief, covetous, railers, or any ungodly persons, they must and shall lie in hell for it, if they die in this condition; they will not believe you, not credit you.

Again, tell others that there are many in hell that have lived and died in their conditions, and so are they like to be, if they convert not to Jesus Christ, and be found in him, or that there are others that are more civil and sober men, who, although we know that their civility will not save them, if we do but tell them plainly of the emptiness and unprofitableness of that, as to the saving of their souls, and that God will not accept them, nor love them, notwithstanding these things, and that if they intend to be saved, they must be better provided than with such a righteousness as this; they will either fling away, and come to hear no more, or else if they do come, they will bring such prejudice with them in their hearts, that the word preached shall not profit them, it being mixed not with faith, but with prejudice in them that hear it. Heb. iv. 1, 2. Nay, they will some of them be so full of anger that they will break out and call, even those that speak the truth, heretics; yea, and kill them. Lu. iv. 25–29. And why so? Because they tell them, that if they live in their sins that will damn them; yet if they turn and live a righteous life, according to the holy, and just, and good law of God, that will not save them. Yea, because we tell them plainly that unless they leave their sins and [self] righteousness too, and close in with a naked Jesus Christ, his blood and merits, and what he hath done, and is now doing for sinners, they cannot be saved; and unless they do eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, they have no life abiding in them, they gravel[2] presently, and are offended at it, as the Jews were with Christ for speaking the same thing to them. Jn. vi. 53, 60. And fling away themselves, their souls and all, by quarrelling against the doctrine of the Son of God, as

[1] These times of tyrannizing oppression are fast passing away. It was difficult, a few years ago, to hire a room in some of the villages even round London, for a Sunday school and lecture, or to admit a missionary into a workhouse. A poor baby has been scornfully driven from the font—the dead body of a dissenter has been refused Christian burial—the cries of poverty and distress have been disregarded—from bitter sectarianism. The genial influence of Christianity is fast driving these demoniac feelings to the owls and bats.—(Ed.)

[2] Anguish or embarrassment of mind, derived from the name of a most painful disease.—(Ed.)

indeed they do, though they will not believe they do; and therefore, he that is a preacher of the Word, had need not only tell them, but testify to them, again and again, that their sins, if they continue in them, will damn them, and damn them again. And tell them again, their living honestly according to the law, their paying every one their own, their living quietly with their neighbours, their giving to the poor, their notion of the gospel, and saying they do believe in Christ, will do them no good at the general day of judgment. Ha, friends! How many of you are there at this very day, that have been told once and again of your lost undone condition, because you want the right, real, and saving work of God upon your souls! I say, hath not this been told you, yea, testified unto you from time to time, that your state is miserable, that yet you are never the better, but do still stand where you did; some in an open ungodly life, and some drowned in a self-conceited holiness of Christianity? Therefore, for God's sake, if you love your souls, consider, and beg of God for Jesus Christ's sake, that he would work such a work of grace in your hearts, and give you such a faith in his Son Jesus Christ, that you may not only have rest here, as you think, not only think your state safe while you live here, but that you may be safe indeed, not only here, but also when you are gone, lest you do cry in the anguish and perplexity of your souls, Send one to my companions that have been beguiled by Satan as I have been, and so, by going on, come into this place of torment as I have done.

Again, one thing more is to be observed from these words, Let him 'testify to them, LEST THEY ALSO COME INTO THIS PLACE OF TORMENT.'

Mark, lest they come in. As if he had said, Or else they will come into this place of torment, as sure as I am here. From whence observe, that though some souls do for sin fall into the bottomless pit of hell before their fellows, because they depart this world before them, yet the other, abiding in the same course, are as sure to go to the same place as if they were there already. How so? Because that all are condemned together, they have all fallen under the same law, and have all offended the same justice, and must for certain, if they die in that condition, drink as deep, if not deeper, of the same destruction. Mark, I pray you, what the Scriptures say, 'He that believeth not, is condemned already.' Jn. iii. 18.

He is condemned as well as they, having broken the same law with them; if so, then what hinders but they will partake of the same destruction with them? Only the one hath not the law yet so executed upon them, because they are here; the other have had the law executed upon them, they are gone to drink that which they have been brewing, and thou art brewing that in this life which thou must certainly drink.[1] The same law, I say, is in force against you both, only he is executed and thou art not. Just as if there were a company of prisoners at the bar, and all condemned to die; what, because they are not all executed in one day, therefore shall they not be executed at all? Yes, the same law that executed its severity upon the parties now deceased, will for certain be executed on them that are alive in its appointed time. Even so it is here, we are all condemned by nature; if we close not in with the grace of God by Jesus Christ, we must and shall be destroyed with the same destruction; and 'therefore send him,' saith he, 'LEST,' mark, 'lest they also come into this place of torment.'

Again, 'Send him to my father's house,' and let him 'testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment.' As if he had said, It may be he may prevail with them, it may be he may win upon them, and so they may be kept from hence, from coming into this grievous place of torment. Observe again, that there is a possibility of obtaining mercy, if now, I say, now in this day of grace, we turn from our sins to Jesus Christ; yea, it is more than possible. And therefore, for thy encouragement, do thou know for certain, that if thou shalt in this thy day accept of mercy upon God's own terms, and close with him effectually, God hath promised, yea, made many promises, that thy soul shall be conducted safe to glory, and shall for certain escape all the evils that I have told thee of; aye, and many more than I can imagine. Do but search the Scriptures, and see how full of consolation they are to a poor soul that is minded to close in with Jesus Christ. 'Him that cometh to me,' saith Christ, 'I will in no wise cast out.' Though he be an old sinner, 'I will in no wise cast him out;' mark, in no wise, though he be a great sinner, I will in no wise cast him out, if he come to me. Though he have slighted me never so many times, and not regarded the welfare of his own soul, yet let him now come to me, and notwithstanding this, 'I will in no wise cast him out,' nor throw away his soul. Jn. vi. 37. Again, saith the apostle, 'Now,' mark now, 'is the accepted time, now *is* the day of *their* salvation.' Now here is mercy in good store, now God's heart is open to sinners; now he will make you welcome; now he will receive anybody if they do but come to Christ. 'He that cometh to me,' saith Christ, 'I will in no wise cast out.' And why? Because 'NOW *is* the accepted time, now *is* the day of salvation.' 2 Co. vi. 2. As if the apostle had said, If

[1] This is one of Bunyan's proverbs, which, however homely, is sure to make a lasting impression on the mind. Sin breeds the scorpions which will torment the sinner, unless they tormented the Saviour. O for greater hatred of sin!—(Ed.)

you will have mercy, have it now, receive it now, close in with it now.

God hath a certain day to hold out his grace to sinners. Now is the time, now is the day. It is true, there is a day of damnation, but this is a day of salvation. There is a day coming, wherein sinners must cry to the mountains to fall on them, to the hills to cover them from the wrath of God; but now, now is the day in which he doth hold out his grace. There is a day coming, in which you will not be admitted to have the privilege of one drop of water to cool your tongue, if now, I say, if now you slight his grace and goodness which he holds out to you. Ah, friends, consider there is now hopes of mercy, but then there will not; now Christ holds forth mercy unto you, but then he will not. Mat. vii. 23. Now there are his servants that do beseech you to accept of his grace, but if thou lose the opportunity that is put into thine hand, thou thyself mayest beseech hereafter, and no mercy be given thee. 'And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue.' And there was none given. Therefore let it never be said of thee, as it will be said of some, '*Wherefore is there* a price in the hand of a fool, seeing *he hath* no heart *to it?*' Seeing he hath no heart to make a good use of it. Pr. xvii. 16. Consider therefore with thyself, and say, It is better going to heaven than hell; it is better to be saved than damned; it is better to be with saints than with damned souls; and to go to God is better than to go to the devil. Therefore 'seek ye the Lord while he may be found, *and* call ye upon him while he is near.' Is. lv. 6. Lest in thy trouble he leave thee to thyself, and say unto thee plainly, Where I am, thither 'ye cannot come.' Jn. viii. 21.

O if they that are in hell might but now again have one such invitation as this, how would they leap for joy! I have thought sometimes should God send but one of his ministers to the damned in hell, and give him commission to preach the free love of God in Christ extended to them, and held out to them, if now while it is proffered to them they will accept of his kindness; O how welcome would they make this news, and close in with it on any terms! Certainly they would say, we will accept of grace on any terms in the world, and thank you too, though it cost life and limbs to boot; we will spare no cost nor charge, if mercy may be had. But poor souls, while they live here they will not part from sin, with hell-bred devilish sin. No, they will rather lose their souls than lose their filthy sins.

But, friend, thou wilt change thy note before it be long, and cry, O simple wretch that I am that I should damn my soul by sin! It is true, I have had the gospel preached to me, and have been invited in. I have been preached to, and have been warned of this; but 'how have I hated instruction, and my heart despised reproof; and have not obeyed the voice of my teachers, nor inclined mine ear to them that instructed me.' Pr. v. 12, 13. O therefore, I say, poor soul! Is there hope? Then lay thine hand upon thy mouth, and kiss the dust, and close in with the Lord Jesus Christ, and make much of his glorious mercy; and invite also thy companions to close in with the same Lord Jesus Christ, lest one of you do go to hell beforehand, and expect with grief of heart your companions to come after; and in the mean time, with anguish of heart, do sigh and say, O send him to my companions, and let him testify to them, lest they also come into this place of torment.

[USE AND APPLICATION

Of the Preceding portion of the Parable.]

[1] Now then, from what hath been said, there might many things be spoken by way of use and application; but I shall be very brief, and but touch some things, and so wind up. And, *First*, I shall begin with the sad condition of those that die out of Christ, and speak something to that. *Secondly*, To the latter end of the parable, which more evidently concerns the Scripture, and speak somewhat to that.

[*First.* I shall begin with the sad condition of those that die out of Christ.]

1. Therefore you see that the former part of the parable contains a sad declaration of the state of one living and dying out of Christ; how that they lose heaven for hell, God for the devil, light for darkness, joy for sorrow. 2. How that they have not so much as the least comfort from God, who in the time they live here below neglect coming to him for mercy; not so much as one drop of cold water. 3. That such souls will repent of their folly, when repentance will do them no good, or when they shall be past recovery. 4. That all the comfort such souls are like to have, they have it in this world. 5. That all their groanings and sighs will not move God to mitigate in the least his heavy hand of vengeance that is upon them, for the transgressions they have committed against him. 6. That their sad state is irrecoverable, or they must never, mark, never come out of that condition. 7. Their desires will not be heard for their ungodly neighbours. From these things then, I pray you consider the state of those that die out of Christ Jesus; yea, I say, consider their miserable state; and think thus with thyself, Well, if I neglect

[1] From this paragraph to the end of the comment on ver. 28, was placed by Bunyan, in his first edition, as the first part of the general use and application. See the note on p. 722.—ED.)

coming to Christ, I must go to the devil, and he will not neglect to fetch me away into those intolerable torments.

Think thus with thyself, What, shall I lose a long heaven for short pleasure? Shall I buy the pleasures of this world at so dear a rate as to lose my soul for the obtaining of that? Shall I content myself with a heaven that will last no longer than my lifetime? What advantage will these be to me when the Lord shall separate soul and body asunder, and send one to the grave, the other to hell, and at the judgment-day, the final sentence of eternal ruin must be passed upon me?

1. *Consider*, that the profits, pleasures, and vanities of this world will not last for ever, but the time is coming, yea, just at the doors, when they will give thee the slip, and leave thee in the suds,[1] and in the brambles of all that thou hast done. And therefore to prevent this,

2. [*Consider*] thy dismal state, think thus with thyself, It is true, I do love my sins, my lusts and pleasures; but what good will they do me at the day of death and of judgment? Will my sins do me good then? Will they be able to help me when I come to fetch my last breath? What good will my profits do me? And what good will my vanities do, when death says he will have no nay? What good will all my companions, fellow-jesters, jeerers, liars, drunkards, and all my wantons do me? Will they help to ease the pains of hell? Will these help to turn the hand of God from inflicting his fierce anger upon me? Nay, will not they rather cause God to show me no mercy, to give me no comfort; but rather to thrust me down in the hottest place of hell, where I may swim in fire and brimstone.

3. *Consider* thus with thyself, Would I be glad to have all, every one of my sins to come in against me, to inflame the justice of God against me? Would I be glad to be bound up in them as the three children were bound in their clothes, and to be as really thrown into the fiery furnace of the wrath of Almighty God as they were into Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace?

4. *Consider* thus, Would I be glad to have all, and every one of the ten commandments, to discharge themselves against my soul? The first saying, Damn him, for he hath broken me; the second saying, Damn him, for he hath broken me, &c. Consider how terrible this will be, yea, more terrible than if thou shouldest have ten of the biggest pieces of ordnance in England to be discharged against thy body, thunder, thunder, one after another! Nay, this would not be comparable to the reports that the law, for the breach thereof, will give against thy soul; for those can but kill the body, but these will kill both body and soul; and that not for an hour, a day, a month, or a year, but they will condemn thee for ever.

Mark, it is for ever, for ever. It is into everlasting damnation, eternal destruction, eternal wrath and displeasure from God, eternal gnawings of conscience, eternal continuance with devils. O consider, it may be the thought of seeing the devil doth now make thine hair to stand right up on thine head. O but this, to be damned, to be among all the devils, and that not only for a time, as I said before, but for ever, to all eternity! This is wonderfully miserable, ever miserable; that no tongue of man, no, nor of angels, is able to express it.

5. *Consider* much with thyself, Not only my sins against the law will be laid to my charge, but also the sins I have committed in slighting the gospel, the glorious gospel. These also must come with a voice against me. As thus, Nay, he is worthy to be damned, for he rejected the gospel, he slighted the free grace of God tendered in the gospel; how many times wast thou, damned wretch, invited, intreated, beseeched to come to Christ, to accept of mercy, that thou mightest have heaven, thy sins pardoned, thy soul saved, and body and soul glorified, and all this for nothing but the acceptance, and through faith forsaking those imps of Satan, which by their embracements have drawn thee downward toward the gulf of God's eternal displeasure? How often didst thou read the promises, yea, the free promises of the common salvation! How oft didst thou read the sweet counsels and admonitions of the gospel, to accept of the grace of God! But thou wouldst not, thou regardest it not, thou didst slight all.

Second. As I would have thee to consider the sad and woeful state of those that die out of Christ, and are past all recovery, so would I have thee consider the many mercies and privileges thou enjoyest above some, peradventure, of thy companions that are departed to their proper place. As,

1. *Consider*, thou hast still the thread of thy life lengthened, which for thy sins might seven years ago, or more, have been cut asunder, and thou have dropped down amongst the flames.

2. *Consider* the terms of reconciliation by faith in Christ are still proffered unto thee, and thou invited, yea, entreated to accept of them.

3. *Consider* the terms of reconciliation are but —bear with me though I say but—only to believe in Jesus Christ, with that faith that purifies the heart, and enables thy soul to feed on him effectually, and be saved from this sad state.

4. *Consider* the time of thy departure is at hand, and the time is uncertain, and also that for ought

[1] A familiar phrase, expressive of embarrassment. 'There is no comfort in the house upon a washing day.' Suds, in this sentence, would puzzle a foreigner. Johnson's dictionary interprets it, 'A lixivium of soap and water!'—(Ed.)

thou knowest the day of grace may be past to thee before thou diest, not lasting so long as thy uncertain life in this world. And if so, then know for certain that thou art as sure to be damned as if thou wast in hell already; if thou convert not in the meanwhile.

5. *Consider* it may be some of thy friends are giving all diligence to make their calling and election sure, being resolved for heaven, and thou thyself endeavourest as fast to make sure of hell, as if resolved to have it; and together with this, consider how it will grieve thee that while thou wast making sure of hell thy friends were making sure of heaven; but more of this by and by.

6. *Consider* what a sad reflection this will have on thy soul, to see thy friends in heaven, and thyself in hell; thy father in heaven, and thou in hell; thy mother in heaven, and thou in hell; thy brother, thy sister, thy children in heaven, and thou in hell. As Christ said to the Jews of their relations according to the flesh, so may I say to thee concerning thy friends, 'There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,' when you shall see your fathers and mothers, brethren and sisters, husbands and wives, children and kinsfolk, with your friends and neighbours in the kingdom of heaven, and thou thyself thrust out. Lu. xiii. 27–29.

But again, because I would not only tell thee of the damnable state of those that die out of Christ, but also persuade thee to take hold of life, and go to heaven, take notice of these following things.

(1.) Consider that whatever thou canst do, as to thy acceptance with God, is not worth the dirt of thy shoes, but is all 'as filthy rags.' Is. liv. 6.

(2.) Consider that all the conditions of the new covenant, as to salvation, are and have been completely fulfilled by the Lord Jesus Christ, and that for sinners.

(3.) Consider that the Lord calls to thee, for to receive whatsoever Christ hath done, and that on free cost. Re. xxii. 17.

(4.) Consider that thou canst not honour God more than to close in with his proffers of grace, mercy, and pardon of sin. Ro. iv.

Again, that which will add to all the rest, thou shalt have the very mercy of God, the blood of Christ, the preachers of the word, together with every sermon, all the promises, invitations, exhortations, and all the counsels and threatenings of the blessed word of God. Thou shalt have all thy thoughts, words, and actions, together with all thy food, thy raiment, thy sleep, thy goods, and also all hours, days, weeks, months and years, together with whatsoever else God hath given thee. I say, thy abuse of all these shall come up in judgment against thy soul; for God will reckon with thee for everything, whether it be good or bad. Ec. xii. 14.

(5.) Nay further, it is so unreasonable a thing for a sinner to refuse the gospel, that the very devils themselves will come in against thee, as well as Sodom, that damned crew. May not they, I say, come in against thee, and say, O thou simple[1] man! O vile wretch! That had not so much care of thy soul, thy precious soul, as the beast hath of its young, or the dog of the very bone that lieth before him. Was thy soul worth so much, and didst thou so little regard it? Were the thunder-claps of the law so terrible, and didst thou so slight them? Besides, was the gospel so freely, so frequently, so fully tendered to thee, and yet hast thou rejected all these things? Hast thou valued sin at a higher rate than thy soul, than God, Christ, angels, saints, and communion with them in eternal blessedness and glory? Wast thou not told of hell-fire, those intolerable flames? Didst thou never hear of the intolerable roarings of the damned ones that are therein? Didst thou never hear or read that doleful saying in Luke xvi., how the sinful man cries out among the flames, 'One drop of water to cool my tongue?' Thus, I say, may the very devils, being ready to go with thee into the burning furnace of fire and brimstone, though not for sins of so high a nature as thine, trembling say, O that Christ had died for devils, as he died for man! And, O that the gospel had been preached to us as it hath been to thee! How would we have laboured to have closed in with it! But woe be to us, for we might never have it proffered; no, not in the least, though we would have been glad of it. But you, you have it proffered, preached, and proclaimed unto you. Pr. viii. 4. Besides, you have been intreated, and beseeched to accept of it, but you would not. O simple fools! that might have escaped wrath, vengeance, hell-fire, and that to all eternity, and had no heart at all to do it.

(6.) May not the messengers of Jesus Christ also come in with a shrill and terrible note against thy soul, when thou standest at the bar of God's justice, saying, Nay, thou ungodly one, how often hast thou been forewarned of this day? Did we not sound an alarm in thine ears, by the trumpet of God's word day after day? How often didst thou hear us tell thee of these things? Did we not tell thee sin would damn thy soul? Did we not tell thee that without conversion there was no salvation? Did we not tell thee that they who loved their sins should be damned at this dark and gloomy day, as thou art like to be? Yea, did we not tell thee that God, out of his love to sinners, sent Christ to die for them, that they might, by coming to him, be saved? Did not we tell thee of these things? Did we not run, ride, labour, and strive abundantly, if it might have been, for

[1] The word 'simple' is here used as it is by Solomon in the Proverbs—silly, unwise.—(Ed.)

the good of thy soul, though now a damned soul? Did we not venture our goods, our names, our lives? Yea, did we not even kill ourselves with our earnest intreaties of thee to consider of thine estate, and by Christ to escape this dreadful day? O sad doom! When thou shalt be forced full sore against thy will to fall under the truth of this judgment, saying, O 'How have I hated instruction, and *how hath* my heart despised reproof!' for, indeed, 'I have not obeyed the voice of my teachers, nor inclined mine ear to them that instructed me.' Pr. v. 12, 13.

(7.) May not thy father, thy mother, thy brother, thy sister, thy friend, &c., appear with gladness against thee at the terrible day, saying, O thou silly wretch! how rightly hath God met with thee! O how righteously doth his sentence pass upon thee! Remember thou wouldst not be ruled nor persuaded in thy lifetime. As thou didst not care for us and our admonitions then, so neither do we care for thy ruin, terror, and damnation now. No, but we will stand on God's side in sentencing of thee to that portion which the devils must be partakers of. 'The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance, he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked.' Ps. lviii. 10. O sad! It is enough to make mountains tremble, and the rocks rend in pieces, to hear this doleful sound. Consider these things, and if thou wouldst be loth to be in this condition, then have a care of living in sin now. How loth wilt thou be to be thrust away from the gates of heaven! And how loth wilt thou be to be deprived of the mercy of God! How unwillingly wilt thou set foot forward towards the lake of fire! Never did malefactor so unwillingly turn off the ladder when the halter was about his neck, as thou will turn from God to the devil, from heaven to hell, when the sentence is passed upon thy soul.

O how wilt thou sigh and groan! How willingly wouldst thou hide thyself, and run away from justice! But alas! as it is with them that are on the ladder ready to be executed, so it will be with thee. They would fain run away, but there are many halbert-men[1] to stay them. And so the angels of God will beset thee round, I say round on every side; so that thou mayest indeed look, but run thou canst not. Thou mayest wish thyself under some rock, or mountain, Re. vi. 15, 16, but how to get under, thou knowest not.

O how unwilling wilt thou be to let thy father go to heaven without thee! thy mother or friends, &c., go to heaven without thee! How willingly wouldst thou hang on them, and not let them go! O father! cannot you help me? Mother, cannot you do me some good? O how loth am I to burn and fry in hell, while you are singing in heaven! But alas! the father, mother, or friends reject them, slight them, and turn their backs upon them, saying, You would have none of heaven in your lifetime, therefore you shall have none of it now. You slighted our counsels then, and we slight your tears, cries, and condition now. What sayest thou, sinner? Will not this persuade thine heart, nor make thee bethink thyself? This is now before thou fall into that dreadful place, that fiery furnace. But O consider how dreadful the place itself, the devils themselves, the fire itself will be! And this at the end of all, Here thou must lie for ever! Here thou must fry for ever, and for ever! This will be more to thee than any man with tongue can express, or with pen can write. There is none that can, I say, by the ten thousandth part, discover the state and condition of such a soul.

I shall conclude this, then, with A FEW CONSIDERATIONS OF ENCOURAGEMENT.

[*First Encouragement.*] Consider, for I would fain have thee come in, sinner, that there is way made by Jesus Christ for them that are under the curse of God, to come to this comfortable and blessed state of Lazarus I was speaking of. See Ep. ii.

[*Second Encouragement.*] Consider what pains Christ Jesus took for the ransoming of thy soul from all the curses, thunder-claps, and tempests of the law; from all the intolerable flames of hell; from that soul-sinking appearance of thy person, on the left hand, before the judgment-seat of Christ Jesus, from everlasting fellowship, with innumerable companies of yelling and soul-amazing devils, I say, consider what pains the Lord Jesus Christ took in bringing in redemption for sinners from these things.

'In that though he was rich, yet he became poor, that ye, through his poverty, might be' made 'rich.' 2 Co. viii. 9. He laid aside his glory, Jn. xvii., and became a servant. Phi. ii. 7. He left the company of angels, and encountered with the devil. Lu. iv. Mat. iv. He left heaven's ease for a time, to lie upon hard mountains. Lu. vi. 12. Jn. viii. 1. In a word, he became poorer than they that go with flail and rake; yea, than the very birds or foxes, and all to do thee good. Besides, consider a little of these unspeakable and intolerable slightings and rejections, and the manifold abuses that came from men upon him. How he was falsely accused, being a sweet, harmless, and undefiled lamb. How he was undervalued, so that a murderer was counted less worthy of condemnation than he. Besides, how they mocked him, spit on him, beat him over the head with staves, had the hair plucked from his cheeks. 'I gave my back to the smiters,' saith he, 'and my cheeks to them

[1] Men armed with halberts or javelins; now only used at assizes in England, or by officers attending meetings of magistrates in Scotland.—(ED.)

that plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting.' Is. l. 6. His head crowned with thorns, his hands pierced with nails, and his side with a spear; together with how they used him, scourged him, and so miserably misusing him, that they had even spent him in a great measure before they did crucify him; insomuch that there was another fain to carry his cross. Again,

[*Third Encouragement.*] Not only this, but lay to heart a little what he received from God, his dear Father, though he were his dear and tender Son.

1. In that he did reckon[1] him the greatest sinner and rebel in the world. For he laid the sins of thousands, and ten thousands, and thousands of thousands of sinners to his charge. Is. liii. And caused him to drink the terrible cup that was due to them all; and not only so, but did delight in so doing. 'For it pleased the LORD to bruise him.' God dealt indeed with his son, as Abraham would have dealt with Isaac; ay, and more terribly by ten thousand parts. For he did not only tear his body like a lion, but made his soul an offering for sin. And this was not done feignedly, but really—for justice called for it, he standing in the room of sinners. Witness that horrible and unspeakable agony that fell on him suddenly in the garden, as if all the vials of God's unspeakable scalding vengeance had been cast upon him all at once, and all the devils in hell had broken loose from thence at once to destroy him, and that for ever; insomuch that the very pangs of death seized upon him in the same hour. For, saith he, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful' and 'sore amazed,' even 'unto death.' Mar. xiv. 34.

[2.] Witness also that strange kind of sweat that trickled down his most blessed face, where it is said: 'And he sweat, as it were, great drops' or clodders 'of blood,' trickling 'down to the ground.' O Lord Jesus! what a load didst thou carry! What a burden didst thou bear of the sins of the world, and the wrath of God! O thou didst not only bleed at nose and mouth with the pressure that lay upon thee, but thou wast so pressed, so loaden, that the pure blood gushed through the flesh and skin, and so ran trickling down to the ground. 'And his sweat was as it were great drops of blood,' trickling or 'falling down to the ground.' Lu. xxii. 44. Canst thou read this, O thou wicked sinner, and yet go on in sin? Canst thou think of this, and defer repentance one hour longer? O heart of flint! yea, harder. O miserable wretch! What place in hell will be hot enough for thee to have thy soul put into, if thou shalt persist or go on still to add iniquity to iniquity.

[3.] Besides, his soul went down to hell, and his body to the bars of the grave. Ps. xvi. 10. Ac. ii. 31. And had hell, death, or the grave, been strong enough to hold him, then he had suffered the vengeance of eternal fire to all eternity. But, O blessed Jesus! how didst thou discover thy love to man in thy thus suffering! And, O God the Father! how didst thou also declare thy purity and exactness of thy justice, in that, though it was thine only, holy, innocent, harmless, and undefiled Son Jesus, that did take on him our nature, and represent our persons, answering for our sins, instead of ourselves! Thou didst so wonderfully pour out thy wrath upon him, to the making of him cry out, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' And, O Lord Jesus! what a glorious conquest hast thou made over the enemies of our souls, even wrath, sin, death, hell, and devils, in that thou didst wring thyself from under the power of them all! And not only so, but hast led them captive which would have led us captive; and also hast received for us that glorious and unspeakable inheritance that 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man' to conceive; and also hast given thine some discovery thereof through thy Spirit.

And now, sinner, together with this consider,

4. That though Jesus Christ hath done all these things for sinners, yet the devils make it their whole work, and continually study how they may keep thee and others from enjoying of these blessed privileges that have been thus obtained for sinners by this sweet Jesus. He labours, I say, (1.) To keep thee ignorant of thy state by nature. (2.) To harden thy heart against the ways of God. (3.) To inflame thy heart with love to sin and the ways of darkness. And, (4.) To get thee to continue herein. For that is the way, he knows, to get thee to be a partaker with him of flaming hell-fire, even the same that he himself is fallen into, together with the rest of the wicked world, by reason of sin. Look to it therefore.

[*Fourth Encouragement.*] But now, in the next place, *a word of encouragement to you that are the saints of the Lord.*

1. Consider what a happy state thou art in that hast gotten the faith of the Lord Jesus into thy soul; but be sure thou have it, I say, how safe, how sure, how happy art thou! For when others go to hell, thou must go to heaven; when others go to the devil, thou must go to God; when as others go to prison, thou must be set at liberty, at ease, and at freedom; when others must roar for sorrow of heart, then thou shalt also sing for the joy of heart.

2. Consider thou must have all thy well-spent life to follow thee instead of all thy sins and the glorious blessings of the gospel instead of the

[1] Modern editors have altered this to, 'did deal with him.' —(ED.)

dreadful curses and condemnations of the law; the blessing of the father, instead of a fiery sentence from the judge.

3. Let dissolution come when it will, it can do thee no harm; for it will be but only a passage out of a prison into a palace; out of a sea of troubles into a haven of rest; out of a crowd of enemies, to an innumerable company of true, loving, and faithful friends; out of shame, reproach, and contempt, into exceeding great and eternal glory. For death shall not hurt thee with his sting, nor bite thee with his soul-murdering teeth; but shall be a welcome guest to thee, even to thy soul, in that it is sent to free thee from thy troubles which thou art in whilst here in this world dwelling in the tabernacle of clay.

4. Consider however it goes with friends and relations, yet it will go well with thee. Ec. viii. 12. However it goes with the wicked, yet 'surely I know;' mark, 'yet surely I know,' saith he, 'that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before him.' And therefore let this,

(1.) In the first place, cause thee cheerfully to exercise thy patience under all the calamities, crosses, troubles, and afflictions that may come upon thee; and, by patient continuance in well-doing, to commit both thyself and thine affairs and actions into the hands of God, through Jesus Christ, as to a faithful Creator, who is true in his word, and loveth to give unto thee whatsoever he hath promised to thee.

(2.) And, therefore, to encourage thee while thou art here with comfort to hold on for all thy crosses in this thy journey, be much in considering the place that thou must go into so soon as dissolution comes. It must be into heaven, to God the judge of all, to an innumerable company of angels, to the spirits of just men made perfect, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven, and to Jesus, to the redeemer, who is the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaks better things for thee than Abel's did for Cain. He. xi. 22–24.

(3.) Consider that when the time of the dead that they shall be raised is come, then shall thy body be raised out of the grave and be glorified, and be made like to Jesus Christ. Phi. iii. 21. O excellent condition!

(4.) When Jesus Christ shall sit on the throne of his glory you also shall sit with him, even when he shall sit on the throne of his glory. O will not this be glorious, that when thousands, and thousands of thousands shall be arraigned before the judgment-seat of Christ, then for them to sit with him upon the throne, together with him to pass the sentence upon the ungodly. 1 Co. vi. 2, 3. Will it not be glorious to enjoy those things that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man to conceive?

Will it not be glorious to have this sentence, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world?' Will it not be glorious to enter then with the angels and saints into that glorious kingdom? Will it not be glorious for thee to be in glory with them, while others are in unutterable torments? O then, how will it comfort thee to see thou hast not lost that glory; to think that the devil hath not got thy soul, that thy soul should be saved, and that not from a little, but from an exceeding danger;[1] not with a little, but a great salvation. O, therefore, let the saints be joyful in glory, let them triumph over all their enemies. Let them begin to sing heaven upon earth, triumph before they come to glory, salvation, even when they are in the midst of their enemies, for 'this honour have all his saints.' Ps. cxlix. 9.

Verse 29.—'Abraham said unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.'

In the verses foregoing you see there is a discovery of the lamentable state of the poor soul that dies out of Christ, and the special favour of God. And also how little the glorious God of heaven doth regard and take notice of their most miserable condition.

Now in this verse he doth magnify the word which was spoken to the people by the prophets and apostles, 'They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.' As if he should say, thou askest me that I should send Lazarus back again into the world to preach to them that live there, that they might escape that doleful place that thou art in. What needs that? Have they not Moses and the prophets? Have they not had my ministers and servants sent unto them and coming as from me? I sent Enoch and Noah, Moses and Samuel. I sent David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, and the rest of the prophets, together with Peter, Paul, John, Matthew, James, Jude, with the rest; 'Let them hear them.' What they have spoken by divine inspiration I will own, whether it be for the damnation of those that reject, or the saving of them that receive their doctrine. And, therefore, what need have they that one should be sent unto them in another way? 'They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.' Let them receive their word, close in with the doctrine declared by them. I shall not at this time speak anything to that word 'Abraham,' having touched upon it already; but shall tell you what is to be understood by these words, 'They

[1] Altered in the third edition to 'a great exceeding danger.' —(Ed.)

have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.' The things that I shall observe from hence are these:—

[*First.*] That the scriptures spoken by the holy men of God are a sufficient rule to instruct to salvation them that do assuredly believe and close in with what they hold forth. 'They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.' That is, if they would escape that doleful place, and be saved indeed from the intolerable pains of hell-fire, as they desire, they have that which is sufficient to counsel them. 'They have Moses and the prophets;' let them be instructed by them, 'Let them hear them.' For 'all scripture *is* given by inspiration of God, and *is* profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness;' why? 'That the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.' 2 Ti. iii. 16, 17. Do but mark these words, 'All scripture *is* profitable.' ALL; take it where you will, and in what place you will, 'All *is* profitable:' For what? 'That the man of God,' or he that is bound for heaven, and would instruct others in their progress thither.

It is profitable to instruct him, in case he be ignorant; to reprove him, in case he transgress; to correct him, if he hath need of it; to confirm him, if he be wavering. It is profitable for doctrine, and all this in a very righteous way—that the poor soul may not only be helped, but thoroughly furnished, not only to some, but to all good works. And when Paul would counsel Timothy to stick close to the things that are sound and sure, presently he puts him upon the scripture, saying, 'From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' The scripture holds forth God's mind and will, of his love and mercy towards man, and also the creature's carriage towards him from first to last; so if thou wouldest know the love of God in Christ to sinners, then 'search the scriptures, for they are they which testify of him.'

Wouldst thou know what thou art, and what is in thine heart? Then search the Scriptures and see what is written in them. Ro. i. 29–31; iii. 9–18. Je. xvii. 9. Ge. vi. 5; viii. 21. Ep. iv. 18, with many others. The Scriptures, I say, they are able to give a man perfect instruction into any of the things of God necessary to faith and godliness, if he hath but an honest heart seriously to weigh and ponder the several things contained in them. As to instance in things more particular for the further clearing up of this. And first, if we come to the creation of the world.

Wouldst thou know somewhat concerning that? Then read Ge. i. and ii., and compare them with Ps. xxxiii. 6.; also Is. lxvi. 2. Pr. viii. towards the end.

Wouldst thou know whether he made them of something or nothing? Read He. xi. 3.

Wouldst thou know whether he put forth any labour in making them, as we do in making things? Read Ps. xxxiii. 9.

If thou wouldest know whether man was made by God corrupt or upright, read Ec. vii. 29. Ge. i. 10, 18, 25, 31.

Wouldst thou know where God did place man after he had made him? Read Ge. ii. 15.

Wouldst thou know whether that man did live there all his time or not? Then read Ge. iii. 23, 24.

If thou wouldest know whether man be still in that state by nature that God did place him in? Then read Ec. vii, 29., and compare it with Ro. v. 16. Ep. ii. 1–3. 'God made men upright, but they have sought out many inventions.'

If thou wouldest know whether the man were first beguiled, or the woman that God made an help-mate for him? Read Ge. iii. 6, and compare with 1 Tim. ii. 14.

Wouldst thou know whether God looked upon Adam's eating [the fruit of] the forbidden tree to be sin or no? Read Ro. v. 12–15, and compare it with Ge. iii. 17.

Wouldst thou know whether it were the devil who beguiled them, or whether it was a natural serpent, such as do haunt the desolate places? Read Ge. iii. 13, with Re. xx. 1–3.

Wouldst thou know whether that sin be imputed to us? Read Ro. v. 12–15, and compare it with Ep. ii. 2.

Wouldst thou know whether man was cursed for his sin? Read Ga. iii. 10. Ro. v. 15.

Wouldst thou know whether the curse did fall on man, or on the whole creation with him? Compare Ge. iii. 17, with Ro. viii. 20–22.

Wouldst thou know whether man be defiled in every part of him by the sin he hath committed? Then read Is. i. 6.

Wouldst thou know man's inclination so soon as he is born? Read Ps. lviii. 3. 'The wicked are estranged from the womb; they go astray as soon as they be born.'

Wouldst thou know whether man once fallen from God by transgression, can recover himself by all he can do? Then read Ro. iii. 20, 23.

Wouldst thou know whether it be the desire of the heart of man by nature, to follow God in his own way or no? Compare Ge. vi. 5, and Ge. viii. 21, with Ho. xi. 7.

Wouldst thou know how God's heart stood affected toward man before the world began? Compare Ep. i. 4, with 2 Ti. i. 9.

Wouldst thou know whether sin were sufficient to draw God's love from his creatures? Compare Je. iii. 7, and Mi. vii. 18, with Ro. v. 6–8.

Wouldst thou know whether God's love did still abide towards his creatures for anything

they could do to make him amends? Then read De. xi. 5–8.

Wouldst thou know how God could still love his creatures, and do his justice no wrong? Read Ro. iii. 24–26. 'Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; whom God hath set forth *to be* a propitiation' for sin, 'through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God. To declare, *I say*, at this time his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.'

That is, God having his justice satisfied in the blood, and righteousness, and death of his own Son Jesus Christ for the sins of poor sinners, he can now save them that come to him, though never so great sinners, and do his justice no wrong, because it hath had a full and complete satisfaction given it by that blood. 1 Jn. i. 7, 8.

Wouldst thou know who he was, and what he was, that did out of his love die for sinners, then compare Jn. iii. 16, 17. Ro. v. 8, with Is. ix. 6.

Wouldst thou know whether this Saviour had a body of flesh and bones before the world was, or took it from the Virgin Mary? Then read Ga. iv. 4.

Wouldst thou know whether he did in that body bear all our sins, and where? Then read 1 Pe. ii. 24. 'Who bare our sins in his own body on the tree.'

Wouldst thou know whether he did rise again after he was crucified, with the very same body? Then read Lu. xxiv. 38–41.

Wouldst thou know whether he did eat or drink with his disciples after he rose out of the grave? Then read Lu. xxiv. 42, and Ac. x. 41.

If thou wouldst be persuaded of the truth of this, that that very body is now above the clouds and stars, read Ac. i. 9–11, and Lu. xxiv. toward the end.

If thou wouldst know that the Quakers hold an error that say the body of Christ is within them;[1] consider the same scripture.

Wouldst thou know what that Christ that died for sinners is doing in that place whither he is gone? Then read Heb. vii. 24.

Wouldst thou know who shall have life by him, read 1 Ti. i. 14, 15, and Ro. v. 6–8, which say, 'Christ died' for sinners, 'for the ungodly.'

Wouldst thou know whether they that live and die in their sins shall go to heaven or not? Then read 1 Co. vi. 10. Re. xxi. 8, 27, which saith, 'They shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.'

Wouldst thou know whether man's obedience will obtain that Christ should die for them, or save them? Then read Mar. ii. 17. Ro. v. 6, 7.

Wouldst thou know whether righteousness, justification, and sanctification do come through the virtue of Christ's blood? Compare Ro. v. 9, with Heb. xii. 12.

Wouldst thou know whether natural man can abstain from the outward act of sin against the law, merely by a principle of nature? Then compare well Ro. ii. 14, with Phi. iii. 6.

Wouldst thou know whether a man by nature may know something of the invisible things of God? Compare seriously Ro. i. 20, 21, with ii. 14, 15.

Wouldst thou know how far a man may go on in a profession of the gospel, and yet fall away? Then read Heb. vi. 4–6. 'They may taste the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come.' They may taste 'the heavenly gift, and be partakers of the Holy Ghost,' and yet so fall as never to be recovered, or renewed again unto repentance. See also Lu. xiii.

Wouldst thou know how hard it is to go to heaven? Read Mat. vii. 13, 14. Lu. xiii. 24.

Wouldst thou know whether a man by nature be a friend to God, or an enemy? Then read Ro. v. 10. Col. i. 21.

Wouldst thou know what, or who they are that shall go to heaven? Then read Jn. iii. 3–7, and 2 Co. v. 17. Also, wouldst thou know what a sad thing it is for any to turn their backs upon the gospel of Jesus Christ? Then read Heb. x. 28, 29, and Mar. xvi. 16

Wouldst thou know what is the wages of sin? Then read Ro. vi. 23. ['The wages of sin *is* death.']

Wouldst thou know whither those do go that die unconverted to the faith of Christ? Then read Ps. ix. 17, and Is. xiv. 9.

Reader, here might I spend many sheets of paper, yea, I might upon this subject write a very great book, but I shall now forbear, desiring thee to be very conversant in the Scriptures, 'for they are they which testify of Jesus Christ.' Jn. v. 39. The Bereans were counted noble upon this account: 'These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the Word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily,' &c. Ac. xvii. 11. But here let me give thee one caution, that is, have a care that thou do not satisfy thyself with a bare search of them, without a real application of him whom they testify of to thy soul, lest instead of faring the better for thy doing this work, thou dost fare a great deal the worse, and thy condemnation be very much heightened, in that though thou didst read so often the sad state of those that die in sin, and the glorious estate of them that

[1] Bunyan published this work before the Quakers were formed into a Society. Many of the wildest enthusiasts called themselves Quakers. Barclay, in his *Apology*, very clearly defines what the Society of Friends mean by, 'Christ within, the hope of glory.' 'It is a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible principle, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells or reigns.'—Prop. V. and VI.—(Ed.)

close in with Christ, yet thou thyself shouldest be such a fool as to lose Jesus Christ, notwithstanding thy hearing, and reading so plentifully of him.

'They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.'

As if he should say, what need have they that one should be sent to them from the dead? Have they not Moses and the prophets? Hath not Moses told them the danger of living in sin? De. xxvii. 15–26; xxviii. 15–68; xxix. 18–22. Hath he not there told them, what a sad state those persons are in that deceive themselves with the deceit of their hearts, saying they shall have peace though they follow their sins, in these words: 'And when he heareth the words of this curse, he blesseth himself in his heart, saying, I shall have peace though I' go on, or 'walk in the imagination of mine heart, to add drunkenness to thirst. The Lord will not spare him, but then the anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him, and the LORD shall blot out his name from under heaven.'

Again, Did not Moses write of the Saviour that was to come afterwards into the world? De. xviii. 18. Nay, have not all the prophets from Samuel, with all those that follow after, prophesied, and foretold these things? Therefore what need have they that I should work such a miracle, as to send one from the dead unto them? 'They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.'

[*Second.*] From whence observe again, that God doth honour the writings of Moses and the prophets, as much, nay more, than if one should rise from the dead: 'Should not a people seek unto their God?' What, seek 'for the living among the dead? To the law, and to the testimony,' saith God, 'if they speak not according to this word, *it is* because *there is* no light in them.' Is. viii. 19, 20. And let me tell you plainly, I do believe that the devil knows this full well, which makes him labour to beget in the hearts of his disciples and followers light thoughts of them; and doth persuade them, that even a motion from their own beguiled conscience, or from his own wicked spirit, is to be observed and obeyed before them. When the very apostle of Jesus Christ, though he heard a voice from the excellent glory, saying, 'This is my beloved Son,' &c., yet writing to the churches, he commends the writing of the prophets before it, saying, 'We have also a more sure word of the prophets, to which ye do well to take heed,' &c. 2 Pe. i. 17–19.[1] Now if thou doubtest whether that place be meant the scriptures, the words of the prophets or no, read but the next verse, where he addeth for a certain confirmation thereof, these words, 'Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake *as they were* moved by the Holy Ghost.'

And therefore what a sad thing is it for those that go about to disown the Scriptures! I tell you, however they may slight them now, yet when they come into hell, they will see their folly: 'They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.'

Further, who are they that are so tossed to and fro, with the several winds of doctrine that have been broached in these days, but such for the most part, as have had a light esteem of the scriptures; for the ground of error, as Christ saith, is because they know not them. Mar. xii. 24. And indeed, it is just with God to give them over to follow their own dark blinded consciences, to be led into errors, that they might be damned into hell, who did not believe that the things contained in the Scripture were the truth, that they might be saved and go to heaven. I cannot well tell how to have done speaking for, and on the Scriptures' side; only this I consider, a word is enough to the wise; and therefore I shall commit these things into the hands of them that are of God; and as for the rest, I shall say to them, rather than God will save them from hell with the breach of his holy Word, if they had a thousand souls apiece, God would destroy them all; for 'the Scripture cannot be broken.' Jn. x. 35.

Verse 30.—'And he said, Nay, Father Abraham; but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent.'

The verse before, you know, as I told you, it was part of an answer to such as lose their souls; so it is a vindication of the Scriptures of Moses and the prophets, 'They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.'

Now this verse is an answer to what was said in the former; and such an one as hath in it a rejection of the former answer. 'Nay, father Abraham.' Nay, saith he, do not say so, do not put them off with this; send one from the dead, and then there will be some hopes. It is true thou speakest of the Scripture, of Moses and the prophets, and sayest, 'let them hear them;' but these things are not so well as I could wish, I had rather thou wouldst send one from the dead. In these words therefore, Nay, father Abraham, there is a repulse given; nay, let it not be so; nay, I do not like of that answer. Hear Moses and the prophets, nay. The same expression is used by Christ, Lu. xiii. 2, 3. Think you that they upon whom the tower of Siloam fell, were sinners above others? 'I tell you nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.' So here, Nay, father Abraham, &c.

By this word Nay, therefore, is signified a rejecting the first answer.

[1] This quotation, probably made from memory, is from the Genevan or Puritan version of the Bible.—(ED.)

Now observe, I pray you, the reason why he says Nay, is, because God doth put over all those that will be saved, to observe and receive the truth contained in Scripture, and believe that. To have a high esteem of them, and to love and search them, as Christ saith, 'Search the Scriptures,' for 'they are they which testify of me.' Jn. v. 39. But the damned say, Nay; as if he had said, This is the thing. To be short, my brethren are unbelievers, and do not regard the Word of God. I know it by myself, for when I was in the world, it was so with me; many a good sermon did I hear, many a time was I admonished, desired, entreated, beseeched, threatened, forewarned of what I now suffer; but alas! I was ignorant, self-conceited, surly, obstinate, and rebellious. Many a time the preacher told hell would be my portion, the devil would wreck his malice on me; God would pour on me his sore displeasure; but he had as good have preached to the stock, to the post, to the stones I trod on; his words rang in mine ears, but I kept them from mine heart. I remember he alleged many a Scripture, but those I valued not; the Scriptures, thought I, what are they? A dead letter, a little ink and paper, of three or four shillings' price.[1] Alas! What is the Scripture? Give me a ballad, a news-book, George on horseback, or Bevis of Southampton; give me some book that teaches curious arts, that tells of old fables;[2] but for the holy Scriptures I cared not. And as it was with me then, so it is with my brethren now, we were all of one spirit, loved all the same sins, slighted all the same counsels, promises, encouragements and threatenings of the Scriptures; and they are still, as I left them, still in unbelief, still provoking God, and rejecting good counsel, so hardened in their ways, so bent to follow sin, that let the Scriptures be showed to them daily, let the messengers of Christ preach till their hearts ache, till they fall down dead with preaching, they will rather trample it under foot, and swine-like rend them, than close in with those gentle and blessed proffers of the gospel.

'Nay, father Abraham, but if one should rise from the dead, they would repent.' Though they have Moses and the prophets, the Scriptures, they will not repent and close in with Jesus Christ, though the Scriptures do witness against them. If therefore there be any good done to them, they must have it another way. I think, saith he, it would work much on them 'if one should rise from the dead.' And this truth indeed is so evident, that ungodly ones have a light esteem of the Scriptures, that it needs not many strong arguments to prove it, being so evidently manifested by their every day's practice, both in words and actions, almost in all things they say and do. Yet for the satisfaction of the reader, I shall show you by a scripture or two, though I might show many, that this was and is true, with the generality of the world. See the words of Nehemiah in his 9th chapter concerning the children of Israel, who though the Lord offered them mercy upon mercy, as it is from verse 19–25, yet verse 26, saith he, 'Nevertheless they were disobedient' for all thy goodness towards them, 'and rebelled against thee.' But how? 'And cast thy law behind their backs; slew thy prophets which testified against them, to turn them to thee, and they wrought great provocations.'

Observe, 1. They sinned against mercy. And then, 2. They slighted the law, or Word of God. 3. They slew the prophets that declared it unto them. 4. The Lord counts it a great provocation. See Neh. iii. 10–19. Zec. vii. 11, 12. 'But they refused to hearken,' saith he, there of the wicked, 'and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears, that they should not hear' the law. 'Yea, they made their hearts' hard as 'an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent' unto them 'in his Spirit by the former prophets,' &c.

Mark, I pray you, here is also, (1.) A refusing to hearken to the words of the prophets. (2.) That they might so do, they stopped their ears. (3.) If anything was to be done, they pulled away their shoulder. (4.) To effect this, they labour to make their hearts hard as an adamant stone. (5.) And all this, lest they should hear and close in with Jesus, and live, and be delivered from the wrath to come. All which things do hold out an unwillingness to submit to, and embrace the words of God, and so Jesus Christ which is testified of by them. Many other scriptures I might bring in for confirmation of the thing, as that in Am. vii. 12, 13; also 1 Sa. ii. 24, 25. 2 Ch. xxv. 15, 16. Je. vii. 23–28; xvi. 12. Read also seriously that saying in 2 Ch. xxxvi. 15, where he saith, 'And the Lord God of their fathers sent to them by his messengers, rising up betimes, because he had compassion on his people, and on his dwelling-place.' And did they make them welcome? No, but they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words. And was that all? No, they 'misused his prophets.' How long? 'Until the wrath of the Lord arose against

[1] How favourable an alteration has been produced by permitting the free publication of the Bible. In Bunyan's time, under the monopoly of church and state, they were full of typographical errors, and at a high price. When eggs were four-a-penny, one hundred and sixty must have been paid for an ordinary copy; while now a handsome one, with gilt edges, may be had for eighteen or twenty. Thanks to those good men who brought about this wondrous change.—(Ed.)

[2] The improvement in the whole class of books used by children, since the Tract Society commenced its operations, is almost incredible. None but antiquarians have seen the books which Bunyan names, but they are as inferior to *Who killed Cock Robin*, as that is to Dr. Watt's *Divine Songs*. —(Ed.)

them. Till *there was* no remedy.' See also Je. xxix. 19; xxv. 3–7. Lu. xi. 49.

And besides, the conversion of almost all men doth bear witness to the same, both religious and profane persons, in that they daily neglect, reject, and turn their backs upon the plain testimony of the Scriptures. As,

First. Take the THREATENINGS laid down in holy writ, and how are they disregarded? There are but a few places in the Bible but there are threatenings against one sinner or other; against drunkards, swearers, liars, proud persons, strumpets, whoremongers, covetous, railers, extortioners, thieves, lazy persons. In a word, all manner of sins are reproved, and without faith in the Lord Jesus, there is a sore punishment to be executed on the committers of them; and all this made mention of in the Scriptures.

But for all this, how thick, and by heaps, do these wretches walk up and down our streets?[1] Do but go into the alehouses, and you shall see almost every room besprinkled with them, so foaming out their own shame, that it is enough to make the heart of a saint to tremble, insomuch that they would not be bound to have society with them any long while for all the world. For as the ways of the godly are not liked of by the wicked, even so the ways of the wicked 'are an abomination to the just.' Pr. xxix. 27. Ps. cxx. 5, 6.

[1.] The Scripture says, 'Cursed *is* the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the LORD.' Je. xvii. 5.

And yet how many poor souls are there in the world, that stand in so much awe and dread of men, and do so highly esteem their favour, that they will rather venture their souls in the hands of the devil with their favour, than they will fly to Jesus Christ for the salvation of their souls? Nay, though they be convinced in their souls, that the way is the way of God; yet how do they labour to stifle conviction, and turn their ears away from the truth, and all because they will not lose the favour of an opposite neighbour? O! I dare not for my master, my brother, my landlord, I shall lose his favour, his house of work, and so decay my calling. O, saith another, I would willingly go in this way, but for my father, he chides and tells me he will not stand my friend when I come to want; I shall never enjoy a pennyworth of his goods; he will disinherit me. And I dare not, saith another, for my husband, for he will be a railing, and tells me he will turn me out of doors, he will beat me, and cut off my legs. But I tell you, if any of these, or any other things be so prevalent with thee now, as to keep thee from seeking after Christ in his ways, they will also be so prevalent with God against thee, as to make him cast off thy soul, because thou didst rather trust man than God; and delight in the embracing of man rather than in the favour of the Lord.[2]

2. Again, the Scripture saith, 'He that being often reproved, hardeneth *his* neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy.' Pr. xxix. 1. Yet many are so far from turning, though they have been convinced of their wretched state a hundred times, that when convictions or trouble for sin comes on their consciences, they go on still in the same manner resisting and choking the same, though remediless destruction be hard at their heels.

3. Again thou hast heard say, 'Except a man be born again,' 'he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Jn. iii. 3–7. And yet thou goest on in a natural state, an unregenerate condition; nay, thou dost resolve never to turn nor be changed, though hell be appointed on purpose to swallow up such. Is. xiv. 9. 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, *and* all the nations that forget God.' Ps. ix. 17.

4. Again, the Scripture saith plainly that he that loveth and maketh a lie shall have his part 'in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.' Re. xxi. 8, 27. And yet thou art so far from dreading it, that it is thy delight to jest and jeer, and lie for a penny, or twopence, or sixpence, again. And also if thou canst make the rest of thy companions merry, by telling things that are false, of them that are better than thyself, thou dost not care a straw. Or if thou hearest a lie from, or of another, thou wilt tell it, and swear to the truth of it, O miserable!

5. Thou hast heard and read, that 'He that believeth not shall be damned.' Mar. xvi. 16. And that 'all men have not faith.' 2 Th. iii. 2. And yet thou dost so much disregard these things, that it is like thou didst scarce ever so much as examine seriously whether thou wast in the faith or no; but dost content thyself with the hypocrite's hope, which at the last God will cut off, and count it no better than the spider's web, Job viii. 13. 14, or the house that is builded on the sands. Lu. vi. 49. Nay, thou peradventure dost flatter thyself, and thinkest that thy faith is as good as the best of them all; when, alas, poor soul, thou mayest have no saving faith at all; which thou hast not, if thou be not born again, and made a new creature. 2 Co. ii. 17.

[1] Such was the then state of society, fostered by the *Book of Sports and Pastimes*, authorized by Charles I. to be used on Sunday, and by Rupert and his cavaliers with the civil war, notwithstanding the restraints of the Commonwealth. They are very young, or dim-sighted, or badly read, who do not now see a wonderful improvement in the state of public morals and religion.—(ED.)

[2] These persecutions are fast disappearing. One of my near relatives was locked into a first floor parlour in Whitechapel, without hat or shoes, to prevent his going to hear Mr. Whitefield; but, at the risk of being turned out of doors by his parents, he escaped out of the window, by clinging to the rain water-pipe, and enjoyed the public service at the Tabernacle.—(ED.)

6. Thou hast heard, that he that neglects God's great salvation shall never escape his great damnation. He. ii. 3, compared with Lu. xiv. 24, and Re. xiv. 19, 20. And yet when thou art invited, intreated, and beseeched to come in, thou wilt make any excuse to serve the turn. Lu. xiv. 17, 18. Ro. xii. 1. 2 Co. v. 19, 20. Nay, thou wilt be so wicked as to put off Christ time after time, notwithstanding he is so freely proffered to thee; a little ground, a few oxen, a farm, a wife, a twopenny matter, a play; nay, the fear of a mock, a scoff or a jeer, is of greater weight to draw thee back, than the salvation of thy soul to draw thee forward.

7. And thou hast heard, that whosoever will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God. Ja. iv. 4. But thou regardest not these things, but contrariwise; rather than thou wilt be out of the friendship and favour of this world, thou wilt sin against thine own conscience, and get thyself into favour by fawning and flattering of the world. Yea, rather than thou wilt go without it, thou wilt dissemble, lie, backbite thy neighbour, and an hundred other tricks thou wilt have.

8. You have heard that the day of judgment is near, in which you and I, all of us, must appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, and there be made to give an account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead; even of all that ever we did, yea, of all our sins in thought, word, and deed, and shall certainly be damned for them too, if we close not in with our Lord Jesus Christ, and what he hath done and suffered for eternal life; and that not notionally or traditionally, but really and savingly, in the power, and by the operation of the Spirit, through faith. Ec. xi. 9; xii. 14. Ac. x. 42; xvii. 30, 31. 2 Co. v. 10. He. ix. 27. Re. xx. 12. 'And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is *the book* of life, and the dead were judged out of those things *which* were written in the books.' There is the book of the creatures, the book of conscience, the book of the Lord's remembrance, the book of the law, the book of the gospel,[1] Ro. i. 20, compare with Ro. ii. 12, 15. Re. vi. 17. Jn. xii. 48. Then 'he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth *his* sheep on the right hand, but the goats on his left.' Mat. xxv. 30–32. 'And shall say to them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed.' ver. 34. But to the other, go, or 'Depart, ye cursed.' ver. 41. Yet, notwithstanding the Scriptures do so plainly and plentifully speak of these things, alas! who is there that is weaned from the world, and from their sins and pleasures, to fly from the wrath to come? Mat. iii. 7. Notwithstanding the Scripture saith also that heaven and earth shall pass away, rather than one jot, or one tittle of the word shall fail, 'till all be fulfilled,' they are so certain. Lu. xxi. 33. Mat. v. 18.

[*Second* PROMISES.] But leaving the threatenings, let us come to THE PROMISES, and speak somewhat of them, and you may see how light men make of them, and how little they set by them, notwithstanding the mouth of the Lord hath spoken them. As

1. 'Turn,' ye fools, ye scorners, ye simple ones, 'at my reproof;' and 'behold I will pour out my Spirit unto you.' Pr. i. 23. And yet persons had rather be in their foolishness and scorning still, and had rather embrace some filthy lust, than the holy, undefiled, and blessed Spirit of Christ, through the promise, though by it, as many as receive it, 'are sealed unto the day of redemption,' Ep. iv. 30, and although he that lives and dies without it, is none of Christ's. Ro. viii. 9.

2. God hath said, if thou do but come to him in Christ, 'Though your sins be as' red as 'scarlet, they shall be as white as snow;' and he will by no means cast thee away. Compare Is. i. 18, with Jn. vi. 37. Yet poor souls will not come to Christ that they might have life, Jn. v. 40, but rather after their hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God. Ro. ii. 5.

3. Christ Jesus hath said in the Word of truth that if any man will serve and follow him, where he is, 'there shall also his servant be.' Jn. xii. 26. But yet poor souls choose rather to follow sin, Satan, and the world, though their companions be the devils and damned souls for ever. Mat. xxv. 41.

4. He hath also said, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all' other 'things shall be added.' But let whoso will seek after the kingdom of heaven first for them; for they will take the first time, while time serves to get the things of this life. And if it be so, that they must needs seek after heaven, or else be damned, they will stay till they have more leisure, or till they can better attend to it; or till they have other things handsome about them, or till they are older; when they have little else to do, or when they come to be sick, and to die. Then, Lord, have mercy upon them! though it be ten thousand to one but they perish for ever.

For commonly the Lord hath this way to deal with such sinners, who put him off when he is striving with them, either to laugh at their calamity, and mock when their fear cometh. Pr. i. 26, 28. Or else send them to the gods they have served, which are the devils. Ju. x. 13, 14. Go to the gods you have served, and 'let them deliver you,' saith he; compare this with Jn. viii. 44.

5. He hath said, 'There is no man that forsaketh father, or mother, wife, or children, or

[1] For an admirable and deeply impressive account of these *distinct* books, see Bunyan on *The Resurrection of the Dead*, vol. ii., p. 108.—(ED.)

lands, for his sake and the gospel's, but shall have a hundred fold in this world, with persecution, and in the world to come life everlasting.' Mar. x. 29, 30.

But men, for the most part, are so far off from believing the certainty of this, that they will scarce lose the earning of a penny to hear the Word of God, the gospel of salvation. Nay, they will neither go themselves, nor suffer others to go, if they can help it, without threatening to do them a mischief, if it lie in their way. Nay, further, many are so far from parting from any worldly gain for Christ's sake, and the gospel's, that they are still striving, by hook and by crook, as we say, by swearing, lying, cozening, stealing, covetousness, extortion, oppression, forgery, bribery, flattery, or any other way to get more, though they get together with these, death, wrath, damnation, hell, the devil, and all the plagues that God can pour upon them. And if any do not run with them to the same excess of riot, but rather for all their threats will be so bold and careless, as they call it, as to follow the ways of God; if they can do no more, yet they will whet their tongues like a sword to wound them, and do them the greatest mischief they can, both in speaking against them to neighbours, to wives, to husbands, to landlords, and raising false reports of them. But let such take heed lest they be in such a state, and woeful condition as he was in, who said, in vexation and anguish of soul, One drop of cold water to cool my tongue.

Thus might I add many things out of the holy Writ, both threatenings and promises, besides those heavenly counsels, loving reproofs, free invitations to all sorts of sinners, both old and young, rich and poor, bond and free, wise and unwise. All which have been, now are, and is to be feared, as long as this world lasts, will be trampled under the feet of those swine, I call them not men, who will continue in the same. But take a review of some of them:—

1. *Counsel.*

What heavenly counsel is that where Christ saith, 'buy of me gold tried by the fire, that thou mayest be rich, and white raiment that thou mayest be clothed, and *that* the shame of thy nakedness do not appear.' Re. iii. 18. Also that, 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.' Is. lv. 1. 'Hear, and your soul shall live.' ver. 3. 'Take hold of my strength, *that* you may make peace with me, *and* you shall make peace with me.' Is. xxvii. 5.

2. *Instruction.*

What instruction is here?

'Hear instruction and be wise, and refuse it not. Blessed *is* the man that heareth me,' saith Christ, 'watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors. For whoso findeth me, findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the Lord.' Pr. viii. 33–35. Take heed that no man deceive you by any means. 'Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life.' Jn. vi. 27. 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate.' Lu. xiii. 24. 'Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved.' Ac. xvi. 31. 'Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits.' 'Quench not the Spirit.' 'Lay hold on eternal life.' 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.' Mat. v. 16. Take heed, and beware of hypocrisy; 'watch and be sober,' 'learn of me,' saith Christ, 'come unto me.'

3. *Forewarning.*

What forewarning is here?

'Because *there is* wrath, *beware* lest he take thee away with *his* stroke, then a great ransom cannot deliver thee.' Job xxxvi. 18. 'Be ye not mockers, lest your bands be made strong, for I have heard from the Lord God of hosts, a consumption even determined upon the whole earth.' Is. xxviii. 22. 'Beware, therefore, lest that come upon you that is written, Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish. For I work a work in your days, which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.' Ac. xiii. 40, 41. 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.' 1 Co. x. 12. 'Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation.' Mat. xxvi. 41. 'Let us therefore fear lest a promise being' made, and 'left *us* of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it.' He. iv. 1. 'I will therefore put you in remembrance, though you once knew this, how that the Lord having saved the people out of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not.' Jude 5. 'Hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.' Re. iii. 11.

4. *Comfort.*

What comfort is here?

'Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.' Jn. vi. 37. 'Come unto me, all *ye* that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' Mat. xi. 28. 'Be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee.' Mat. ix. 2. 'I will never leave, nor forsake thee,' for 'I have loved thee with an everlasting love.' Je. xxxi. 3. 'I lay down my life for the sheep.' I lay down my life that they may have life. 'I am come that they might have life, and that they *might* have *it* more abundantly.' 'I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee.' 2 Co. vi. 2. 'Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow, though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.' 'For I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins; return unto me, for I have redeemed thee.' Isa. xliv. 22.

5. Grief to those that fall short.

O sad grief!

'How have I hated instruction, and my heart despised reproof, and have not obeyed the voice of my teachers, nor inclined mine ear to them that instructed me.' Pr. v. 11–13. They shall 'curse their king and their God, and look upward. And they shall look unto the earth, and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish, and *they shall be* driven to darkness.' Is. viii. 21, 22. 'He hath dispersed' abroad, 'he hath given to the poor, his righteousness endureth for ever. - The wicked shall see *it*, and be grieved, he shall gnash his teeth, and melt away; the desire of the wicked shall perish.' Ps. cxii. 9, 10. 'There shall be weeping, - when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you *yourselves* thrust out.' Lu. xiii. 28. All which things are slighted by the world.

Thus much, in short, touching this, That ungodly men undervalue the Scriptures, and give no credit to them, when the truth that is contained in them is held forth in simplicity unto them, but rather cry out, Nay, but if one should rise from the dead then they think something might be done; when alas, though signs and wonders were wrought by the hands of those that preach the gospel, these poor creatures would never the sooner convert, though they suppose they should, as is evident by the carriages of their forerunners, who albeit the Lord Jesus Christ himself did confirm his doctrine by miracles, as opening blind eyes, casting out of devils, and raising the dead, they were so far from receiving either him or his doctrine, that they put him to death for his pains! Though he had done so many miracles among them, yet they believed not in him. Jn. xii. 37.

But to pass this, *I shall lay down some of the grounds of their rejecting and undervaluing the Scriptures*, and so pass on.

1. [*Ground.*] Because they do not believe that they are the Word of God, but rather suppose them to be the inventions of men, written by some politicians, on purpose to make poor ignorant people to submit to some religion and government.[1] Though they do not say this, yet their practices testify the same; as he that when he hears the words of the curse, yet blesseth himself in his heart, and saith he shall have peace, though God saith he shall have none. De. xxix. 18–20. And this must needs be, for did but men believe this, that it is the Word of God, then they must believe that he that spake it is true, therefore shall every word and tittle be fulfilled. And if they come once to this, unless they be stark mad, they will have a care how they do throw themselves under the lash of eternal vengeance. For the reason why the Thessalonians received the Word, was, because they believed it was the Word of God, and not the word of man, which did effectually work in them by their thus believing. 'When ye received the Word of God which ye heard of us,' saith he, 'ye received it not *as* the word of man, but, as it is in truth, the Word of God, which effectually worketh also in you that believe.' 1 Th. ii. 13. So that did a man but receive it in hearing, or reading, or meditating, as it is the Word of God, they would be converted. 'But the Word preached did not profit, - not being mixed with faith in them that heard it.' He. iv. 2.

2. [Ground.] Because they do not indeed see themselves by nature heirs of that exceeding wrath and vengeance that the Scriptures testify of. For did they but consider what God intends to do with those that live and die in a natural state, it would either sink them into despair, or make them fly for refuge to the hope that is set before them. But if there be never such sins committed, and never so great wrath denounced, and the time of execution be never so near, yet if the party that is guilty be senseless, and altogether ignorant thereof, he will be careless, and regards it nothing at all. And that man, by nature, is in this condition, it is evident. For, take the same man that is senseless, and ignorant of that misery he is in by nature, I say, take him at another time when he is a little awakened, and then you shall hear him roar, and cry out so long as trouble is upon him, and a sense of the wrath of God hanging over his head, Good sirs, what must I do to be saved?

Though the same man at another time, when his conscience is fallen asleep, and grown hard, will lie like the smith's dog at the foot of the anvil, though the fire-sparks fly in his face. But, as I said before, when any one is a little awakened, O what work will one verse, one line, nay, one word of the holy Scriptures make in his heart.[2] He cannot eat, sleep, work, keep company with his former companions, and all because he is afraid that the damnation spoken of in Scripture will fall to his share, like Balaam, who said, 'I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord.' Nu. xxii. 18. So long as he had something of the word of the Lord with authority, severity, and power on his heart; but at another time he could teach 'Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel.' Re. ii. 14.

3. [Ground.] Because the carnal priests do

[1] This idea prevails to a vast extent. The splendour, power, and intolerance of national hierarchies is mistaken for the humble benignity of the Bible system of Christianity or personal religion. Antichrist, tricked out in robes and gewgaws, is, by perverted minds, received as Christ.—(Ed.)

[2] This is exemplified in Bunyan's experience, published by him in *Grace Abounding*. 'That scripture also did tear and rend my soul. Is. lvii. 22.' Sec. 104. 'That scripture did seize upon my soul. He. xii. 16, 17.' Sec. 141.—(Ed.)

tickle the ears of their hearers with vain philosophy and deceit, and thereby harden their hearts against the simplicity of the gospel and Word of God, which things the apostle admonished those that have a mind to close in with Christ to avoid, saying, 'Beware lest any man,' be he what he will, 'spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, and rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.' Col. ii. 8. And you who muzzle up your people in ignorance with Aristotle, Plato, and the rest of the heathenish philosophers, and preach little, if anything, of Christ rightly; I say unto you, that you will find you have sinned against God, and beguiled your hearers, when God shall, in the judgment-day, lay the cause of the damnation of many thousands of souls to your charge, and say, He will require their blood at your hands. Eze. xxxiii. 6.

4. [Ground.] Another reason why the carnal unbelieving world do so slight the Scriptures and Word of God, is, because the judgment spoken of in the Scripture is not presently executed on the transgressors. 'Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil.' Ec. viii. 11. Because God doth not presently strike the poor wretch as soon as he sins, but waits, and forbears, and is patient, therefore the world judging God to be unfaithful, go to it again and again, and every time grow harder and harder, till at last God is forced either to stretch out his mighty power to turn them, or else send death, with the devil and hell, to fetch them. 'Thou thoughtest,' saith God, 'that I was altogether *such an one* as thyself, *but* I will reprove thee, and set *them* in order before thine eyes. Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear *you* in pieces, and *there be* none to deliver.' Ps. l. 21, 22.

5. [Ground.] Another reason why the blind world do slight the authority of Scripture, is, because they give ear to the devil, who, through his subtilty, casteth false evasions and corrupt interpretations on them, rendering them not so point blank the mind of God, and a rule for direction to poor souls, persuading them that they must give ear and way to something else besides, and beyond that; or else he labours to render it vile and contemptible, by persuading them that it is a dead letter, when indeed they know not what they say, nor whereof they affirm. For the Scripture is not so dead but that the knowledge of it is able to make any man wise unto salvation, through faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus. 2 Ti. iii. 15; and is profitable for instruction, reproof, and correction in righteousness, that the man of God may be throughly furnished to all good works. ver. 17.

And where it is said the letter killeth, he meaneth the law, as it is the ministration of damnation, or a covenant of works, and so indeed it doth kill, and must do so, because it is just, forasmuch as the party that is under the same is not able to yield to it a complete and continual obedience. But yet I will call Peter and Paul to witness that the Scriptures are of a very glorious concernment, inasmuch as in them is held forth to us the way of life; and also in that they do administer good ground of hope to us. 'For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.' Ro. xv. 4. And again, 'Now to him that is of power to stablish you according to my gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith.' Ro. xvi. 25, 26. And therefore whosoever they be that slight the Scriptures, they slight that which is no less than the Word of God; and they who slight that, slight him that spake it; and they that do so, let them look to themselves, for God will be revenged on such. Much more might be said to this thing, but I would not be tedious.

A word or two more, so I have done with this. *Consider the danger of slighting the words of the prophets or apostles*, whether they be correction, reproof, admonition, forewarning, or the blessed invitations and promises contained in them.

1. [*Consider*] Such souls do provoke God to anger, and to execute his vengeance on them. 'They refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears, that they should not hear' the law, and 'they made their hearts *as* an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of Hosts hath sent in his Spirit by the former prophets; therefore came a great wrath from the Lord of Hosts.' Zec. vii. 11, 12.

2. [Consider] God will not regard in their calamity. 'Because I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof. I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh. When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind. Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me.' Pr. i. 24–28.

3. [Consider] God doth commonly give up such men to delusions, to believe lies. 'Because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved,' *therefore* 'God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned.' 2 Th. ii. 10–12.

4. [Consider] In a word, they that do continue

to reject and slight the Word of God, they are such, for the most part, as are ordained to be damned. Old Eli, his sons not hearkening to the voice of their father reproving them for their sins, but disobeying his voice, it is said, It was 'because the Lord would slay them.' 1 Sa. ii. 25. Again see in 2 Ch. xxv. 15, 16. Amaziah having sinned against the Lord, he sends to him a prophet to reprove him; but Amaziah says, 'Forbear, why shouldest thou be smitten?' He did not hearken to the word of God, 'Then the prophet forbare, saying, I know that God hath determined to destroy thee, because thou hast - not hearkened unto my counsel.' Read, therefore, and the Lord give thee understanding. For a miserable end will those have that go on sinning against God, rejecting his Word.

Other things might have been observed from this verse, which at this time I shall pass by; partly because the sum of them hath been touched already, and may be more clearly hinted at in the following verse; and therefore I shall speak a few words to the next verse, and so draw towards a conclusion.

Verse 31.—'And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.'

'And he said;' that is, and God made answer to the words spoken in the verse before, 'And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses,' &c. As if he had said, Moses was a man of great renown, a man of worthy note, a man that talked with God face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend. The words that Moses spake were such as I commanded him to speak. Let who will question them, I will own them, credit them, bless them that close in with them, and curse those that reject them.

I myself sent the prophets, they did not run of their own heads, I gave them commission, I thrust them out, and told them what they should say. In a word, they have told the world what my mind is to do, both to sinners and to saints; 'They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.' Therefore he that shall reject and turn his back either upon the threatenings, counsels, admonitions, invitations, promises, or whatsoever else I have commanded them to speak as to salvation and life, and to directions therein, shall be sure to have a share in the many curses that they have spoken, and the destruction[1] that is pronounced by them. Again, 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets,' &c. As if he had said, Thou wouldst have me send one from the dead unto them; what needs that? They have my mind already, I have declared unto them what I intend to stand to, both for saving them that believe, and damning them that do not. That therefore which I have said I will make good, whether they hear or forbear. And as for this desire of yours, you had as good desire me to make a new Bible, and so to revoke my first sayings by the mouth of my prophets. But I am God and not man, and my Word is immutable, unchangeable, and shall stand as fast as my decrees can make it; heaven and earth shall pass away, but one jot or tittle of my Word shall not pass. Mat. v. 18. If thou hadst ten thousand brethren, and every one in danger of losing his soul, if they did not close in with what is contained and recorded in the Scriptures of truth, they must even every one of them perish, and be for ever damned in hell, for the Scriptures cannot be broken. I did not send them so unadvisedly to recall it again by another consideration. No, for I speak in righteousness and in judgment, Is. lxiii. 1–3, and in much wisdom and counsel. It being therefore gone out of my mouth in this manner, it shall not return in vain, until it hath accomplished the thing whereto I have sent it. Is. lv. 11.

But again, thou supposest that miracles and wonders will work more on them, which makes thee say, Send one from the dead. But herein thou art mistaken, for I have proved them with that once and again, by more than one, or two, or three of my servants. How many miracles did my servant Moses work by commandment from me in the land of Egypt, at the Red Sea, and in the wilderness! Yet they of that generation were never the sooner converted for that; but, notwithstanding, rebelled and lusted, and in their hearts turned back into Egypt. Ac. vii. How many miracles did Samuel, David, Elias, Elisha, Daniel, and the prophets, together with my Son, who raised the dead, cast out devils, made them to see that were born blind, gave and restored limbs! Yet for all this, as I said before, they hated him, they crucified him. I raised him again from the dead, and he appeared to his disciples, who were called, and chosen, and faithful, and he gave them commandment and commission to go and testify the truth of this to the world; and to confirm the same he enabled them to speak with divers tongues, and to work miracles most plentifully, yet there was great persecution raised against them, insomuch that but a few of them died in their beds. And, therefore, though thou thinkest that a miracle will do so much with the world, yet I say no. For if they will not believe Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one should rise from the dead.

From these words, therefore, take notice of this truth, namely, that those who reject and believe not Moses and the prophets are a very hard-hearted people, that will not be persuaded though

[1] This word was, by a typographical error, printed 'doctrine,' in an edition of 1707; this error has been followed in all the later copies.—(Ed.)

one rise from the dead. They that regard not the holy Scriptures to turn to God, finding them to testify of his goodness and mercy, there is but little hopes of their salvation; for they will not, mark, they will not be persuaded though one should rise from the dead. This truth is confirmed by Jesus Christ himself. If you read Jn. v., where the Lord is speaking of himself that he is the very Christ, he brings in four or five witnesses to back what he said. 1. John Baptist. 2. The works that his Father gave him to do. 3. His Father speaking from heaven. 4. The testimony of the Scriptures. When all this was done, seeing yet they would not believe, he lays the fault upon one of these two things:—(1.) Their regarding an esteem among men. (2.) Their not believing of the prophets' writings, even Moses and the rest. 'For had ye believed Moses,' saith he, 'ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?'

Now, I say, he that shall slight the Scriptures, and the testimony of the prophets in them concerning Jesus Christ, must needs be in great danger of losing his soul, if he abide in this condition; because he that slights the testimony doth also slight the thing testified of, let him say the contrary never so often. For as Jesus Christ hath here laid down the reason of men's not receiving him, so the apostle in another place lays down the reason again with a high and mighty aggravation, 1 Jn. v. 10. saying, 'He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself: he that believeth not God hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the record,' mark, 'the record that God gave of his Son.' The record, you will say, what is that? Why even the testimony that God gave of him by the mouth of all the holy prophets since the world began. Ac. iii. 18–20. That is, God sending his holy Spirit into the hearts of his servants, the prophets and apostles, he, by his Spirit in them, did bear witness or record of the truth of salvation by his Son Jesus, both before and after his coming. And thus is that place also to be understood which saith, 'There are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood.' That is, the Spirit in the apostles which preached him to the world, as is clear if you read seriously 1 Th. iv. 8. The apostle, speaking of Jesus Christ and obedience to God through him, saith thus, Now 'he that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God.' But it is you that speak; true, but it is by and through the Spirit, 'He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit.' This is therefore a mighty confirmation of this truth, that he that slights the record or testimony that God, by his Spirit in his prophets and apostles, hath testified unto us, slights the testimony of the Spirit who moved them to speak these things; and if so, then I would fain know how any man can be saved by Jesus Christ that slights the testimony concerning Christ, yea, the testimony of his own Spirit concerning his own self? It is true men may pretend to have the testimony of the Spirit, and from that conceit set a low esteem on the holy Scriptures; but that spirit that dwelleth in them and teacheth them so to do, it is no better than the spirit of Satan, though it calls itself by the name of the Spirit of Christ. 'To the law,' therefore, 'and to the testimony,' try them by that; 'if they speak not according to this word, *it is* because *there is* no light in them.'

The apostle Peter, when he speaks of the glorious voice that he had from the excellent majesty, saying of Christ, 'This is my beloved Son, hear him,' saith thus to them whom he wrote unto, 'You have also a more sure word of prophecy,' or of the prophets, for so you may read it, 'unto which ye do well that ye take heed.' That is, though we tell you that we had this excellent testimony from his own mouth evidently, yet you have the prophets. We tell you this, and you need not doubt of the truth of it; but if you should, yet you may not, must not, ought not to question them. Search therefore into them, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts. That is, until by the same Spirit that gave forth the Scripture you find the truth confirmed to your souls, which you have recorded in the Scriptures—that this word of prophecy, or of the prophets, is the Scriptures. Read on; for, saith he, 'knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation,' &c. 2 Pe. i. 20.

[Object.] But, you will say, What needs all this ado, and why is all this time and pains spent in speaking to this that is surely believed already? This is a thing received by all, that they believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God, that sure word of prophecy; and therefore you need not spend your time in proving these things, and the truth of them, seeing we grant and confess the truth of it before you begin to speak your judgment of them.

Answ. The truths of God cannot be borne witness unto too often; you may as well say, 1. You need not preach Jesus Christ so much, seeing he hath been, and is received for the true Messias already. 2. Though many may suppose that they do believe the Scriptures, yet if they were but well examined, you will find them either by word of mouth, or else by conversation, to deny, reject, and slight the holy Scriptures. It is true, there is a notional and historical assent in the head. I say, in the head of many, or most, to the truth contained in Scripture. But try them, I say, and you shall

find but a little, if any, of the faith of the operation of God in the hearts of poor men, to believe the Scriptures, and things contained in them. Many, yea, most men believe the Scriptures as they believe a fable, a story, a tale, of which there is no certainty! But alas! there are but few do in deed and in truth believe the Scriptures to be the very Word of God.

Object. But you will say, This seems strange to me.

Answ. And it seems as true to me, and I doubt not but to make it manifest, that there are but few, yea, very few, that do effectually, for that I aim at, believe the Scriptures and the truths contained in and spoken of by them.

But to make this appear, and that to purpose, if God will, *I shall lay you down the several operations that the Scriptures have on them who do effectually believe the things contained in them.*

First. He that doth effectually believe the Scriptures, hath in the first place been killed, I say killed by the authority of the holy Scriptures; struck stark dead in a spiritual sense, by the holy Scriptures, being set home by that Spirit, which gave them forth, upon the soul. 'The letter killeth;' the letter strikes men dead. 2 Co. iii. 6. And this Paul witnessed and found, before he could say, I believe all that the prophets have spoken. Where he saith, 'I was alive without the law once.' That is, in my natural state, before the law was set on my heart with power; 'But when the commandment came, sin revived and I died.' Ro. vii. 9. 'And that law which *was ordained* to life, I found *to be* unto death; for sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me.' ver. 11. Now that which is called 'the letter' in 2 Cor., is called the law in Ro. vii., which by its power and operation, as it is wielded by the Spirit of God, doth in the first place kill and slay all those that are enabled to believe the Scriptures. I kill, saith God: that is, with my law I pierce, I wound, I prick men into the very heart, by showing them their sins against my law. De. xxxi. 26. Ac. ii. 37. And he that is ignorant of this, is also ignorant of, and doth not really and effectually believe the Scripture.

But you will say, How doth the law kill and strike dead the poor creatures?

Answ. The letter or law doth kill thus. It is set home upon the soul, and discovers to the soul its transgressions against the law, and shows the soul also, that it cannot completely satisfy the justice of God, for the breach of his law, therefore it is condemned. Jn. iii. 18. Mark, 'He that believeth not, is condemned already.' To wit, by the law, that is, the law doth condemn him; yea, it hath condemned him already for his sins against it; as it is written, 'Cursed *is* every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.' Ga. iii. 10. Now all men as they come into the world are in this condition, that is, condemned by the law. Yet not believing their condemnation by the law really, they do not also believe really and effectually the law that doth condemn them. For as men have but a notion of the one, that is, their condemnation, because of sins against the law: so they have but a notion of the condemning, killing, and destroying power of the law. For, as the one is, so in these things always is the other. There is no man that doth really believe the law or gospel, further than they do feel the power and authority of them in their hearts. 'Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God.' Now this letter or law, is not to be taken in the largest sense, but is strictly to be tied to the ten commandments, whose proper work is only by showing the soul its sin against this law, to kill, and there leaves him stark dead, not giving him the least life, or support, or comfort, but leaves the soul in a helpless and hopeless condition, as from itself, or any other mere creature.

It is true the law hath laid all men for dead, as they come into the world; but all men do not see themselves dead, until they see that law that struck them dead, striking in their souls, and having struck them that fatal blow. As a man that is fast asleep in a house, and that on fire about his ears, and he not knowing of it because he is asleep; even so, because poor souls are asleep in sin, though the wrath of God, the curse of his law, and the flames of hell have beset them round about, yet they do not believe it, because they are asleep in sin. Now, as he that is awakened and sees this, sees that through this he is a dead man; even so they that do see their state by nature, being such a sad condition, do also see themselves by that law to be dead men naturally.

But now, when didst thou feel the power of this first part of the Scripture, the law, so mighty as to strike thee dead? If not, thou dost not so much as verily believe that part of the Scripture that doth contain the law in it, to be the truth of God. Yet if thou shouldest have felt something, I say, something of the killing power of the law of God in thine heart, this is not an argument to prove that thou believest all the things contained in Scripture, for there is gospel as well as law, and therefore I shall speak to that also, that is, whether thou hast felt the power of the gospel, as well as something of the power of the law.

Second. Then thou hast found the power of the gospel, and so believed it, thou hast found it thus with thy soul.

1. Thou hast been showed by the Word or truth of the gospel, in the light of the Spirit of Christ, that by nature thou wert without the true faith of

the Son of God in thy soul. For when He, the Spirit, is come, he shall show men that 'they believe not in me,' saith Christ. Jn. xvi. 9. Mark, though thou hast, as I said before, felt somewhat of the power of the law, letter, or ten commandments, yet, as thou hast not been brought to this, to see by the Spirit in the gospel, that thou art without faith by nature, thou hast not yet tasted, much less believed, any part of the gospel. For the gospel and the law are two distinct covenants. And they that are under the law may be convinced by it, and so believe the law or first covenant, and yet in the meantime to be a stranger to the covenant of promise, that is, the gospel, and so have no hope in them. Ep. ii. 12. There is not any promise that can be savingly believed, until the soul be by the gospel converted to Jesus Christ. For though men do think never so much that they believe the things or the Word of the gospel of our salvation; yet unless they have the work of grace in their souls, they do not, cannot rightly believe the things contained in the Scriptures. Again,

2. As the law killeth those that believe it, even so the promises contained in the gospel do, through faith, administer comfort to those that believe it aright. My words, saith Christ, My words '*they* are Spirit, and *they* are life.' Jn. vi. 63. As if he had said, the words contained in the law as a covenant of works, they wound, they kill, they strike dead those that are under them. But as for me, 'The words that I speak unto you, *they* are spirit, and *they* are life.' That is, whosoever doth receive them believingly, shall find them full of operation, to comfort, quicken, and revive their soul. For as I did not come into the world to destroy men's lives, so the words that I speak, as I am sent to preach the gospel, they have no such tendency unto those that believe them. The promises that are in the gospel, O how do they comfort them! Such a promise, and such a promise, O how sweet is it! How comfortable to those that believe them! Alas! there are many poor souls that think they believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and yet they never enjoyed anything of the life and promises; they come in upon the heart to quicken, to revive thee, to raise thee from the sentence of death that is passed on thee by the law. And through the faith that is wrought in thy soul, by the operation of God's Holy Spirit, though once killed by the law or letter, thou art made alive in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is presented to thy soul in the promises.

Third. Dost thou in deed and in truth believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God? Then the things contained in them, especially the things of the gospel, are very excellent to thy soul; as the birth of Christ, the death, resurrection, intercession, and second coming. O how precious and excellent are they to thy soul! insomuch that thou regardest nothing in comparison of them! O! it is Christ's birth, death, blood, resurrection, &c., according to the Scriptures, that thou dost rejoice in exceedingly, and abundantly desire after! 'Whom having not seen, ye love; in whom though now ye see *him* not, yet believing ye rejoice, with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.' 1 Co. xv. 1–6, compared with Phi. iii. 6–8. 1 Pe. i. 8.

Fourth. Dost thou believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God? Then thou standest in awe of, and dost much reverence them. Why, they are the Word of God, the true sayings of God; they are the counsel of God; they are his promises and his threatenings. Poor souls are apt to think, if I could hear God speak to me from heaven with an audible voice, then sure I should be serious and believe it. But truly, if God should speak to thee from heaven, except thou wert converted, thou wouldst not regard, nor really believe him. But if thou dost believe the Scriptures, thou seest that they are the truth as really as if God should speak to thee from heaven through the clouds, and therefore never flatter thyself, foolishly thinking, that if it were so and so, then thou couldst believe. I tell thee, saith Christ, If they believe 'not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe though one should rise from the dead.' But,

Fifth. Dost thou believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God? Then, through faith in Christ, thou endeavourest to have thy life squared according to the Scriptures, both in word and practice. Nay, this I say, thou mayest have though thou do not believe them all. My meaning is, that if thou believe none but the ten commandments, thy life may be, according to them, a legal holy life; and if thou do believe the gospel too, then thy life will be the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ; that is, either thou wilt live in the blessed and holy enjoyment of what is testified in the Scripture concerning the glorious things of the Lord Jesus Christ, or else thou wilt be exceedingly panting after them. For the Scriptures carry such a blessed beauty in them to that soul that hath faith in the things contained in them, that they do take the heart and captivate the soul of him that believeth them into the love and liking of them, believing all things that are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust. 'And herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and *toward* men.' Ac. xxiv. 14–16.

Sixth. He that believes the Scriptures to be the Word of God, if he do but suppose that any one place of Scripture doth exclude him, and shut him out of, and from a share in the promises contained in them, O it will trouble him, grieve him, perplex

him. Yea, he will not be satisfied until he be resolved, and the contrary sealed to his soul; for he knows that the Scriptures are the word of God, all truth; and therefore he knows that if any one sentence doth exclude or bar him out for want of this or the other qualification, he knows also that not the word alone shuts him out, but he that speaks it, even God himself. And, therefore, he cannot, will not, dare not be contented until he find his soul and Scripture together, with the things contained therein, to embrace each other, and a sweet correspondency and agreement between them. For you must know that to him that believes the Scriptures aright, the promises, or threatenings, are of more power to comfort or cast down, than all the promises or threatenings of all the men in the world. And this was the cause why the martyrs of Jesus did so slight both the promises of their adversaries, when they would have overcome them, with proffering the great things of this world unto them, and also their threatenings, when they told them they would rack them, hang them, burn them. Ac. xx. 24. None of these things could prevail upon them, or against them; because they did most really believe the Scriptures, and the things contained in them, as is clearly found, and to be seen in He. xi., and also in Mr. Fox's records of their brethren.

Seventh. He that believeth the Scriptures to be the Word of God, believeth that men must be born again, and also be partakers of that faith which is of the operation of God, according as he hath read and believed, or else he must and shall be damned. And he that believeth this aright will not be contented until, according as it is written, he do partake of and enjoy the new birth, and until he do find, through grace, that faith that is wrought by the operation of God in his soul. For this is the cause why men do satisfy themselves with so slender a conceited hope that their state is good, when it is nothing so, namely, because they do not credit the Scripture; for did they, they would look into their own hearts, and examine seriously whether that faith, that hope, that grace which they think they have be of that nature, and wrought by that spirit and power that the Scripture speaketh of. I speak this of an effectual believing, without which all other is nothing unto salvation.

[FIVE USES BY WAY OF SELF-EXAMINATION.]

Now then, because I would not be too tedious, I shall at this time lay down no more discoveries of such an one as doth savingly believe the Scriptures, and the things contained in them, but shall speak a few words of examination concerning the things already mentioned. As,

First USE. Thou sayest thou dost in deed and in truth effectually believe the Scriptures: I ask, therefore, wast thou ever killed stark dead by the law of works contained in the Scriptures—killed by the law or letter, and made to see thy sins against it, and left in a helpless condition by that law? For, as I said, the proper work of the law is to slay the soul, and to leave it dead in a helpless state. For it doth neither give the soul any comfort itself when it comes, nor doth it show the soul where comfort is to be had; and therefore it is called 'the ministration of condemnation,' as in 2 Co. iii. 9, 'the ministration of death,' verse 7. For though men may have a notion of the blessed Word of God, as the children had, yet before they be converted it may truly be said of them, Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God. Mar. xii. 24.

Second USE. You say you do believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God. I say again, Examine, wast thou ever quickened from a dead state by the power of the Spirit of Christ, through the other part of the Scripture; that is to say, by the power of God in his Son Jesus Christ, through the covenant of promise? I tell thee from the Lord, if thou hast, thou hast felt such a quickening power in the words of Christ (Ja. vi.) that thou hast been lifted out of that dead condition that thou before wast in. And that when thou wast under the guilt of sin, the curse of the law, and the power of the devil, and the justice of the great God, thou hast been enabled, by the power of God in Christ, revealed to thee by the Spirit through and by the Scripture, to look sin, death, hell, the devil, and the law, and all things that are at enmity with thee, with boldness and comfort in the face, through the blood, death, righteousness, resurrection, and intercession of Christ, made mention of in the Scriptures. And,

Third USE. On this account, O how excellent are the Scriptures to thy soul! O how much virtue dost thou see in such a promise, in such an invitation! They are so large as to say, Christ will in no wise cast me out! My crimson sins shall be white as snow! I tell thee, friend, there are some promises that the Lord hath helped me to lay hold of Jesus Christ through and by, that I would not have out of the Bible for as much gold and silver as can lie between York and London piled up to the stars; because through them Christ is pleased by his Spirit to convey comfort to my soul. I say, when the law curses, when the devil tempts, when hell-fire flames in my conscience, my sins with the guilt of them tearing of me, then is Christ revealed so sweetly to my poor soul through the promises that all is forced to fly and leave off to accuse my soul. So also, when the world frowns, when the enemies rage and threaten to kill me, then also the precious, the exceeding great

and precious promises do weigh down all, and comfort the soul against all. This is the effect of believing the Scriptures savingly; for they that do so have by and through the Scriptures good comfort, and also ground of hope, believing those things to be its own which the Scriptures hold forth. Ro. xv. 4.

Fourth USE. Examine, Dost thou stand in awe of sinning against God, because he hath in the Scriptures commanded thee to abstain from it? Dost thou give diligence to make thy calling and election sure, because God commanded it in Scripture? Dost thou examine thyself whether thou be in the faith or no, having a command in Scripture so to do? Or dost thou, notwithstanding what thou readest in the Scripture, follow the world, delight in sin, neglect coming to Jesus Christ, speak evil of the saints, slight and make a mock at the ordinance of God, delight in wicked company, and the like? Then know that it is because thou dost not in deed and in truth believe the Scriptures effectually. For, as I said before, if a man do believe them, and that savingly, then he stands in awe, he looks to his steps, he turns his feet from evil, and endeavours to follow that which is good, which God hath commanded in the Scriptures of truth; yet not from a legal or natural principle; that is, to seek for life by doing that good thing, but knowing that salvation is already obtained for him by the blood of that man Christ Jesus on the cross because he believes the Scriptures, therefore, mark I pray, therefore, I say, he labours to walk with his God in all well-pleasing and godliness, because the sweet power of the loves of Christ, which he feels in his soul by the Spirit, according to the Scriptures, constrain him so to do. 2 Co. v. 14.

Fifth USE. Examine again, Dost thou labour after those qualifications that the Scriptures do describe a child of God by? That is, faith, yea the right faith, the most holy faith, the faith of the operation of God. And also, dost thou examine whether there is a real growth of grace in thy soul, as love, zeal, self-denial, and a seeking by all means to attain, if possible, to the resurrection of the dead? That is, not to satisfy thyself until thou be dissolved and rid of this body of death, and be transformed into that glory that the saints shall be in after the resurrection-day. And in the meantime dost labour and take all opportunities to walk as near as may be to the pitch, though thou know thou canst not attain it perfectly. Yet, I say, thou dost aim at it, seek after it, press towards it, and to hold on in thy race; thou shunnest that which may any way hinder thee, and also closest in with what may any way further the same; knowing that that must be, or desiring that it should be, thine eternal frame, and therefore out of love and liking to it thou dost desire and long after it, as being the thing that doth most please thy soul.

Or how is it with thy soul? Art thou such an one as regards not these things, but rather busy thy thoughts about the things here below, following those things that have no scent of divine glory upon them? If so, look to thyself, thou art an unbeliever, and so under the wrath of God, and wilt for certain fall into the same place of torment that thy fellows have fallen into before thee, to the grief of thy own soul, and thy everlasting destruction.

Consider and regard these things, and lay them to thy heart before it be too late to recover thyself, by repenting of the one, and desiring to close in with the other. O! I say, regard, regard, for hell is hot. God's hand is up, the law is resolved to discharge against thy soul! The judgment-day is at hand, the graves are ready to fly open, the trumpet is near the sounding, the sentence will ere long be passed, and then you and I cannot call time again.

[USE AND APPLICATION.]

[1] But again, seeing they are so certain, so sure, so irrevocable and firm, and seeing the saving faith of the things contained therein, is to reform the soul, and bring it over into the things of God, really conforming to the things contained therein, both to the point of justification, and also an impartial walking, and giving up thy soul and body to a conformity to all the commands, counsels, instructions, and exhortations contained therein; this then will learn us how to judge of those who give up themselves to walk in the imaginations of their own hearts, who slight and lay aside the Scriptures, counting them but empty and uncertain things, and will live every day in open contradiction to what is contained, commanded, and forbidden therein. As

FIRST. This will show us that all your drunkards, whoremasters, liars, thieves, swearers, backbiters, slanderers, scoffers at goodness, &c. I say, we may see by this that they that live in such things, have not the faith of these things contained in their hearts, seeing they delight to practise those things that are forbidden by and in them. And so, they continuing living and dying in this state, we may conclude without fear that these portions of holy Scripture belong unto them, and shall for certain be fulfilled upon them: 'He that believeth not

[1] A very considerable portion of the use and application as found in the first edition, was, in the second and subsequent ones, removed to the comment on ver. 28; from the words, 'Now then, from what hath been said,' to the end of the comment on that verse. I should have preferred Bunyan's first arrangement, but dared not alter what he had considered an improvement.—(ED.)

shall be damned.' Mar. xvi. 16. 'The unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God.' 1 Co. vi. 9, 10. 'But the abominable, the unbelieving, the whoremongers, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.' Re. xxi. 8. 'Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' Mat. xxv. 41. Depart, depart from me, for I will not save you. Depart, for my blood shall not at all wash you. Depart, for you shall not set one foot into the kingdom of heaven.

'Depart, ye cursed,' ye are cursed of God, cursed of his law, cursed of me, cursed by the saints, and cursed by the angels; cursed all over, nothing but cursed, and therefore depart from me; and whither? into everlasting fire—fire that will scald, scorch, burn, and flame to purpose. 'Fire that shall never be quenched.' Mar. ix. Fire that will last to all eternity. And must we be all alone? No, you shall have company, store of company with you. Namely, all the raging, roaring devils, together with an innumerable company of fellow-damned sinners, men, women, and children. And if the Scriptures be true, as they will one day wonderfully appear to be, then this must and shall be thy portion, if thou live and die in this state; and of all them who continue in sinning against the truth contained in the Scriptures. As,

First. Dost thou delight to sin against plain commands? THOU ART GONE.

Second. Dost thou slight and scorn the counsels contained in the Scriptures, and continue in so doing? THEN THOU ART GONE.

Third. Dost thou continually neglect to come to Christ, and usest arguments in thine own heart to satisfy thy soul with so doing? THEN THOU ART GONE. Lu. xiv. 17, 18, compared with ver. 24, and He. ii. 3. 'How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?' How shall we escape, that is, there is no way to escape.

(1.) Because God hath said we shall not. He. xii. 25. 'See that ye refuse not him that speaketh. For if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth,' that was Moses, 'much more *shall not* we *escape* if we turn away from him that *speaketh* from heaven.'

(2.) Because he hath not only said they shall not, but also hath bound it with an oath, saying, 'So I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.' He. iii. 11. To whom did he swear that they should not enter into his rest? Answer, 'to them that believed not.' So we see, that they could not enter in because of unbelief. ver. 18, 19.

SECOND. This will teach us what to think and conclude of such, who, though they do not so openly discover their folly by open and gross sins against the law, yet will give more heed to their own spirits, and the movings thereof, though they be neither commanded nor commended for the same in Scripture; nay, though the Scripture command and commend the contrary, than they will to the holy and revealed will of God. Is. viii. 20. I say, such men are in as bad a state as the other to the full, being disobedient to God's will revealed in his Word, as well as they, though in a different manner; the one openly transgressing against the plain and well-known truths revealed in it; the other, though more close and hidden, yet secretly rejecting and slighting them, giving more heed to their own spirits, and the motions thereof, although not warranted by the Scriptures.

A few words more, and so I shall conclude. And,

First. Take heed that you content not yourself with a bare notion of the Scriptures in your heads, by which you may go far, even so far as to be able to dispute for the truth, to preach the gospel, and labour to vindicate it in opposition to gainsayers, and yet be found at the left hand of Christ at the judgment-day, forasmuch as thou didst content thyself with a notion or traditional knowledge of them.[1]

Second. Have a care that thou own the whole Scripture, and not own one part and neglect another, or slight it; as thus: To own the law, and slight the gospel; or to think that thou must be saved by thy good doings and works; for that is all one, as if thou didst thrust Christ away from thee; or else so to own the gospel, as if by it thou wert exempted from all obedience to the ten commandments, and conformity to the law in life and conversation; for in so doing thou wilt for certain make sure of eternal vengeance.

Third. Have a care that thou put not wrong names on the things contained in the Scriptures, as to call the law, Christ, and Christ, the law, for some having done so, in my knowledge, have so darkened to themselves the glorious truths of the gospel, that in a very little time they have been resolved to thwart and oppose them, and so have made room in their own souls for the devil to inhabit, and obtained a place in hell for their own souls to be tormented for ever and ever.

Against this danger therefore in reading and receiving the testimony of Scripture, learn to distinguish between the law and the gospel, and to keep them clear asunder, as to the salvation of thy soul.

1. And that thou mayest so do, in the first place beg of God that he would show thee the nature of the gospel, and set it home effectually with life and power upon thy soul by faith. Which is this, that God would show thee, that as thou being man

[1] Of all men most miserable must be those clergymen and religious teachers, who, in the great day, will say, 'Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name,' to whom the Lord will profess, 'I never knew you, depart, ye cursed.'—Mat. vii. 21–23.—(ED.)

hast sinned against God, so Christ, being God-man, hath bought thee again, and with his most precious blood set thee free from the bondage thou hast fallen into by thy sins. And that not upon condition that thou wilt do thus and thus, this and the other good work; but rather, that thou, being first justified freely by mere grace through the blood of Jesus, shouldst also receive thy strength from him who hath bought thee, to walk before him in all well-pleasing. Being enabled thereto by virtue of his Spirit, which hath revealed to thy soul that thou art delivered already from wrath to come, by the obedience, not of thee, but of another man, viz., Jesus Christ.

2. Then if the law thou readest of, tell thee in thy conscience thou must do this and the other good work of the law, if ever thou wilt be saved; answer plainly, that for thy part thou art resolved now not to work for life, but to believe in the virtue of that blood shed upon the cross, upon Mount Calvary, for the remission of sins. And yet because Christ hath justified thee freely by his grace, thou wilt serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of thy life, yet not in a legal spirit, or in a covenant of works; but mine obedience, say thou, I will endeavour to have it free, and cheerful, out of love to my Lord Jesus.

3. Have a care thou receive not this doctrine in the notion only, lest thou bring a just damnation upon thy soul, by professing thyself to be freed by Christ's blood from the guilt of sin, while thou remainest still a servant to the filth of sin. For I must tell you, that unless you have the true and saving work of the faith and grace of the gospel in your hearts, you will either go on in a legal holiness, according to the tenor of the law; or else through a notion of the gospel, the devil bewitching and beguiling thy understanding, will, and affections, thou wilt, Ranter-like, turn the grace of God into wantonness, and bring upon thy soul double, if not treble damnation, in that thou couldest not be contented to be damned for thy sins against the law, but also to make ruin sure to thy soul, thou wouldest dishonour the gospel, and turn the grace of God, held forth and discovered to men by that, into licentiousness.[1]

But that thou mightest be sure to escape these dangerous rocks on the right hand and on the left, see that thy faith be such as is spoken of in Scripture. And that thou be not satisfied without that, which is a faith wrought by the mighty operation of God, revealing Christ to and in thee, as having wholly freed thee from thy sins by his most precious blood. Which faith, if thou attain unto, will so work in thy heart, that first thou wilt see the nature of the law, and [secondly] also the nature of the gospel, and delight in the glory of it; and also thou wilt find an engaging of thy heart and soul to Jesus Christ, even to the giving up of thy whole man unto him, to be ruled and governed by him to his glory, and thy comfort, by the faith of the same Lord Jesus.

[1] The Ranters were a sect of the wildest enthusiasts. It very soon became extinct. An exaggerated account of their sentiments is to be found in Ross's *View of all Religions*.—(Ed.)

ONE THING IS NEEDFUL;

OR,

SERIOUS MEDITATIONS UPON THE FOUR LAST THINGS: DEATH, JUDGMENT, HEAVEN, AND HELL.

UNTO WHICH IS ADDED

EBAL AND GERIZZIM, OR THE BLESSING AND THE CURSE.

WITH PRISON MEDITATIONS, AND A CATALOGUE OF ALL THIS AUTHOR'S BOOKS.

THE THIRD EDITION.—BY JOHN BUNYAN.

London: Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1688.[1]

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

ACCORDING to Charles Doe, in that curious sheet called *The Struggler for the Preservation of Mr. John Bunyan's Labours*, these poems were published about the year 1664, while the author was suffering imprisonment for conscience sake, very probably in separate sheets or tracts, to be sold by his wife or children, to aid in their humble maintenance. They were afterwards united to form a neat little volume, 32mo. The editor is the fortunate possessor of the third edition, being the last that was printed during the author's lifetime, and with his latest corrections. From this the present edition has been accurately reprinted. The three tracts are distinct as to pages; a strong indication that they were originally separate little volumes. A copy of the fourth edition of this extremely rare book, without date, and somewhat larger in size, is in the British Museum, in which the pages are continued throughout the volume. The third poem, called *Prison Meditations*, we have already published in our first volume, as a suitable close to Bunyan's account of his trying and tedious imprisonment.

These poems are upon subjects the most solemn and affecting to all mankind, and, like all Bunyan's other works, were evidently written, not for display, but to impress upon the heart those searching realities upon which depend our everlasting destiny. Die we must; yes, reader, you and I must follow our fathers to the unseen world. Heaven forbid that we should be such mad fools, as to make no provision for the journey; no inquiries about our prospects in that eternity into which we must so soon enter. True it is, that unless Heaven stops us in our mad career, we shall plunge into irretrievable ruin.

In the first of these poems, many of the minute circumstances attendant on death are pressed upon the memory. Very soon, as Bunyan awfully expresses the thought, we must look death in the face, and 'drink with him.' Soon some kind friend or relative will close our eyelids, and shut up our glassy eyes for ever; tie up the fallen jaw, and prepare the corrupting body for its long, but not final resting-place. Our hour-glass is fast ebbing out; time stands ready with his scythe to cut us down; the grave yawns to receive us. 'Man dieth and wasteth away; yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where *is* he.' Job xiv. 10. The answer is ready, sure, certain—he goes to the judgment of the great day. There every thought that has passed over his mind, while on earth, will be manifested and scrutinized; every action, every sin, and every supposed good work, however private, will then be published. It is an awful thought. Thousands of works which are thought good will be weighed in the unerring balances of truth, will be found wanting, and proved to be bad, not arising from evangelical motives; while all our thoughts, words, and actions will appear in their real colours tainted by sin. Those only who are clothed in the Redeemer's righteousness, and cleansed by his purifying, sanctifying sufferings, can stand accepted, and will receive the invitation, Come, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom of your father, and your God, by adoption into his family; while an innumerable multitude will be hurried away by the voice of the judge, Go, ye cursed, into everlasting torment.

[1] On the reverse of the title-page is the following singular advertisement:—'This author having published many books, which have gone off very well, there are certain ballad-sellers about Newgate, and on London Bridge, who have put the two first letters of this author's name, and his effigies, to their rhymes and ridiculous books, suggesting to the world as if they were his. Now know, that this author publisheth his name at large to all his books; and what you shall see otherwise, he disowns.'—(ED.)

Solemn consideration. Reader, have you fled for refuge to the hope set before you in the gospel? Have you felt the alarm in your soul under a sense of sin and judgment? Were you dead, and are you made alive? O, then, while you bless the Saviour for such unspeakable mercies, seek with all diligence, as life is prolonged, to extend the blessing to others. There is no work nor device in the grave, whither we are all hastening, that can benefit mortals. The great gulf will be fixed, and our state be finally decided for eternity. O, then, if you have not yet attained that good hope of heavenly felicity, sure and stedfast—hasten—yes,

'Hasten, O sinner, to be blest,
And stay not for the morrow's sun;
For fear the curse should thee arrest
Before the morrow be begun.'

GEO. OFFOR.

ONE THING IS NEEDFUL,

OR

SERIOUS MEDITATIONS UPON THE FOUR LAST THINGS—DEATH, JUDGMENT, HEAVEN, AND HELL.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ENSUING DISCOURSE.

1. THESE lines I at this time present
To all that will them heed,
Wherein I show to what intent
God saith, Convert* with speed.
2. For these four things come on apace,
Which we should know full well,
Both death and judgment, and, in place
Next to them, heaven and hell.
3. For doubtless man was never born
For this life and no more:
No, in the resurrection morn
They must have weal or woe.
4. Can any think that God should take
That pains, to form a man
So like himself, only to make
Him here a moment stand?
5. Or that he should make such ado,
By justice, and by grace;
By prophets and apostles too,
That men might see his face?
6. Or that the promise he hath made,
Also the threatenings great,
Should in a moment end and fade?
O! no, this is a cheat.
7. Besides, who is so mad, or worse,
To think that Christ should come
From glory, to be made a curse,
And that in sinners' room,
8. If nothing should by us be had
When we are gone from hence,
But vanities, while here? O mad
And foolish confidence.
9. Again, shall God, who is the truth,
Say there is heaven and hell
And shall men play that trick of youth
To say, But who can tell?
10. Shall he that keeps his promise sure
In things both low and small,
Yet break it like a man impure,
In matters great'st of all?
11. O, let all tremble at that thought,
That puts on God the lie,
That saith men shall turn unto nought
When they be sick and die.
12. Alas, death is but as the door
Through which all men do pass,
To that which they for evermore
Shall have by wrath or grace.
13. Let all therefore that read my lines,
Apply them to the heart:
Yea, let them read, and turn betimes,
And get the better part.
14. Mind therefore what I treat on here,
Yea, mind and weigh it well;
'Tis death and judgment, and a clear
Discourse of heaven and hell.

OF DEATH.

1. Death, as a king rampant and stout
The world he dare engage;
He conquers all, yea, and doth rout
The great, strong, wise, and sage.
2. No king so great, nor prince so strong,
But death can make to yield,
Yea, bind and lay them all along,
And make them quit the field.
3. Where are the victors of the world,
With all their men of might?
Those that together kingdoms hurl'd,
By death are put to flight.
4. How feeble is the strongest hand,
When death begins to gripe!

[1] 'Convert,' for 'be ye converted,' was a common mode of speech in Bunyan's time. It is so used in Holy Writ, Is. vi. 10. —(ED.)

The giant now leaves off to stand,
Much less withstand and fight.
5. The man that hath a lion's face
Must here give place and bend,
Yea, though his bones were bars of brass,
'Tis vain here to contend.
6. Submit he must to feeble ones,
To worms who will enclose
His skin and flesh, sinews and bones,
And will thereof dispose
7. Among themselves, as merchants do
The prizes they have got;
Or as the soldiers give unto
Each man the share and lot,
8. Which they by dint of sword have won,
From their most daring foe;
While he lies by as still as stone,
Not knowing what they do.
9. Beauty death turns to rottenness,
And youth to wrinkled face;
The witty he brings to distress,
And wantons to disgrace.
10. The wild he tames, and spoils the mirth
Of all that wanton are,
He takes the worldling from his worth,
And poor man from his care.
11. Death favours none, he lays at all,
Of all sorts and degree;
Both old and young, both great and small,
Rich, poor, and bound, and free.
12. No fawning words will flatter him,
Nor threat'nings make him start;
He favours none for worth or kin,
All must taste of his dart.
13. What shall I say? the graves declare
That death shall conquer all;
There lie the skulls, dust, bones, and there
The mighty daily fall.
14. The very looks of death are grim
And ghastly to behold;
Yea, though but in a dead man's skin,
When he is gone and cold.
15. How 'fraid are some of dead men's beds,
And others of their bones;
They neither care to see their heads,
Nor yet to hear their groans.
16. Now all these things are but the shade
And badges of his coat;[1]
The glass that runs, the scythe and spade,
Though weapons more remote:
17. Yet such as make poor mortals shrink
And fear, when they are told,
These things are signs that they must drink
With death; O then how cold.
18. It strikes them to the heart! how do
They study it to shun!
Indeed who can bear up, and who
Can from these shakings run?
19. But how much more then when he comes
To grapple with thy heart;
To bind with thread thy toes and thumbs,[2]
And fetch thee in his cart?
20. Then will he cut thy silver cord,
And break thy golden bowl;
Yea, break that pitcher which the Lord
Made cabin for thy soul.
21. Thine eyes, that now are quick of sight,
Shall then no way espy
How to escape this doleful plight,
For death will make thee die.
22. Those legs that now can nimbly run,
Shall then with faintness fail
To take one step, death's dart to shun,
When he doth thee assail.
23. That tongue that now can boast and brag
Shall then by death be tied
So fast, as not to speak or wag,
Though death lies by thy side.
24. Thou that didst once incline thine ear
Unto the song and tale,
Shall only now death's message hear,
While he, with face most pale,
25. Doth reason with thee how thy days
Hath hitherto been spent;
And what have been thy deeds and ways,
Since God thee time hath lent.
26. Then will he so begin to tear
Thy body from thy soul,
And both from life, if now thy care
Be not on grace to roll.
27. Death puts on things another face
Than we in health do see:
Sin, Satan, hell, death, life and grace
Now great and weighty be.
28. Yea, now the sick man's eye is set
Upon a world to come:
He also knows too without let[3]
That there must be his home.
29. Either in joy, in bliss and light,
Or sorrow, woe, and grief;
Either with Christ and saints in white,
Or fiends, without relief.
30. But, O! the sad estate that then
They will be in that die

[1] Armorial bearings as now worn by heralds embroidered on the tabard or coat.—(Ed.)

[2] A common custom when death takes place. The two great toes are tied together, to make the body look *decent;* and formerly the hands were placed with the palms together, as if in the attitude of prayer, and were kept in that posture by tying the thumbs together.—(Ed.)

[3] Without fail, or in spite of all hinderance.—(Ed.)

Both void of grace and life! poor men!
How will they fear and cry.

31. Ha! live I may not, though I would
For life give more than all;
And die I dare not, though I should
The world gain by my fall.

32. No, here he must no longer stay,
He feels his life run out,
His night is come, also the day
That makes him fear and doubt.

33. He feels his very vitals die,
All waxeth pale and wan;
Nay, worse, he fears to misery
He shortly must be gone.

34. Death doth already strike his heart
With his most fearful sting
Of guilt, which makes his conscience start,
And quake at every thing.

35. Yea, as his body doth decay
By a contagious grief,
So his poor soul doth faint away
Without hope or relief.

36. Thus while the man is in this scare,
Death doth still at him lay;
Live, die, sink, swim, fall foul or fair,[1]
Death still holds on his way.

37. Still pulling of him from his place,
Full sore against his mind;
Death like a sprite stares in his face,
And doth with links him bind.

38. And carries him into his den,
In darkness there to lie,
Among the swarms of wicked men
In grief eternally.

39. For only he that God doth fear
Will now be counted wise:
Yea, he that feareth him while here,
He only wins the prize.

40. 'Tis he that shall by angels be
Attended to that bliss
That angels have; for he, O he,
Of glory shall not miss.

41. Those weapons and those instruments
Of death, that others fright:
Those dreadful fears and discontents
That brings on some that night.

42. That never more shall have a day,
Brings this man to that rest
Which none can win but only they
Whom God hath called and blest

43. With the first fruits of saving grace,
With faith, hope, love, and fear
Him to offend; this man his face
In visions high and clear,

44. Shall in that light which no eye can
Approach unto, behold
The rays and beams of glory, and
Find there his name enroll'd,

45. Among those glittering stars of light
That Christ still holdeth fast
In his right hand with all his might,
Until that danger's past,

46. That shakes the world, and most hath dropt
Into grief and distress,
O blessed then is he that's wrapt
In Christ his righteousness.

47. This is the man death cannot kill,
For he hath put on arms;
Him sin nor Satan hath not skill
To hurt with all their charms.

48. A helmet on his head doth stand,
A breastplate on his heart:
A shield also is in his hand,
That blunteth every dart.

49. Truth girds him round the reins, also
His sword is on his thigh;
His feet in shoes of peace do go
The ways of purity.

50. His heart it groaneth to the Lord,
Who hears him at his call,
And doth him help and strength afford,
Wherewith he conquers all.

51. Thus fortified, he keeps the field
While death is gone and fled;
And then lies down upon his shield
Till Christ doth raise the dead.

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[1] Alluding to wrestlers. Some modes of throwing each other down are called fair, others foul or unfair.—(Ed.)

OF JUDGMENT.

1. As 'tis appointed men should die,
So judgment is the next
That meets them most assuredly;
For so saith holy text.

2. Wherefore of judgment I shall now
Inform you what I may,
That you may see what 'tis, and how
'Twill be with men that day.

3. This world it hath a time to stand,
Which time when ended, then
Will issue judgment out of hand
Upon all sorts of men.

4. The Judge we find, in God's record,
The Son of man, for he
By God's appointment is made Lord
And Judge of all that be.

5. Wherefore this Son of man shall come
At last to count with all,
And unto them shall give just doom,
Whether they stand or fall.

6. Behold ye now the majesty
And state that shall attend
This Lord, this Judge, and Justice high
When he doth now descend.
7. He comes with head as white as snow,
With eyes like flames of fire;
In justice clad from top to toe,
Most glorious in attire.
8. His face is filled with gravity;
His tongue is like a sword;
His presence awes both stout and high,
The world shakes at his word.
9. He comes in flaming fire, and
With angels clear and bright,
Each with a trumpet in his hand,
Clothed in shining white.
10. The trump of God sounds in the air,
The dead do hear his voice;
The living too run here and there,
Who made not him their choice.
11. Thus to his place he doth repair,
Appointed for his throne,
Where he will sit to judge, and where
He'll count with every one.
12. Angels attending on his hand
By thousands on a row;
Yea, thousand thousands by him stand,
And at his beck do go.
13. Thus being set, the books do ope
In which all crimes are writ.
All virtues, too, of faith and hope,
Of love; and every whit
14. Of all that man hath done or said,
Or did intend to do;
Whether they sinn'd, or were afraid
Evil to come into.
15. Before this bar each sinner now
In person must appear;
Under his judgment there to bow
With trembling and with fear:
16. Within whose breast a witness then
Will certainly arise,
That to each charge will say Amen,
While they seek and devise
17. To shun the sentence which the Lord
Against them then will read,
Out of the books of God's record,
With majesty and dread.
18. But every heart shall opened be
Before this judge most high;
Yea, every thought to judgment he
Will bring assuredly.
19. And every word and action, too,
He there will manifest;
Yea, all that ever thou didst do,
Or keep within thy breast,
20. Shall then be seen and laid before
The world, that then will stand
To see thy judge open ev'ry sore,
And all thy evils scann'd.
21. Weighing each sin and wickedness
With so much equity,
Proportioning of thy distress
And woful misery.
22. With so much justice, doing right,
That thou thyself shalt say,
My sins have brought me to this plight,
I threw myself away.
23. Into that gulph my sins have brought
Me justly to possess,
For which I blame not Christ, I wrought
It out by wickedness.
24. But O! how willingly would these
That thus in judgment be,
If that they might have help or ease,
Unto the mountains flee.
25. They would rejoice if that they might
But underneath them creep,
To hide them from revenging right,
For fear of which they weep.
26. But all in vain, the mountains then
Will all be fled and gone;
No shelter will be found for men
That now are left alone.
27. For succour they did not regard
When Christ by grace did call
To them, therefore they are not heard,
No mountains on them fall.
28. Before this Judge no one shall shroud
Himself, under pretence
Of knowledge, which hath made him proud,
Nor seeming penitence.
29. No high profession here can stand,
Unless sincerity
Hath been therewith commixed, and
Brought forth simplicity.[1]
30. No mask nor vizor here can hide
The heart that rotten is;
All cloaks now must be laid aside,
No sinner must have bliss.
31. Though most approve of thee, and count
Thee upright in thy heart;
Yea, though preferred and made surmount
Most men to act thy part,
32. In treading where the godly trod,
As to an outward show;
Yet this hold still, the grace of God
Takes hold on but a few,

[1] Sincerity is the fountain and source of all *real* inquiries after truth, holiness, and heaven. It leads to personal examination of God's Word, which leads us from the complexity of human inventions to the simplicity of the gospel.—(Ed.)

33. So as to make them truly such
As then shall stand before
This Judge with gladness; this is much.
Yet true for evermore.
34. The tree of life this paradise
Doth always beautify,
'Cause of our health it is the rise
And perpetuity.
35. Here stands the golden throne of grace
From out of which do run
Those crystal streams that make this place
Far brighter than the sun.
36. Here stands mount Zion with her king
Jerusalem above,
That holy and delightful thing,
So beautified with love.
37. That, as a mother succours those
Which of her body be,
So she far more, all such as close
In with her Lord; and she
38. Her grace, her everlasting doors
Will open wide unto
Them all, with welcome, welcome, poor,
Rich, bond, free, high and low,
39. Unto the kingdom which our Lord
Appointed hath for all
That hath his name and word ador'd;
Because he did them call
40. Unto that work, which also they
Sincerely did fulfil,
Not shunning always to obey
His gracious holy will.
41. Besides, this much doth beautify
This goodly paradise,
That from all quarters, constantly,
Whole thousands as the price
42. Of precious blood, do here arrive;
As safe escaping all,
Sin, hell, and satan did contrive
To bring them into thrall.
43. Each telling his deliverance
I' th' open face of heaven;
Still calling to remembrance
How fiercely they were driven
44. By deadly foe, who did pursue
As swift as eagles fly;
Which if thou have not, down thou must
With those that then shall die
The second death, and be accurs'd
Of God. For certainly,
45. The truth of grace shall only here
Without a blush be bold
To stand, whilst others quake and fear,
And dare not once behold.
46. That heart that here was right for God
Shall there be comforted;
But those that evil ways have trod,
Shall then hang down the head.
47. As sore confounded with the guilt
That now upon them lies,
Because they did delight in filth
And beastly vanities.
48. Or else because they did deceive
With hypocritical
Disguises, their own souls, and leave
Or shun that best of all
49. Approved word of righteousness,
They were invited to
Embrace, therefore they no access
Now to him have, but woe.
50. For every one must now receive
According to their ways;
They that unto the Lord did cleave,
The everlasting joys.
51. Those that did die in wickedness,
To execution sent,
There still to grapple with distress,
Which nothing can prevent.
52. Of which two states I next shall write,
Wherefore I pray give ear,
And to them bend with all your might
Your heart with filial fear.

OF HEAVEN.

1. Heaven is a place, also a state,
It doth all things excel,
No man can fully it relate,
Nor of its glory tell.
2. God made it for his residence,
To sit on as a throne,
Which shows to us the excellence
Whereby it may be known.
3. Doubtless the fabric that was built
For this so great a king,
Must needs surprise thee, if thou wilt
But duly mind the thing.
4. If all that build do build to suit
The glory of their state,
What orator, though most acute,
Can fully heaven relate?
5. If palaces that princes build,
Which yet are made of clay,
Do so amaze when much beheld,
Of heaven what shall we say?
6. It is the high and holy place;
No moth can there annoy,
Nor make to fade that goodly grace
That saints shall there enjoy.
7. Mansions for glory and for rest
Do there prepared stand;

Buildings eternal for the blest
Are there provided, and
8. The glory and the comeliness
By deepest thought none may
With heart or mouth fully express,
Nor can before that day.
9. These heav'ns we see, be as a scroll,
Or garment folded up,
Before they do together roll,
And we call'd in to sup
10. There with the king, the bridegroom, and
By him are led into
His palace chambers, there to stand
With his prospect to our view.
11. And taste and smell, and be inflam'd,
And ravished to see
The buildings he hath for us fram'd,
How full of heaven they be.
12. Its state also is marvellous,
For beauty to behold;
All goodness there is plenteous,
And better far than gold.
13. Adorn'd with grace and righteousness,
While fragrant scents of love
O'erflow with everlasting bliss,
All that do dwell above.
14. The heavenly majesty, whose face
Doth far exceed the sun,
Will there cast forth its rays of grace
After this world is done.
15. Which rays and beams will so possess
All things that there shall dwell,
With so much glory, light, and bliss,
That none can think or tell.
16. That wisdom which doth order all
Shall there be fully shown;
That strength that bears the world there shall
By every one be known.
17. That holiness and sanctity
Which doth all thought surpass,
Shall there in present purity
Outshine the crystal glass.
18. The beauty and the comeliness
Of this Almighty shall
Make amiable with lasting bliss
Those he thereto shall call.
19. The presence of this God will be
Eternal life in all,
And health and gladness, while we see
Thy face, O immortal!
20. Here will the Lord make clear and plain
How sweetly did agree
His attributes, when Christ was slain
Our Saviour to be.
21. How wisdom did find out the way,
How strength did make him stand,
How holiness did bear the sway,
And answer just demand.
22. How all these attributes did bend
Themselves to work our life,
Thorough the Christ whom God did send
To save us by his might.
23. All this will sparkle in our eye
Within the holy place,
And greatly raise our melody,
And flow our hearts with grace.
24. The largest thought that can arise
Within the widest heart
Shall then be filled with surprize,
And pleas'd in every part.
25. All mysteries shall here be seen,
And every knot unty'd;
Electing love, that hid hath been,
Shall shine on every side.
26. The God of glory here will be
The life of every one;
Whose goodly attributes shall we
Possess them as our own.
27. By wisdom we all things shall know,
By light all things shall see,
By strength, too, all things we shall do,
When we in glory be.
28. The Holy Lamb of God, also,
Who for our sakes did die,
The holy ones of God shall know,
And that most perfectly.
29. Those small and short discoveries
That we have of him here,
Will there be seen with open eyes,
In visions full and clear.
30. Those many thousand acts of grace
That here we feel and find,
Shall there be read with open face
Upon his heart most kind.
31. There he will show us how he was
Our prophet, priest, and king;
And how he did maintain our cause,
And us to glory bring.
32. There we shall see how he was touch'd
With all our grief and pain
(As in his word he hath avouch'd),
When we with him shall reign;
33. He'll show us, also, how he did
Maintain our faith and love,
And why his face sometimes he hid
From us, who are his dove;
34. These tempting times that here we have,
We there shall see were good;
Also that hidden strength he gave,
The purchase of his blood.
35. That he should stand for us before
His Father, thus we read,

But then shall see, and shall adore
Him for his gracious deed.
36. Though we are vile, he without shame
Before the angels all
Lays out his strength, his worth, and name,
For us, who are in thrall.
37. This is he who was mock'd and beat,
Spit on, and crown'd with thorns;
Who for us had a bloody sweat,
Whose heart was broke with scorns.
38. 'Tis he who stands so much our friend,
As shortly we shall see,
With open face, world without end,
And in his presence be.
39. That head that once was crown'd with thorns,
Shall now with glory shine;
That heart that broken was with scorns,
Shall flow with life divine;
40. That man that here met with disgrace,
We there shall see so bright;
That angels can't behold his face
For its exceeding light.
41. What gladness will possess our heart
When we shall see these things!
What light and life, in every part,
Will rise like lasting springs!
42. O blessed face and holy grace,
When shall we see this day?
Lord, fetch us to this goodly place
We humbly do thee pray.
43. Next to this Lamb we shall behold
All saints, both more and less,
With whit'ned robes in glory roll'd,
'Cause him they did confess.
44. Each walking in his righteousness
With shining crowns of gold,
Triumphing still in heav'nly bliss,
Amazing to behold.
45. Each person for his majesty
Doth represent a king;
Yea, angel-like for dignity,
And seraphims that sing.
46. Each motion of their mind, and so
Each twinkling of their eye;
Each word they speak, and step they go,
It is in purity.
47. Immortal are they every one,
Wrapt up in health and light,
Mortality from them is gone,
Weakness is turn'd to might.
48. The stars are not so clear as they,
They equalize the sun;
Their glory shines to perfect day,
Which day will ne'er be done.
49. No sorrow can them now annoy,
Nor weakness, grief or pain;
No faintness can abate their joy,
They now in life do reign.
50. They shall not there, as here, be vex'd
With Satan, men, or sin;
Nor with their wicked hearts perplex'd,
The heavens have cop'd[1] them in.
51. Thus, as they shine in their estate,
So, too, in their degree;
Which is most goodly to relate,
And ravishing to see.
52. The majesty whom they adore,
Doth them in wisdom place
Upon the thrones, and that before
The angels, to their grace.
53. The saints of the Old Testament,
Full right to their degree;
Likewise the New, in excellent
Magnificency be.
54. Each one his badge of glory wears,
According to his place;
According as was his affairs
Here, in the time of grace.
55. Some on the right hand of the Lamb,
Likewise some on the left,
With robes and golden chains do stand
Most grave, most sage, and deft.[2]
56. The martyr here is known from him
Who peaceably did die,
Both by the place he sitteth in,
And by his dignity.
57. Each father, saint, and prophet shall,
According to his worth,
Enjoy the honour of his call,
And plainly hold it forth.
58. Those bodies which sometimes were torn,
And bones that broken were
For God's word; he doth now adorn
With health and glory fair.
59. Thus, when in heav'nly harmony
These blessed saints appear,
Adorn'd with grace and majesty,
What gladness will be there!
60. The light, and grace, and countenance,
The least of these shall have,
Will so with terror them advance,
And make their face so grave,
61. That at them all the world will shake,
When they lift up their head;
Princes and kings will at them quake,
And fall before them dead.

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[1] The exact spelling of Bunyan is here followed; but whether he meant 'coped,' 'covered,' or 'cooped'—inclosed, or shut in—must be left to the reader's judgment. I prefer the latter.—(Ed.)

[2] Fit, convenient. 'Deft' is now obsolete.—(Ed.)

62. This shall we see, thus shall we be,
O would the day were come,
Lord Jesus take us up to thee,
To this desired home.

63. Angels also we shall behold,
When we on high ascend,
Each shining like to men of gold,
And on the Lord attend.

64. These goodly creatures, full of grace,
Shall stand about the throne,
Each one with lightning in his face,
And shall to us be known.

65. These cherubims with one accord
Shall cry continually,
Ah, holy, holy, holy, Lord,
And heavenly majesty.

66. These will us in their arms embrace,
And welcome us to rest,
And joy to see us clad with grace,
And of the heavens possess'd.

67. This we shall hear, this we shall see,
While raptures take us up,
When we with blessed Jesus be,
And at his table sup.

68. Oh shining angels! what, must we
With you lift up our voice?
We must; and with you ever be,
And with you must rejoice.

69. Our friends that lived godly here,
Shall there be found again,
The wife, the child, and father dear,
With others of our train.

70. Each one down to the foot in white,
Fill'd to the brim with grace,
Walking among the saints in light,
With glad and joyful face.

71. Those God did use us to convert,
We there with joy shall meet,
And jointly shall, with all our heart,
In life each other greet.

72. A crown to them we then shall be,
A glory and a joy;
And that before the Lord, when he
The world comes to destroy.

73. This is the place, this is the state,
Of all that fear the Lord;
Which men nor angels may relate
With tongue, or pen, or word.

74. No night is here, for to eclipse
Its spangling rays so bright;
Nor doubt, nor fear to shut the lips,
Of those within this light.

75. The strings of music here are tun'd
For heavenly harmony,
And every spirit here perfum'd
With perfect sanctity.

76. Here runs the crystal streams of life,
Quite thorough all our veins.
And here by love we do unite
With glory's golden chains.

77. Now that which sweet'neth all will be
The lasting of this state;
This heightens all we hear or see
To a transcendant rate.

78. For should the saints enjoy all this
But for a certain time,
O, how would they their mark then miss,
And at this thing repine?

79. Yea, 'tis not possible that they
Who then shall dwell on high,
Should be content, unless they may
Dwell there eternally.

80. A thought of parting with this place
Would bitter all their sweet,
And darkness put upon the face
Of all they there do meet.

81. But far from this the saints shall be,
Their portion is the Lord,
Whose face for ever they shall see,
As saith the holy word.

82. And that with everlasting peace,
Joy, and felicity,
From this time forth they shall increase
Unto eternity.

OF HELL, AND THE ESTATE OF THOSE THAT PERISH.

1. Thus, having show'd you what I see
Of heaven, I now will tell
You also, after search, what be
The damned wights of hell.

2. And O, that they who read my lines
Would ponder soberly,
And lay to heart such things betimes
As touch eternity.

3. The sleepy sinner little thinks
What sorrows will abound
Within him, when upon the brinks
Of Tophet he is found.

4. Hell is beyond all thought a state
So doubtful[1] and forlorn,
So fearful, that none can relate
The pangs that there are born.

5. God will exclude them utterly
From his most blessed face,
And them involve in misery,
In shame, and in disgrace.

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[1] Full of fear and dread. Bunyan, in his *Holy War*, brings his immense armies of doubters, under General Incredulity, from Hell-gate Hill.—(Ed.)

6. God is the fountain of all bliss,
Of life, of light, and peace;
They then must needs be comfortless
Who are depriv'd of these.
7. Instead of life, a living death
Will there in all be found.
Dyings will be in every breath,
Thus sorrow will abound.
8. No light, but darkness here doth dwell;
No peace, but horror strange:
The fearful damning wights[1] of hell
In all will make this change.
9. To many things the damned's woe
Is liked in the word,
And that because no one can show
The vengeance of the Lord.
10. Unto a dreadful burning lake,
All on a fiery flame,
Hell is compared, for to make
All understand the same.
11. A burning lake, a furnace hot,
A burning oven, too,
Must be the portion, share, and lot,
Of those which evil sow.
12. This plainly shows the burning heat
With which it will oppress
All hearts, and will like burnings eat
Their souls with sore distress.
13. This burning lake, it is God's wrath
Incensed by the sin
Of those who do reject his path,
And wicked ways walk in.
14. Which wrath will so perplex all parts
Of body and of soul,
As if up to the very hearts
In burnings they did roll.
15. Again, to show the stinking state
Of this so sad a case,
Like burning brimstone God doth make
The hidings of his face.
16. And truly as the steam, and smoke,
And flames of brimstone smell,
To blind the eyes, and stomach choke,
So are the pangs of hell.
17. To see a sea of brimstone burn,
Who would it not affright?
But they whom God to hell doth turn
Are in most woful plight.
18. This burning cannot quenched be,
No, not with tears of blood;
No mournful groans in misery
Will here do any good.
19. O damned men! this is your fate,
The day of grace is done,
Repentance now doth come too late,
Mercy is fled and gone.
20. Your groans and cries they sooner should
Have sounded in mine ears,
If grace you would have had, or would
Have me regard your tears.
21. Me you offended with your sin,
Instructions you did slight,
Your sins against my law hath been,
Justice shall have his right.
22. I gave my Son to do you good,
I gave you space and time
With him to close, which you withstood,
And did with hell combine.
23. Justice against you now is set,
Which you cannot appease;
Eternal justice doth you let
From either life or ease.
24. Thus he that to this place doth come
May groan, and sigh, and weep;
But sin hath made that place his home,
And there it will him keep.
25. Wherefore, hell in another place
Is call'd a prison too,
And all to show the evil case
Of all sin doth undo.
26. Which prison, with its locks and bars
Of God's lasting decree,
Will hold them fast; O how this mars
All thought of being free!
27. Out at these brazen bars they may
The saints in glory see;
But this will not their grief allay,
But to them torment be.
28. Thus they in this infernal cave
Will now be holden fast
From heavenly freedom, though they crave,
Of it they may not taste.
29. The chains that darkness on them hangs
Still ratt'ling in their ears,
Creates within them heavy pangs,
And still augments their fears.
30. Thus hopeless of all remedy,
They dyingly do sink
Into the jaws of misery,
And seas of sorrow drink.
31. For being cop'd[2] on every side
With helplessness and grief,
Headlong into despair they slide
Bereft of all relief.
32. Therefore this hell is called a pit,
Prepared for those that die
The second death, a term most fit
To show their misery.

[1] Quick, nimble, active, powerful spirits. Wight is now obsolete, except in irony; *see Imperial Dictionary.*—(Ed.)

[2] See note on verse fifty of the Meditations on Heaven.—(Ed.

33. A pit that's bottomless is this,
A gulf of grief and woe,
A dungeon which they cannot miss,
That will themselves undo.
34. Thus without stay they always sink,
Thus fainting still they fail,
Despair they up like water drink,
These prisoners have no bail.
35. Here meets them now that worm that gnaws,
And plucks their bowels out,
The pit, too, on them shuts her jaws;
This dreadful is, no doubt.
36. This ghastly worm is guilt for sin,
Which on the conscience feeds,
With vipers' teeth, both sharp and keen,
Whereat it sorely bleeds.
37. This worm is fed by memory,
Which strictly brings to mind,
All things done in prosperity,
As we in Scripture find.
38. No word, nor thought, nor act they did,
But now is set in sight,
Not one of them can now be hid,
Memory gives them light.
39. On which the understanding still
Will judge, and sentence pass,
This kills the mind, and wounds the will,
Alas, alas, alas!
40. O, conscience is the slaughter shop,
There hangs the axe and knife,
'Tis there the worm makes all things hot,
And wearies out the life.
41. Here, then, is execution done
On body and on soul;
For conscience will be brib'd of none,
But gives to all their dole.
42. This worm, 'tis said, shall never die,
But in the belly be
Of all that in the flames shall lie,
O dreadful sight to see!
43. This worm now needs must in them live,
For sin will still be there,
And guilt, for God will not forgive,
Nor Christ their burden bear.
44. But take from them all help and stay,
And leave them to despair,
Which feeds upon them night and day,
This is the damned's share.
45. Now will confusion so possess
These monuments of ire,
And so confound them with distress,
And trouble their desire.
46. That what to think, or what to do,
Or where to lay their head,
They know not; 'tis the damned's woe
To live, and yet be dead.
47. These cast-aways would fain have life,
But know, they never shall,
They would forget their dreadful plight,
But that sticks fast'st of all.
48. God, Christ, and heaven, they know are best,
Yet dare not on them think,
The saints they know in joys do rest,
While they their tears do drink.
49. They cry alas, but all in vain,
They stick fast in the mire,
They would be rid of present pain,
Yet set themselves on fire.
50. Darkness is their perplexity,
Yet do they hate the light,
They always see their misery,
Yet are themselves all night.
51. They are all dead, yet live they do,
Yet neither live nor die.
They die to weal, and live to woe,
This is their misery.
52. Amidst all this so great a scare
That here I do relate,
Another falleth to their share
In this their sad estate.
53. The legions of infernal fiends
Then with them needs must be,
A just reward for all their pains,
This they shall feel and see.
54. With yellings, howlings, shrieks, and cries,
And other doleful noise,
With trembling hearts and failing eyes,
These are their hellish joys.
55. These angels black they would obey,
And serve with greedy mind,
And take delight to go astray,
That pleasure they might find.
56. Which pleasure now like poison turns
Their joy to heaviness;
Yea, like the gall of asps it burns,
And doth them sore oppress
57. Now is the joy they lived in
All turned to brinish tears,
And resolute attempts to sin
Turn'd into hellish fears.
58. The floods run trickling down their face,
Their hearts do prick and ache,
While they lament their woful case,
Their loins totter and shake.
59. O wetted cheeks, with bleared eyes,
How fully do you show
The pangs that in their bosom lies,
And grief they undergo!
60. Their dolour in their bitterness
So greatly they bemoan,
That hell itself this to express
Doth echo with their groan.

61. Thus broiling on the burning grates,
They now to wailing go,
And say of those unhappy fates
That did them thus undo.

62. Alas, my grief! hard hap had I
Those dolours here to find,
A living death, in hell I lie,
Involv'd with grief of mind.

63. I once was fair for light and grace,
My days were long and good;
I lived in a blessed place
Where was most heav'nly food.

64. But wretch I am, I slighted life,
I chose in death to live;
O, for these days now, if I might,
Ten thousand worlds would give.

65. What time had I to pray and read,
What time to hear the word!
What means to help me at my need,
Did God to me afford!

66. Examples, too, of piety
I every day did see,
But they abuse and slight did I,
O, woe be unto me.

67. I now remember how my friend
Reproved me of vice,
And bid me mind my latter end,
Both once, and twice, and thrice.

68. But O, deluded man, I did
My back upon him turn;
Eternal life I did not heed,
For which I now do mourn.

69. Ah, golden time, I did thee spend
In sin and idleness,
Ah, health and wealth, I did you lend
To bring me to distress.

70. My feet to evil I let run,
And tongue of folly talk;
My eyes to vanity hath gone,
Thus did I vainly walk.

71. I did as greatly toil and strain
Myself with sin to please,
As if that everlasting gain
Could have been found in these.

72. But nothing, nothing have I found
But weeping, and alas,
And sorrow, which doth now surround
Me, and augment my cross.

73. Ah, bleeding conscience, how did I
Thee check when thou didst tell
Me of my faults, for which I lie
Dead while I live in hell.

74. I took thee for some peevish foe,
When thou didst me accuse,
Therefore I did thee buffet so,
And counsel did refuse.

75. Thou often didst me tidings bring,
How God did me dislike,
Because I took delight in sin,
But I thy news did slight.

76. Ah, Mind, why didst thou do those things
That now do work my woe?
Ah, Will, why wast thou thus inclin'd
Me ever to undo?

77. My senses, how were you beguil'd
When you said sin was good?
It hath in all parts me defil'd,
And drown'd me like a flood.

78. Ah, that I now a being have,
In sorrow and in pain;
Mother, would you had been my grave,
But this I wish in vain.

79. Had I been made a cockatrice,
A toad, or such-like thing;[1]
Yea, had I been made snow or ice,
Then had I had no sin;

80. A block, a stock, a stone, or clot,
Is happier than I;
For they know neither cold nor hot,
To live nor yet to die.

81. I envy now the happiness
Of those that are in light,
I hate the very name of bliss,
'Cause I have there no right.

82. I grieve to see that others are
In glory, life, and well,
Without all fear, or dread, or care,
While I am racked in hell.

83. Thus will these souls with watery eyes,
And hacking of their teeth,
With wringing hands, and fearful cries,
Expostulate their grief.

84. O set their teeth they will, and gnash,
And gnaw for very pain,
While as with scorpions God doth lash
Them for their life so vain.

85. Again, still as they in this muse,
Are feeding on the fire,
To mind there comes yet other news,
To screw their torments higher.

86. Which is the length of this estate,
Where they at present lie;
Which in a word I thus relate,
'Tis to eternity.

87. This thought now is so firmly fix'd
In all that comes to mind,

[1] This is a common temptation. Job felt it, and murmured at having been born, Job iii. 3, and x. 18, 19. Jeremiah passed through the same experience, Je. xx. 14, 15. Bunyan had the same bitter feelings, and wished himself a dog or toad; *see Grace Abounding*, No. 104. Colonel Gardener was similarly tried. How awful is the havoc that sin has made with human happiness.—(Ed.)

And also is so strongly mix'd
With wrath of every kind.

88. So that whatever they do know,
Or see, or think, or feel,
For ever still doth strike them through
As with a bar of steel.

89. For EVER shineth in the fire,
EVER is on the chains;
'Tis also in the pit of ire,
And tastes in all their pains.

90. For ever separate from God,
From peace, and life, and rest;
For ever underneath the rod
That vengeance liketh best.

91. O ever, ever, this will drown'd
Them quite and make them cry,
We never shall get o'er thy bound,
O, great eternity!

92. They sooner now the stars may count
Than lose these dismal bands;
Or see to what the motes [1] amount
Or number up the sands.

93. Then see an end of this their woe,
Which now for sin they have;
O wantons, take heed what you do,
Sin will you never save.

94. They sooner may drink up the sea,
Than shake off these their fears;
Or make another in one day
As big with brinish tears;

95. Than put an end to misery,
In which they now do roar,
Or help themselves; no, they must cry,
Alas, for evermore.

96. When years by thousands on a heap
Are passed o'er their head;
Yet still the fruits of sin they reap
Among the ghostly dead.

97. Yea, when they have time out of mind
Been in this case so ill,
For EVER, EVER is behind [2]
Yet for them to fulfil.

[1] The finest particles or atoms of matter—
"As thick, as numberless
"As the gay *motes* that people the sunbeams."—Milton.—(ED.)

[2] How does this remind us of the awfully impressive cries of the man in the iron cage—"O, eternity, eternity! how shall I grapple with the misery that I must meet with in eternity!" "A thousand deaths live in him, he not dead."—(ED.)

EBAL AND GERIZIM,

OR

THE BLESSING AND THE CURSE:

BEING A SHORT EXHORTATION TO SINNERS, BY THE MERCY AND SEVERITY OF GOD.

FROM MOUNT GERIZIM.

BESIDES what I said of the *Four Last Things*,
And of the weal and woe that from them springs;
An after-word still runneth in my mind,
Which I shall here expose unto that wind
That may it blow into that very hand
That needs it. Also that it may be scann'd
With greatest soberness, shall be my prayer,
As well as diligence and godly care;
So to present it unto public view,
That only truth and peace may thence ensue.
My talk shall be of that amazing love
Of God we read of; which, that it may prove,
By its engaging arguments to save
Thee, I shall lay out that poor help I have
Thee to entice; that thou wouldst dearly fall
In love with thy salvation, and with all
That doth thereto concur, that thou mayst be
As blessed as the Blessed can make thee,
Not only here but in the world to come,
In bliss, which, I pray God, may be thy home.
But first, I would advise thee to bethink
Thyself, how sin hath laid thee at the brink
Of hell, where thou art lulled fast asleep
In Satan's arms, who also will thee keep
As senseless and secure as e'er he may,
Lest thou shouldst wake, and see't, and run away
Unto that Jesus, whom the Father sent
Into the world, for this cause and intent,
That such as thou, from such a thrall as this
Might'st be released, and made heir of bliss.
Now that thou may'st awake, the danger fly,
And so escape the death that others die,
Come, let me set my trumpet to thine ear,
Be willing all my message for to hear:
'Tis for thy life, O do it not refuse;
Wo unto them good counsel do abuse.
Thou art at present in that very case,
Which argues thou art destitute of grace:
For he that lies where sin hath laid him, lies
Under the curse, graceless, and so he dies
In body and in soul, within that range,
If God his heart in mercy doth not change

Before he goes the way of all the earth,
Before he lose his spirit and his breath.
Repentance there is none within the grave,
Nor Christ, nor grace, nor mercies for to save
Thee from the vengeance due unto thy sin,
If now thou dost not truly close with him.
Thou art like him that sleepeth in the sea
On broken boards, which, without guide or stay,
Are driven whither winds and water will;
While greedy beasts do wait to have their fill
By feeding on his carcass, when he shall
Turn overboard, and without mercy fall
Into the jaws of such as make a prey
Of those whom justice drowneth in the sea.
Thou art like him that snoring still doth lie
Upon the bed of vain security,
Whilst all about him into burning flame
By fire is turned; yea, and while the frame
And building where he lies consuming is,
And while himself these burnings cannot miss.
Thou art like one that hangeth by a thread
Over the mouth of hell, as one half-dead;
And O, how soon this thread may broken be,
Or cut by death, is yet unknown to thee!
But sure it is, if all the weight of sin,
And all that Satan, too, hath doing been,
Or yet can do, can break this crazy thread,
'Twill not be long before, among the dead,
Thou tumble do, as linked fast in chains,
With them to wait in fear for future pains.
What shall I say? Wilt thou not yet awake?
Nor yet of thy poor soul some pity take?
Among the lions it hood-winked lies;
O, that the Lord would open once thine eyes
That thou might'st see it, then I dare say thou,
As half-bereft of wits, wouldst cry out, How
Shall I escape? Lord help, O! help with speed,
Reach down thy hand from heav'n, for help I need,
To save me from the lions, for I fear
This soul of mine they will in pieces tear.
Come, then, and let us both expostulate
The case betwixt us, till we animate
And kindle in our hearts that burning love
To Christ, to grace, to life, that we may move
Swifter than eagles to this blessed prey;
Then shall it be well with us in that day
The trump shall sound, the dead made rise, and stand,
Then to receive, for breach of God's command,
Such thunder-claps as these, Depart from me
Into hell-fire, you that the wicked be,
Prepared for the devil, and for those
That with him and his angels rather chose
To live in filthy sin and wickedness,
Whose fruit is everlasting bitterness.
We both are yet on this side of the grave,
We also gospel-privileges have;
The word, and time to pray; God give us hearts,
That, like the wise man, we may act our parts,
To get the pearl of price; then we shall be
Like godly Mary, Peter, Paul, and we
Like Jacob, too, the blessing shall obtain;
While Esau rides a-hunting for the gain
Of worldly pelf, which will him not avail
When death or judgment shall him sore assail.
Now, to encourage us for to begin,
Let us believe the kingdom we may win,
And be possess'd thereof, if we the way
Shall hit into, and then let nothing stay
Or hinder us; the crown is at the end,
Let's run and strive, and fly, and let's contend
With greatest courage it for to obtain;
'Tis life, and peace, and everlasting gain.
The gate of life, the new and living way,
The promise holdeth open all the day,
Which thou by Jacob's ladder must ascend,
Where angels always wait, and do attend
As ministers, to minister for those
That do with God, and Christ, and glory close.
If guilt of sin still lieth at our door,
Us to discourage, let us set before
Our eyes a bleeding Jesus, who did die
The death, and let's believe the reason why
He did it, was that we might ever be
From death and sin, from hell and wrath set free.
Yea, let's remember for that very end
It was his blessed Father did him send;
That he the law of God might here fulfil,
That so the mystery of his blessed will
Might be revealed in the blessedness
Of those that fly to Christ for righteousness.
Now let us argue with ourselves, then, thus
That Jesus Christ our Lord came to save us,
By bearing of our sins upon his back,
By hanging on the cross as on a rack,
While justice cut him off on every side,
While smiles Divine themselves from him did hide,
While earth did quake, and rocks in pieces rent,
And while the sun, as veiled, did lament
To see the innocent and harmless die
So sore a death, so full of misery.
Yea, let us turn again, and say, All this
He did and suffered for love of his.
He brought in everlasting righteousness,
That he might cover all our nakedness;
He wept and wash'd his face with brinish tears
That we might saved be from hellish fears;
Blood was his sweat, too, in his agony,
That we might live in joyful ecstasy;
He apprehended was and led away,
That grace to us-ward never might decay.
With swords, and bills, and outrage in the night,
That to the peace of heav'n we might have right.

Condemned he was between two thieves to die,
That we might ever in his bosom lie;
Scourged with whips his precious body were,
That we lashes of conscience might not fear;
His head was crowned with thorns, that we might be
Crowned with glory and felicity;
He hanged was upon a cursed tree,
That we delivered from death might be;
His Father from him hides his smiles and face,
That we might have them in the heavenly place;
He cry'd, My God, why hast forsaken me?
That we forsaken of him might not be.
Into his side was thrust a bloody spear,
That we the sting of death might never fear;
He went into the grave after all this,
That we might up to heav'n go, and have bliss.
Yea, rise again he did out of the earth,
And shook off from him all the chains of death;
Then at his chariot wheels he captive led
His foes, and trod upon the serpent's head;
Riding in triumph to his Father's throne,
There to possess the kingdom as his own.
What say'st thou, wilt not yet unto him come?
His arms are open, in his heart is room
To lay thee; be not then discouraged,
Although thy sins be many, great, and red;
Unto thee righteousness he will impute,
And with the kisses of his mouth salute
Thy drooping soul, and will it so uphold,
As that thy shaking conscience shall be bold
To come to mercy's seat with great access,
There to expostulate with that justice
That burns like fiery flames against all those
That do not with this blessed Jesus close;
Which unto thee will do no harm, but good,
Because thou hast reliance on that blood
That justice saith hath given him content,
For all that do unfeignedly repent
Their ill-spent life, and roll upon free grace,
That they within that bosom might have place,
That open is to such, where they shall lie
In ease, and gladness, and felicity,
World without end, according to that state
I have, nay, better than I, can relate.
If thou shalt still object, thou yet art vile,
And hast a heart that will not reconcile
Unto the holy law, but will rebel,
Hark yet to what I shall thee farther tell.
Two things are yet behind that help thee will,
If God should put into thy mind that skill,
So to improve them as becometh those
That would with mercy and forgiveness close.
First, then, let this sink down into thy heart,
That Christ is not a Saviour in part,
But every way so fully he is made
That all of those that underneath his shade
And wing would sit, and shroud their weary soul,
That even Moses dare it not control,
But justify it, approve of 't, and conclude
No man nor angel must himself intrude
With such doctrine that may oppose the same,
On pain of blaspheming that holy name,
Which God himself hath given unto men,
To stay, to trust, to lean themselves on, when
They feel themselves assaulted, and made fear
Their sin will not let them in life appear.
For as God made him perfect righteousness,
That he his love might to the height express,
And us present complete before the throne;
Sanctification, too, of his own
He hath prepared, in which do we stand,
Complete in holiness, at his right hand.
Now this sanctification is not
That holiness which is in us, but that
Which in the person of this Jesus is,
And can inherently be only his.
But is imputed to us for our good,
As is his active righteousness and blood;
Which is the cause, though we infirm are found,
That mercy and forgiveness doth abound
To us-ward, and that why we are not shent[1]
And empty, and away rebuked sent,
Because that all we do imperfect is.
Bless God, then, for this holiness of his,
And learn to look by faith on that alone,
When thou seest thou hast nothing of thine own;
Yea, when thy heart most willing is to do
What God by his good word doth call thee to;
And when thou find'st most holiness within,
And greatest power over every sin,
Yet then to Jesus look, and thou shalt see
In him sanctification for thee,
Far more complete than all that thou canst find
In the most upright heart and willing mind,
That ever man or angels did possess,
When most filled with inherent righteousness.
Besides, if thou forgettest here to live,
And Satan get thee once into his sieve,
He will so hide thy wheat, and show thy brun[2]
That thou wilt quickly cry, I am undone.
Alas, thy goodliest attainments here,
Though like the fairest blossoms they appear,
How quickly will they lour and decay,
And be as if they all were fled away,
When once the east-wind of temptations beat
Upon thee, with their dry and blasting heat!
Rich men will not account their treasure lies
In crack'd groats and four-pence half-pennies,[3]

[1] From the Saxon *scendan*, to violate, spoil, revile; *see Imperial Dictionary*.—Ed.

[2] Altered by poetical license from 'bran.' Chaucer, in one instance, spells it 'bren,' to rhyme with men.—Ed.

[3] This evidently refers to a coin, value four-pence half-penny,

But in those bags they have within their chests,
In staple goods, which shall within their breasts
Have place accordingly, because they see
Their substance lieth here. But if that be
But shaken, then they quickly fear, and cry,
Alas, 'tis not this small and odd money,
We carry in our pockets for to spend,
Will make us rich, or much will stand our friend.
If famine or if want do us assail,
How quickly will these little pieces fail!
If thou be wise, consider what I say,
And look for all in Christ, where no decay
Is like to be; then though thy present frame
Be much in up-and-down, yet he the same
Abideth, yea, and still at God's right hand,
As thy most perfect holiness will stand.
It is, I say, not like to that in thee,
Now high, then low, now out, then in, but he
Most perfect is, when thou art at the worst
The same, the very same; I said at first,
This helpeth much when thou art buffeted,
And when thy graces lie in thee as dead;
Then to believe they are all perfect still
In Christ thy head, who hath that blessed skill,
Yet to present thee by what is in him
Unto his Father, one that hath no sin.
Yea, this will fill thy mouth with argument
Against the tempter, when he shall present
Before thee all thy weakness, and shall hide
From thee thy graces, that thou mayst abide
Under the fretting fumes of unbelief,
Which never yielded Christian man relief.
Nor help thyself thou may'st against him thus:
O Satan, though my heart indeed be worse
Than 'twas a while ago, yet I perceive
Thou shalt me not of happiness bereave,
Nor yet of holiness; for by the Word
I find that Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord,
Is made sanctification for me
In his own person, where all graces be,
As water in the fountain; and that I,
By means of that, have yet a sanctity,
Both personal and perfect every way;
And that is Christ himself, as Paul doth say.
Now, though my crazy pitcher oft doth leak,
By means of which my graces are so weak,
And so much spent, that one I cannot find
Able to stay or help my feeble mind;

Yet then I look to Jesus, and see all
In him that wanting is in me, and shall
Again take courage, and believe he will
Present me upright in his person, till
He humble me for all my foolishness,
And then again fill me with holiness.
Now, if thou lovest inward sanctity,
As all the saints do most unfeignedly,
Then add, to what I have already said,
Faith in the promise; and be not afraid
To urge it often at the throne of grace,
And to expect it in its time and place.
Then he that true is, and that cannot lie,
Will give it unto thee, that thou thereby
May'st serve with faith, with fear, in truth and love,
That God that did at first thy spirit move
To ask it to his praise, that he might be
Thy God, and that he might delight in thee.
If I should here particulars relate,
Methinks it could not but much animate
Thy heart, though very listless to inquire
How thou may'st that enjoy, which all desire
That love themselves and future happiness;
But O, I cannot fully it express:
The promise is so open and so free,
In all respects, to those that humble be,
That want they cannot what for them is good;
But there 'tis, and confirmed is with blood,
A certain sign, all those enjoy it may,
That see they want it, and sincerely pray
To God the Father, in that Jesus' name
Who bled on purpose to confirm the same.

[THE NECESSITY OF A NEW HEART.]

Now wouldst thou have a heart that tender is,
A heart that forward is to close with bliss;
A heart that will impressions freely take
Of the new covenant, and that will make
The best improvement of the word of grace,
And that to wickedness will not give place;
All this is in the promise, and it may
Obtained be of them that humbly pray.
Wouldst thou enjoy that spirit that is free,
And looseth those that in their spirits be
Oppressed with guilt, or filth, or unbelief;
That spirit that will, where it dwells, be chief;
Which breaketh Samson's cord as rotten thread,
And raiseth up the spirit that is dead;
That sets the will at liberty to choose
Those things that God hath promis'd to infuse
Into the humble heart? All this, I say,
The promise holdeth out to them that pray.

[THE SPIRIT OF PRAYER.]

Wouldst thou have that good, that blessed mind,
That is so much to heavenly things inclin'd

and, like a cracked groat, not so much prized as good coin. See the note in vol. i. p. 36. In Turner's *Remarkable Providences*, folio, 1697, page 28, is a very singular allusion to one of these coins:—"Christian, the wife of R. Green, of Brenham, Somersetshire, in 1663, made a covenant with the devil. He pricked the fourth finger off her right hand, between the middle and upper joint, and took two drops of her blood on his finger, giving her *four-pence half-penny*. He then vanished, leaving a smell of brimstone behind.—ED.

That it aloft will soar, and always be
Contemplating on blest eternity.
That mind that never thinks itself at rest,
But when it knows it is for ever blest;
That mind that can be here no more content,
Than he that in the prison doth lament;
That blessed mind that counts itself then free
When it can at the throne with Jesus be,
There to behold the mansions he prepares
For such as be with him and his co-heirs.
This mind is in the covenant of grace,
And shall be theirs that truly seek his face.

[OF GODLY FEAR.]

Is godly fear delightful unto thee,
That fear that God himself delights to see
Bear sway in them that love him? then he will
Thy godly mind in this request fulfil.
By giving thee a fear that tremble shall,
At every trip thou takest, lest thou fall,
And him offend, or hurt thyself by sin,
Or cause poor souls that always blind have been
To stumble at thy falls, and harder be
Against their own salvation and thee.
That fear that of itself would rather choose
The rod, than to offend or to abuse
In anything that blessed worthy name,
That hath thee saved from that death and shame;
That sin would soon have brought thee to, if he
Had not imputed righteousness to thee.
I will love them, saith God, and not depart
From them, but put my fear within their heart,
That I to them may always lovely be,
And that they never may depart from me.

[OF UPRIGHTNESS AND SINCERITY.]

Wouldst thou be very upright and sincere?
Wouldst thou be that within thou dost appear,
Or seem to be in outward exercise
Before the most devout, and godly wise?
Yea, art thou thus when no eye doth thee see
But that which is invisible? and be
The words of God in truth thy prop and stay?
And do they in thy conscience bear more sway
To govern thee in faith and holiness,
Than thou canst with thy heart and mouth express?
And do the things that truly are divine,
Before thee more than gold or rubies shine?
And if, as unto Solomon, God should
Propound to thee, What wouldst thou have? how would
Thy heart and pulse beat after heav'nly things,
After the upper and the nether springs?
Couldst, with unfeigned heart and upright lip,
Cry, Hold me fast, Lord, never let me slip,
Nor step aside from faith and holiness,
Nor from the blessed hope of future bliss?
Lord, rather cross me anywhere than here;
Lord, fill me always with thy holy fear,
And godly jealousy of mine own heart,
Lest I, Lord, should at any time depart
From thy most blessed covenant of grace,
Where Jesus rules as King, and where thy face
Is only to be seen with comfort, and
Where sinners justified before thee stand.
If these thy groanings be sincere and true,
If God doth count thee one that dost pursue
The things thou cryest after with thy heart,
No doubt but in them thou shalt have a part.

[HOW GRACES ARE TO BE OBTAINED.]

The next word that I would unto thee say,
Is how thou may'st attain, without delay,
Those blessed graces, and that holiness
Thou dost with so much godly zeal express
Thy love to, and thy longing to enjoy,
That sins and weakness might thee less annoy.
Know, then, as I have hinted heretofore,
And shall now speak unto a little more,
All graces in the person of the Son
Are by the Father hid, and therefore none
Can them obtain but they who with him close;
All others graceless are but only those;
For of his fulness 'tis that we receive,
And grace for grace; let no man then deceive
Himself or others with a feigned show
Of holiness, if Jesus they eschew.
When he ascended to his Father, then
It was that he received gifts for men;
Faith, hope, and love, true zeal, an upright heart,
Right humbleness of mind, and every part
Of what the word of life counts holiness,
God then laid up in him, that we redress
And help might have, who do unto him fly
For righteousness and gospel sanctity.

[OF IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS.]

Now, if thou wouldst inherit righteousness,
And so sanctification possess
In body, soul, and spirit, then thou must
To Jesus fly, as one ungodly first;
And so by him crave pardon for thy sin
Which thou hast loved, and hast lived in;
For this cannot at all forgiven be,
For any righteousness that is in thee;
Because the best thou hast is filthy rags,
Profane, presumptuous, and most beastly brags
Of flesh and blood, which always cross doth lie
To God, to grace, and thy felicity.
Then righteousness imputed thou must have,
Thee from that guilt and punishment to save

Thou liest under as a sinful man,
Throughout polluted, and that never can
By any other means acquitted be,
Or ever have true holiness in thee.
The reason is, because all graces are
Only in Christ, and be infused where,
Or into those whom he doth justify,
By what himself hath done, that he thereby
Might be the whole of all that happiness
The sinner shall enjoy here, and in bliss.
Besides, if holiness should first be found
In those whom God doth pardon, then the ground
Why we forgiven are would seem to be,
He first found holiness in thee and me;
But this the holy Scriptures will refute,
And prove that righteousness he doth impute
Without respect to goodness first in man;
For, to speak truth indeed, no goodness can
Be found in those that underneath the law
Do stand; for if God goodness in them saw,
Why doth he once and twice say, There is none
That righteous be; no, not so much as one;
None understandeth, none seek after God,
His ways they have not known, but have abode
In wickedness, unprofitably they
Must needs appear to be then every way.
Their throats an open sepulchre, also
Their mouths are full of filthy cursings too;
And bitterness, yea, underneath their lips
The asp hath poison. O how many slips
And falls in sin must such poor people have!
Now where's the holiness that should them save,
Or, as a preparation, go before,
To move God to do for them less or more?
No, grace must on thee righteousness bestow,
Or, else sin will for ever thee undo.
Sweet Paul this doctrine also doth express,
Where he saith, Some may have righteousness,
Though works they have not; and it thus may stand,
Grace by the promise gives what the command
Requireth us to do, and so are we
Quitted from doing, and by grace made free.

[OF HOLINESS OF LIFE.]

Now, then, if holiness thou would'st obtain,
And would'st a tender Christian man remain,
Keep faith in action, let that righteousness
That Christ fulfilled always have express
And clear distinction in thy heart, from all
That men by Scripture, or besides it, call
Inherent gospel holiness, or what
Terms else they please to give it; for 'tis that,
And that alone, by which all graces come
Into the heart; for else there is no room
For ought but pride, presumption, or despair,
No love or other graces can be there.

Received you the Spirit, saith St. Paul,
By hearing, faith, or works? not works, and shall
No ways retain the same, except you do
Hear faith, embrace the same, and stick thereto.

[THE OPERATION OF FAITH.]

The word of faith unto me pardon brings,
Shows me the ground and reason whence it springs:
To wit, free grace, which moved God to give
His Son to die and bleed, that I might live.
This word doth also loudly preach to me,
Though I a miserable sinner be,
Yet in this Son of God I stand complete,
Whose righteousness is without all deceit;
'Tis that which God himself delighteth in,
And that by which all his have saved been.

[OF LOVE TO GOD.]

When I do this begin to apprehend,
My heart, my soul, and mind, begins to bend
To God-ward, and sincerely for to love
His Son, his ways, his people, and to move
With brokenness of spirit after him
Who broken was, and killed for my sin.
Now is mine heart grown holy, now it cleaves
To Jesus Christ my Lord, and now it leaves
Those ways that wicked be; it mourns because
It can conform no more unto the laws
Of God, who loved me when I was vile,
And of sweet Jesus, who did reconcile
Me unto justice by his precious blood,
When no way else was left to do me good.
If you would know how this can operate
Thus on the soul, I shall to you relate
A little farther what my soul hath seen
Since I have with the Lord acquainted been.
The word of grace, when it doth rightly seize
The spirit of a man, and so at ease
Doth set the soul, the Spirit of the Lord
Doth then with might accompany the word;
In which it sets forth Christ as crucified,
And by that means the Father pacified
With such a wretch as thou, and by this sight,
Thy guilt is in the first place put to flight,
For thus the Spirit doth expostulate:
Behold how God doth now communicate
(By changing of the person) grace to thee
A sinner, but to Christ great misery,
Though he the just one was, and so could not
Deserve this punishment; behold, then, what
The love of God is! how 'tis manifest,
And where the reason lies that thou art blest.
This doctrine being spoken to the heart,
Which also is made yield to every part
Thereof, it doth the same with sweetness fill,
And so doth sins and wickednesses kill;

For when the love of God is thus reveal'd,
And thy poor drooping spirit thereby seal'd,
And when thy heart, as dry ground, drinks this in
Unto the roots thereof, which nourish sin,
It smites them, as the worm did Jonah's gourd,
And makes them dwindle of their own accord,
And die away; instead of which there springs
Up life and love, and other holy things.
Besides, the Holy Spirit now is come,
And takes possession of thee as its home;
By which a war maintained always is
Against the old man and the deeds of his.

When God at first upon mount Sinai spake,
He made his very servant Moses quake;
But when he heard the law the second time,
His heart was comforted, his face did shine.
What was the reason of this difference,
Seeing no change was in the ordinance,
Although a change was in the manner, when
The second time he gave it unto men?
At first 'twas given in severity,
In thunder, blackness, darkness, tempest high,
In fiery flames it was delivered.
This struck both Moses and the host as dead;
But Moses, when he went into the mount
The second time, upon the same account
No fear, nor dread, nor shaking of his mind,
Do we in all the holy Scripture find;
But rather in his spirit he had rest,
And look'd upon himself as greatly blest.
He was put in the rock, he heard the name,
Which on the mount the Lord did thus proclaim:
The Lord, merciful, gracious, and more,
Long-suffering, and keeping up in store
Mercy for thousands, pardoning these things,
Iniquity, transgressions, and sins,
And holding guilty none but such as still
Refuse forgiveness, of rebellious will.

This proclamation better pleased him
Than all the thunder and the light'ning
Which shook the mount, this rid him of his fear,
This made him bend, make haste, and worship there.

Jehoshaphat, when he was sore opprest
By Amnon and by Moab, and the rest
Of them that sought his life, no rest he found,
Until a word of faith became a ground
To stay himself upon; O, then they fell,
His very song became their passing-bell.
Then holiness of heart a consequence
Of faith in Christ is, for it flows from thence;
The love of Christ in truth constraineth us,
Of love sincerely to make judgment thus:
He for us died that for ever we
Might die to sin, and Christ his servants be.
O! nothing's like to the remembrance
Of what it is to have deliverance
From death and hell, which is of due our right,
Nothing, I say, like this to work delight
In holy things; this like live honey runs,
And needs no pressing out of honey-combs.

[LOVE INDUCING CHRISTIAN CONDUCT.]

Then understand my meaning by my words,
How sense of mercy unto faith affords
Both grace to sanctify, and holy make
That soul that of forgiveness doth partake.
Thus having briefly showed you what is
The way of life, of sanctity, of bliss,
I would not in conclusion have you think,
By what I say, that Christian men should drink
In these my words with lightness, or that they
Are now exempted from what every day
Their duty is. No, God doth still expect,
Yea, doth command, that they do not neglect
To pray, to read, to hear, and not dissent
From being sober, grave, and diligent
In watching, self-denial, and with fear
To serve him all the time thou livest here.
Indeed I have endeavoured to lay
Before your eyes the right and only way
Pardon to get, and also holiness,
Without which never think that God will bless
Thee with the kingdom he will give to those
That Christ embrace, and holy lives do choose
To live, while here all others go astray,
And shall in time to come be cast away.

FROM MOUNT EBAL.

Thus having heard from Gerizzim, I shall
Next come to Ebal, and you thither call,
Not there to curse you, but to let you hear
How God doth curse that soul that shall appear
An unbelieving man, a graceless wretch;
Because he doth continue in the breach
Of Moses' law, and also doth neglect
To close with Jesus; him will God reject
And cast behind him; for of right his due
Is that from whence all miseries ensue.
Cursed, saith he, are they that do transgress
The least of my commandments, more or less.
Nothing that written is must broken be,
But always must be kept unto by thee,
And must fulfilled be; for here no man
Can look God in the face, or ever stand
Before the judgment-seat; for if they be
Convict, condemned too assuredly.
Now keep this law no mortal creature can,
For they already do, as guilty, stand
Before the God that gave it; so that they
Obnoxious to the curse lie every day,

Which also they must feel for certainty,
If unto Jesus Christ they do not fly.
Hence, then, as they for ever shall be blest,
That do by faith upon the promise rest,
So peace unto the wicked there is none;
'Tis wrath and death that they must feed upon.
That what I say may some impression make
On carnal hearts, that they in time may take
That course that best will prove when time is done,
These lines I add to what I have begun.
First, thou must know that God, as he is love
So he is justice, therefore cannot move,
Or in the least be brought to favour those
His holiness and justice doth oppose.
For though thou may'st imagine in thy heart
That God is this or that, yet if thou art
At all besides the truth of what he is,
And so dost build thy hope for life amiss,
Still he the same abideth, and will be
The same, the same for ever unto thee.
As God is true unto his promise, so
Unto his threat'ning he is faithful too.
Cease to be God he must, if he should break
One tittle that his blessed mouth did speak.
Now, then, none can be saved but the men
With whom the Godhead is contented when
It them beholds with the severest eye
Of justice, holiness, and yet can spy
No fault nor blemish in them; these be they
That must be saved, as the Scriptures say.
If this be true, as 'tis assuredly,
Woe be to them that wicked live and die;
Those that as far from holiness have been
All their life long as if no eye had seen
Their doings here, or as if God did not
At all regard, or in the least mind what,
Wherein, or how they did his law transgress,
Either by this or other wickedness;
But how deceived these poor creatures are,
They then shall know when they their burthen bear.
Alas, our God is a consuming fire;
So is his law, by which he doth require
That thou submit to him, and if thou be
Not in that justice found that can save thee
From all and every sentence which he spake
Upon mount Sinai, then as one that brake
It, thou the flames thereof shall quickly find
As scourges thee to lash, while sins do bind
Thee hand and foot, for ever to endure
The strokes of vengeance for thy life impure.
What I have said will yet evinced be,
And manifest abundantly to thee,
If what I have already spoken to
Be joined with these lines that do ensue.
Justice discovers its antipathy
Against profaneness and malignity.
Not only by the law it gave to men,
And threatenings thereunto annexed then.
But inasmuch as long before that day,
He did prepare for such as go astray,
That dreadful, that so much amazing place—
Hell, with its torments—for those men that grace
And holiness of life slight and disdain,
There to bemoan themselves with hellish pain.
This place, also, the pains so dismal be,
Both as to name and nature, that in me
It is not to express the damning wights,
The hellish torture, and the fearful plights
Thereof; for as intolerable they
Must needs be found, by those that disobey
The Lord, so can no word or thought express
Unto the full the height of that distress;
Such miserable caitiffs, that shall there
Rebukes of vengeance, for transgressions bear.
Indeed the holy Scriptures do make use
Of many metaphors, that do conduce
Much to the symbolizing of the place,
Unto our apprehension; but the case—
The sad, the woful case—of those that lie
As racked there in endless misery,
By all similitudes no mortals may
Set forth in its own nature; for I say
Similitudes are but a shade, and show
Of those or that they signify to you.
The fire that doth within thine oven burn,
The prison where poor people sit and mourn,
Chains, racks, and darkness, and such others, be
As painting on the wall, to let thee see
By word and figures the extremity
Of such as shall within these burnings lie.
But certainly, if wickedness and sin
Had only foolish toys and trifles been,
And if God had not greatly hated it,
Yea, could he any ways thereof admit,
And let it pass, he would not thus have done.
He doth not use to punish any one
With any place or punishment that is
Above or sharper than the sin of his
Hath merited, and justice seeth due;
Read sin, then, by the death that doth ensue.
Most men do judge of sin, not by the fruits
It bears and bringeth forth, but as it suits
Their carnal and deluded hearts, that be
With sensual pleasures eaten up; but he
That now so judgeth, shortly shall perceive
That God will judge thereof himself, and leave
Such men no longer to their carnal lusts,
To judge of wickedness, and of the just
And righteous punishment that doth of right
Belong thereto; and will, too, in despite
Of all their carnal reason, justify
Himself, in their eternal misery.

Then hell will be no fancy, neither will
Men's sins be pleasant to them; but so ill
And bitter, yea, so bitter, that none can
Fully express the same, or ever stand
Under the burden it will on them lay,
When they from life and bliss are sent away.
When I have thought how often God doth speak
Of their destruction, who his law do break;
And when the nature of the punishment
I find so dreadful, and that God's intent,
Yea, resolution is, it to inflict
On every sinner that shall stand convict,
I have amazed been, yet to behold,
To see poor sinners yet with sin so bold,
That like the horse that to the battle runs,
Without all fear, and that no danger shuns,
Till down he falls. O resolute attempts!
O sad, amazing, damnable events!
The end of such proceedings needs must be,
From which, O Lord, save and deliver me.
But if thou think that God thy noble race
Will more respect, than into such a place
To put thee; hold, though thou his offspring be,
And so art lovely, yet sin hath made thee
Another kind of creature than when thou
Didst from his fingers drop, and therefore now
Thy first creation stands thee in no stead;
Thou hast transgressed, and in very deed
Set God against thee, who is infinite,
And that for certain never will forget
Thy sins, nor favour thee if thou shalt die
A graceless man; this is thy misery.
When angels sinned, though of higher race
Than thou, and also put in higher place,
Yet them he spared not, but cast them down
From heaven to hell; where also they lie bound
In everlasting chains, and no release
Shall ever have, but wrath, that shall increase
Upon them, to their everlasting woe.
As for the state they were exalted to,
That will by no means mitigate their fear,
But aggravate their hellish torment here;
For he that highest stands, if he shall fall,
His danger needs must be the great'st of all.
Now if God noble angels did not spare
Because they did transgress, will he forbear
Poor dust and ashes? Will he suffer them
To break his law, and sin, and not condemn
Them for so doing? Let not man deceive
Himself or others; they that do bereave
Themselves by sin of happiness, shall be
Cut off by justice, and have misery.
Witness his great severity upon
The world that first was planted, wherein none
But only eight the deluge did escape,
All others of that vengeance did partake;
The reason was, that world ungodly stood
Before him, therefore he did send the flood,
Which swept them all away. A just reward
For their most wicked ways against the Lord,
Who could no longer bear them and their ways,
Therefore into their bosom vengeance pays.
We read of Sodom, and Gomorrah too,
What judgments they for sin did undergo;
How God from heaven did fire upon them rain,
Because they would not wicked ways refrain;
Condemning of them with an overthrow,
And turned them to ashes. Who can know
The miseries that these poor people felt
While they did underneath those burnings melt?
Now these, and many more that I could name,
That have been made partakers of the flame
And sword of justice, God did then cut off,
And make examples unto all that scoff
At holiness, or do the gospel slight;
And long it will not be before the night
And judgment, painted out by what he did
To Sodom and Gomorrah, fulfilled
Upon such sinners be, that they may know
That God doth hate the sin, and persons too,
Of such as still rebellious shall abide,
Although they now at judgment may deride.

A BOOK FOR BOYS AND GIRLS;

OR,

TEMPORAL THINGS SPIRITUALIZED.

BY JOHN BUNYAN,

LICENSED AND ENTERED ACCORDING TO ORDER.

London: Printed for, and sold by, R. Tookey, at his Printing House in St. Christopher's Court, in Threadneedle Street, behind the Royal Exchange, 1701.

This Title-page was afterwards altered to—

DIVINE EMBLEMS, OR TEMPORAL THINGS SPIRITUALIZED;

FITTED FOR THE USE OF BOYS AND GIRLS.

ADORNED WITH CUTS SUITABLE TO EVERY SUBJECT.—THE NINTH EDITION, WITH LARGE ADDITIONS.

BY JOHN BUNYAN.

London: Printed by S. Negris, for John Marshall, at the Bible, in Gracechurch Street, 1724.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

SOME degree of mystery hangs over these *Divine Emblems* for children, and many years' diligent researches have not enabled me completely to solve it. That they were written by Bunyan, there cannot be the slightest doubt.

'Manner and matter, too, are all his own.'[1]

But no book, under the title of *Divine Emblems*, is mentioned in any catalogue or advertisements of Bunyan's works, published during his life; nor in those more complete lists printed by his personal friends, immediately after his death. In all these lists, as well as in many advertisement, both before, and shortly after Mr. Bunyan's death, a little book for children is constantly introduced, which, judging from the title, must have been similar to, if not the same as, these Emblems; but the Editor has not been able to discover a copy of the first edition, although every inquiry has been made for it, both in the United Kingdom and America. It was advertised in 1688, as *Country Rhymes for Children, upon seventy-four things.*[2] It is also advertised, in the same year, as *A Book for Boys and Girls*, or *Country Rhymes for Children*, price 6*d.*[3] In 1692, it is included in Charles Doe's catalogue table of all Mr. Bunyan's books, appended to *The Struggler for their preservation*, No. 36; *Meditations on seventy-four things*, published in 1685, and not reprinted during the author's life. In Charles Doe's second catalogue of all Mr. Bunyan's books, appended to the first edition of the *Heavenly Footman*, March 1698, it is No. 37. *A Book for Boys and Girls*, or *Country Rhymes for Children*, in verse, on seventy-four things. This catalogue describes every work, word for word, as it is in the several title pages. In 1707 it had reached a third edition, and was 'ornamented with cuts;'[4] and the title is altered to *A Book for Boys and Girls, or Temporal Things Spiritualized*, with cuts. In 1720, it was advertised, 'price, bound, 6*d.*'[5] In Keach's *Glorious Lover*, it is advertised by Marshall, in 12mo. price 1*s.* In 1724, it assumed its present title, and from that time was repeatedly advertised as *Divine Emblems*, or *Temporal Things Spiritualized*, fitted for the use of boys and girls, adorned with cuts.

By indefatigable exertions, my excellent friend and brother collector of old English bibles, James Dix, Esq., Bristol, has just discovered and presented to me the second edition of this very rare little volume, in fine preservation, from which it appears, that in 1701, the title page was altered from *Country Rhymes and Meditations*, to *A Book for*

[1] Bunyan's poem in the Holy War.

[2] On the leaf following the title to *One Thing is Needful*, &c., by John Bunyan, 1688. A rare little 32mo, published by the author, in possession of the Editor.

[3] At the end of *Grace Abounding*, the sixth edition, and also in *The Work of Jesus Christ as an Advocate*, by Bunyan, 1688.

[4] Advertised in the eighth edition of *Solomon's Temple Spiritualized.*

[5] In *Youth Directed and Instructed*—a curious little book for children.

Boys and Girls, or Temporal Things Spiritualized. It has no cuts, but, with that exception, it contains exactly the same subjects as the subsequent editions published under the more popular title of *Divine Emblems.*

The only difficulty that remains is to discover *seventy-four* meditations in the forty-nine Emblems. This may be readily done, if the *subjects* of meditation are drawn out. Thus, the first emblem contains meditations on two things, *the Barren Fig-Tree*, and *God's Vineyard.* So the second has a meditation on *the Lark and the Fowler*, and another on the comparison between *the Fowler and Satan.* Upon this plan, the volume contains exactly seventy-four meditations.

Under the title of *Divine Emblems*, it has passed through a multitude of editions, and many thousand copies have been circulated. It was patronized in those early efforts of the Religious Tract Society, which have been so abundantly blessed in introducing wholesome food to the young, instead of the absurd romances which formerly poisoned the infant and youthful mind.

Among these numerous editions, two deserve special notice. The first of these was published in 1731, 'on a curious paper, and good letter, with new cuts.' It has a singular preface, signed J. D., addressed 'to the great Boys, in folio, and the little ones in coats.' The first eight pages are occupied with a dissertation on *the origin of language*, perhaps arising from a line in the dialogue between a sinner and spider, 'My name entailed is to my creation.' In this preface, he learnedly attempts to prove that language was the gift of God by revelation, and not a gradual acquirement of man as his wants multiplied. The other remarkable edition was published about 1790.[1] It is, both the text and cuts, printed from copperplate engravings, very handsomely executed. This is an honour conferred upon very few authors;[2] nor was it ever conferred upon one more worthy the highest veneration of man than is the immortal allegorist.

The number of editions which have been printed of these little engaging poems, is a proof of the high estimation in which they have been held for nearly one hundred and seventy years; and the great rarity of the early copies shows the eager interest with which they have been read by children until utterly destroyed.

The cuts were at first exceedingly coarse and rude, but were much improved in the more modern copies. Those to Mason's edition are handsome. The engraver has dressed all his actors in the costume of the time of George the Third; the women with hooped petticoats and high head dresses; clergymen with five or six tier wigs; men with cocked hats and queues; and female servants with mob caps. That to Emblem Fifteen, upon the sacraments, is peculiarly droll; the artist, forgetting that the author was a Baptist, represents a baby brought to the font to be christened! and two persons kneeling before the body of our Lord!

GEO. OFFOR.

[1] Square 24mo, by Bennet, Gurney, and others, without date.

[2] Sturt engraved the *Book of Common Prayer;* some French artists elegantly etched two of their devotional books; and Pyne engraved the texts of Horace and Virgil with beautiful vignettes.

TO THE READER.

COURTEOUS READER,

THE title page will show, if there thou look,
Who are the proper subjects of this book.
They're boys and girls of all sorts and degrees,
From those of age to children on the knees.
Thus comprehensive am I in my notions,
They tempt me to it by their childish motions.
We now have boys with beards, and girls that be
Big[3] as old women, wanting gravity.
Then do not blame me, 'cause I thus describe them.
Flatter I may not, lest thereby I bribe them
To have a better judgment of themselves,
Than wise men have of babies on their shelves.[4]
Their antic tricks, fantastic modes, and way,
Show they, like very boys and girls, do play
With all the frantic fopperies of this age,
And that in open view, as on a stage;
Our bearded men do act like beardless boys;
Our women please themselves with childish toys.
Our ministers, long time, by word and pen,
Dealt with them, counting them not boys, but men.
Thunderbolts they shot at them and their toys,
But hit them not, 'cause they were girls and boys.
The better charg'd, the wider still they shot,
Or else so high, these dwarfs they touched not.
Instead of men, they found them girls and boys,
Addict to nothing as to childish toys.

[3] Altered to 'huge' in the Emblems, 1724.

[4] A familiar phrase, denoting persons who have been always frivolous and childish, or those who have passed into second childhood. 'On the shelf' is a common saying of ladies when they are too old to get married.—(ED.)

Wherefore, good reader, that I save them may,
I now with them the very dotterel[1] play;
And since at gravity they make a tush,
My very beard I cast behind a bush;
And like a fool stand fing'ring of their toys,
And all to show them they are girls and boys.
Nor do I blush, although I think some may
Call me a baby, 'cause I with them play.
I do't to show them how each fingle-fangle
On which they doting are, their souls entangle,
As with a web, a trap, a gin, or snare;
And will destroy them, have they not a care.
Paul seemed to play the fool, that he might gain
Those that were fools indeed, if not in grain;[2]
And did it by their things, that they might know
Their emptiness, and might be brought unto
What would them save from sin and vanity,
A noble act, and full of honesty.
Yet he nor I would like them be in vice,
While by their playthings I would them entice,
To mount their thoughts from what are childish toys,
To heaven, for that's prepared for girls and boys.
Nor do I so confine myself to these,
As to shun graver things; I seek to please
Those more compos'd with better things than toys;
Though thus I would be catching girls and boys.
Wherefore, if men have now a mind to look,
Perhaps their graver fancies may be took
With what is here, though but in homely rhymes:
But he who pleases all must rise betimes.
Some, I persuade me, will be finding fault,
Concluding, here I trip, and there I halt:
No doubt some could those grovelling notions raise
By fine-spun terms, that challenge might the bays.
But should all men be forc'd to lay aside
Their brains that cannot regulate the tide
By this or that man's fancy, we should have
The wise unto the fool become a slave.
What though my text seems mean, my morals be
Grave, as if fetch'd from a sublimer tree.
And if some better handle[3] can a fly,
Than some a text, why should we then deny
Their making proof, or good experiment,
Of smallest things, great mischiefs to prevent?
Wise Solomon did fools to piss-ants[4] send,
To learn true wisdom, and their lives to mend.
Yea, God by swallows, cuckoos, and the ass,[5]
Shows they are fools who let that season pass,
Which he put in their hand, that to obtain
Which is both present and eternal gain.
I think the wiser sort my rhymes may slight,
But what care I, the foolish will delight
To read them, and the foolish God has chose,
And doth by foolish things their minds compose,
And settle upon that which is divine;
Great things, by little ones, are made to shine.
I could, were I so pleas'd, use higher strains:
And for applause on tenters[6] stretch my brains.
But what needs that? the arrow, out of sight,
Does not the sleeper, nor the watchman fright;
To shoot too high doth but make children gaze,
'Tis that which hits the man doth him amaze.
And for the inconsiderableness
Of things, by which I do my mind express,
May I by them bring some good thing to pass,
As Samson, with the jawbone of an ass;
Or as brave Shamgar, with his ox's goad
(Both being things not manly, nor for war in mode),
I have my end, though I myself expose
To scorn; God will have glory in the close. J. B.

[1] The name of a bird that mimics gestures.—(Ed.)
[2] Indelible, as when raw material is dyed before it is wove, every *grain* receives the dye.—(Ed.)
[3] For this use of the word 'handle,' see Jer. ii. 8. 'They that handle the law.'—(Ed.)
[4] This word, with pismire and emmet, has become obsolete. 'Ant' is the term now universally used.—(Ed.)
[5] See Ps. lxxxiv. 3; Le. xi. 16; Nu. xx.
[6] A machine used in the manufacture of cloth, on which it is stretched.—(Ed.)

A BOOK FOR BOYS AND GIRLS, &c.

DIVINE EMBLEMS, OR TEMPORAL THINGS SPIRITUALIZED, &c.

I.

UPON THE BARREN FIG-TREE IN GOD'S VINEYARD.

What, barren here! in this so good a soil?
The sight of this doth make God's heart recoil
From giving thee his blessing; barren tree,
Bear fruit, or else thine end will cursed be!
Art thou not planted by the water-side?
Know'st not thy Lord by fruit is glorified?
The sentence is, Cut down the barren tree:
Bear fruit, or else thine end will cursed be.
Hast thou been digg'd about and dunged too,
Will neither patience nor yet dressing do?
The executioner is come, O tree,
Bear fruit, or else thine end will cursed be!

He that about thy roots takes pains to dig,
Would, if on thee were found but one good fig,
Preserve thee from the axe: but, barren tree,
Bear fruit, or else thy end will cursed be!
The utmost end of patience is at hand,
'Tis much if thou much longer here doth stand.
O cumber-ground, thou art a barren tree.
Bear fruit, or else thine end will cursed be!
Thy standing nor thy name will help at all;
When fruitful trees are spared, thou must fall.
The axe is laid unto thy roots, O tree!
Bear fruit, or else thine end will cursed be.

II.

UPON THE LARK AND THE FOWLER.

Thou simple bird, what makes thou here to play?
Look, there's the fowler, pr'ythee come away.
Do'st not behold the net? Look there, 'tis spread,
Venture a little further, thou art dead.
Is there not room enough in all the field
For thee to play in, but thou needs must yield
To the deceitful glitt'ring of a glass,
Plac'd betwixt nets, to bring thy death to pass?
Bird, if thou art so much for dazzling light,
Look, there's the sun above thee; dart upright;
Thy nature is to soar up to the sky,
Why wilt thou come down to the nets and die?
Take no heed to the fowler's tempting call;
This whistle, he enchanteth birds withal.
Or if thou see'st a live bird in his net,
Believe she's there, 'cause hence she cannot get.
Look how he tempteth thee with his decoy,
That he may rob thee of thy life, thy joy.
Come, pr'ythee bird, I pry'thee come away,
Why should this net thee take, when'scape thou may?
Hadst thou not wings, or were thy feathers pull'd,
Or wast thou blind, or fast asleep wer't lull'd,
The case would somewhat alter, but for thee,
Thy eyes are ope, and thou hast wings to flee.
Remember that thy song is in thy rise,
Not in thy fall; earth's not thy paradise.
Keep up aloft, then, let thy circuits be
Above, where birds from fowler's nets are free.

Comparison.

This fowler is an emblem of the devil,
His nets and whistle, figures of all evil.
His glass an emblem is of sinful pleasure,
And his decoy of who counts sin a treasure.
This simple lark's a shadow of a saint,
Under allurings, ready now to faint.
This admonisher a true teacher is,
Whose works to show the soul the snare and bliss,
And how it may this fowler's net escape,
And not commit upon itself this rape.

III.

UPON THE VINE-TREE.

What is the vine, more than another tree?
Nay most, than it, more tall, more comely be.
What workman thence will take a beam or pin,
To make ought which may be delighted in?
Its excellency in its fruit doth lie:
A fruitless vine, it is not worth a fly.

Comparison.

What are professors more than other men?
Nothing at all. Nay, there's not one in ten,
Either for wealth, or wit, that may compare,
In many things, with some that carnal are.
Good are they, if they mortify their sin,
But without that, they are not worth a pin.

IV.

MEDITATIONS UPON AN EGG.

1.

The egg's no chick by falling from the hen;
Nor man a Christian, till he's born again.
The egg's at first contained in the shell;
Men, afore grace, in sins and darkness dwell.
The egg, when laid, by warmth is made a chicken,
And Christ, by grace, those dead in sin doth quicken.
The egg, when first a chick, the shell's its prison;
So's flesh to the soul, who yet with Christ is risen.
The shell doth crack, the chick doth chirp and peep,
The flesh decays, as men do pray and weep.
The shell doth break, the chick's at liberty,
The flesh falls off, the soul mounts up on high.
But both do not enjoy the self-same plight;
The soul is safe, the chick now fears the kite.

2.

But chicks from rotten eggs do not proceed,
Nor is a hypocrite a saint indeed.
The rotten egg, though underneath the hen,
If crack'd, stinks, and is loathsome unto men.
Nor doth her warmth make what is rotten sound;
What's rotten, rotten will at last be found.
The hypocrite, sin has him in possession,
He is a rotten egg under profession.

3.

Some eggs bring cockatrices; and some men
Seem hatch'd and brooded in the viper's den.
Some eggs bring wild-fowls; and some men there be
As wild as are the wildest fowls that flee.
Some eggs bring spiders, and some men appear
More venom'd than the worst of spiders are.[1]

[1] Spiders being venomous was a vulgar error, universally

Some eggs bring piss-ants, and some seem to me
As much for trifles as the piss-ants be.
Thus divers eggs do produce divers shapes,
As like some men as monkeys are like apes.
But this is but an egg, were it a chick,
Here had been legs, and wings, and bones to pick.

V.

OF FOWLS FLYING IN THE AIR.

Methinks I see a sight most excellent,
All sorts of birds fly in the firmament:
Some great, some small, all of a divers kind,
Mine eye affecting, pleasant to my mind.
Look how they tumble in the wholesome air,
Above the world of worldlings, and their care.
And as they divers are in bulk and hue,
So are they in their way of flying too.
So many birds, so many various things
Tumbling i' the element upon their wings.

Comparison.

These birds are emblems of those men that shall
Ere long possess the heavens, their all in all.
They are each of a diverse shape and kind,
To teach we of all nations there shall find.
They are some great, some little, as we see,
To show some great, some small, in glory be.[1]
Their flying diversely, as we behold,
Do show saints' joys will there be manifold;
Some glide, some mount, some flutter, and some do,
In a mix'd way of flying, glory too.
And all to show each saint, to his content,
Shall roll and tumble in that firmament.

VI.

UPON THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Our Father which in heaven art,
Thy name be always hallowed;
Thy kingdom come, thy will be done;
Thy heavenly path be followed
By us on earth as 'tis with thee,
We humbly pray;
And let our bread us given be,
From day to day.
Forgive our debts as we forgive
Those that to us indebted are:
Into temptation lead us not,[2]
But save us from the wicked snare.
The kingdom's thine, the power too,
We thee adore;
The glory also shall be thine
For evermore.

VII.

MEDITATIONS UPON PEEP OF DAY.

I oft, though it be peep of day, don't know
Whether 'tis night, whether 'tis day or no.
I fancy that I see a little light,
But cannot yet distinguish day from night;
I hope, I doubt, but steady yet I be not,
I am not at a point, the sun I see not.
Thus 'tis with such who grace but now[3] possest,
They know not yet if they be cursed or blest.

VIII.

UPON THE FLINT IN THE WATER.

This flint, time out of mind, has there abode,
Where crystal streams make their continual road.
Yet it abides a flint as much as 'twere
Before it touched the water, or came there
Its hard obdurateness is not abated,
'Tis not at all by water penetrated.
Though water hath a soft'ning virtue in't,
This stone it can't dissolve, for 'tis a flint.
Yea, though it in the water doth remain,
It doth its fiery nature still retain.
If you oppose it with its opposite,
At you, yea, in your face, its fire 'twill spit.

Comparison.

This flint an emblem is of those that lie,
Like stones, under the Word, until they die.
Its crystal streams have not their nature changed,
They are not, from their lusts, by grace estranged.

IX.

UPON THE FISH IN THE WATER.

1.

The water is the fish's element;
Take her from thence, none can her death prevent;
And some have said, who have transgressors been,
As good not be, as to be kept from sin.

2.

The water is the fish's element:
Leave her but there, and she is well content.

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believed, until modern discoveries have proved the contrary, excepting a few foreign species.—(Ed.)

[1] 'This is a scriptural idea of the inhabitants of heaven. Re. xi. 8, saints 'small and great.' Mat. xix. 28: 'The Son of man on his throne, and the twelve apostles on their thrones.' Re. iv. 10: 'Four and twenty elders on their thrones.' Re. v. 11: 'An innumerable company of worshippers.'—(Ed.)

[2] In an ancient battledore or hora-book, and in one of Henry VIII.'s primers, both in the editor's possession, this sentence is translated—'And let us not be led into temptation.'—(Ed.)

[3] When divine light first dawns upon the soul, and reveals sin, O how difficult is it to conclude that sin is pardoned, and the sinner blest!—(Ed.)

So's he, who in the path of life doth plod,
Take all, says he, let me but have my God.

3.

The water is the fish's element,
Her sportings there to her are excellent;
So is God's service unto holy men,
They are not in their element till then.

X.

UPON THE SWALLOW.

This pretty bird, O! how she flies and sings,[1]
But could she do so if she had not wings?
Her wings bespeak my faith, her songs my peace;
When I believe and sing my doubtings cease.

XI.

UPON THE BEE.

The bee goes out, and honey home doth bring,
And some who seek that honey find a sting.
Now would'st thou have the honey, and be free
From stinging, in the first place kill the bee.

Comparison.

This bee an emblem truly is of sin,
Whose sweet, unto a many, death hath been.
Now would'st have sweet from sin and yet not die,
Do thou it, in the first place, mortify.

XII.

UPON A LOWERING MORNING.

Well, with the day I see the clouds appear,
And mix the light with darkness everywhere;
This threatening is, to travellers that go
Long journeys, slabby rain they'll have, or snow.
Else, while I gaze, the sun doth with his beams
Belace the clouds, as 'twere with bloody streams;
This done, they suddenly do watery grow,
And weep, and pour their tears out where they go.

Comparison.

Thus 'tis when gospel light doth usher in
To us both sense of grace and sense of sin;
Yea, when it makes sin red with Christ's blood,
Then we can weep till weeping does us good.

XIII.

UPON OVER-MUCH NICENESS.

'Tis much to see how over nice some are
About the body and household affair,
While what's of worth they slightly pass it by,
Not doing, or doing it slovenly.
Their house must be well furnished, be in print,[2]
Meanwhile their soul lies ley,[3] has no good in't.
Its outside also they must beautify,
When in it there's scarce common honesty.
Their bodies they must have tricked up and trim,
Their inside full of filth up to the brim.
Upon their clothes there must not be a spot,
But is their lives more than one common blot.
How nice, how coy are some about their diet,
That can their crying souls with hogs'-meat quiet.
All drest must to a hair be, else 'tis naught,
While of the living bread they have no thought.
Thus for their outside they are clean and nice,
While their poor inside stinks with sin and vice.

XIV.

MEDITATIONS UPON A CANDLE.

Man's like a candle in a candlestick,
Made up of tallow and a little wick;
And as the candle when it is not lighted,
So is he who is in his sins benighted.
Nor can a man his soul with grace inspire,
More than can candles set themselves on fire.
Candles receive their light from what they are not;
Men grace from Him for whom at first they care not.
We manage candles when they take the fire;
God men, when he with grace doth them inspire.
And biggest candles give the better light,
As grace on biggest sinners shines most bright.
The candle shines to make another see,
A saint unto his neighbour light should be.
The blinking candle we do much despise,
Saints dim of light are high in no man's eyes.
Again, though it may seem to some a riddle,
We use to light our candles at the middle.[4]
True light doth at the candle's end appear,
And grace the heart first reaches by the ear.
But 'tis the wick the fire doth kindle on,
As 'tis the heart that grace first works upon.
Thus both do fasten upon what's the main,
And so their life and vigour do maintain.
The tallow makes the wick yield to the fire,
And sinful flesh doth make the soul desire
That grace may kindle on it, in it burn;
So evil makes the soul from evil turn.[5]

[1] The swallow is remarkably swift in flight; 'their note is a slight twittering, which they seldom if ever exert but upon the wing.'—Goldsmith's *Natural History*.—(Ed.)

[2] 'Be in print;' a proverbial expression, to show order and regularity; like type *in print*.—(Ed.)

[3] 'Ley;' barren or fallow, uncultivated, generally spelt *lea*.—(Ed.)

[4] This riddle is solved in the fourth line following. The light of the fear and love of God begins in the middle of our bodily frame, with the heart. Bunyan's love of religious riddles is seen in the second part of the Pilgrimage, when Christian is resting at the house of Gaius.—(Ed.)

[5] Convictions of sin make the soul turn from sin.—(Ed.)

But candles in the wind are apt to flare,
And Christians, in a tempest, to despair.
The flame also with smoke attended is,
And in our holy lives there's much amiss.
Sometimes a thief will candle-light annoy,
And lusts do seek our graces to destroy.
What brackish is will make a candle sputter;
'Twixt sin and grace there's oft' a heavy clutter.
Sometimes the light burns dim, 'cause of the snuff,
Sometimes it is blown quite out with a puff;
But watchfulness preventeth both these evils,
Keeps candles light, and grace in spite of devils.
Nor let not snuffs nor puffs make us to doubt,
Our candles may be lighted, though puffed out.
The candle in the night doth all excel,
Nor sun, nor moon, nor stars, then shine so well.
So is the Christian in our hemisphere,
Whose light shows others how their course to steer.
When candles are put out, all's in confusion;
Where Christians are not, devils make intrusion.
Then happy are they who such candles have,
All others dwell in darkness and the grave.
But candles that do blink within the socket,
And saints, whose eyes are always in their pocket,
Are much alike; such candles make us fumble,
And at such saints good men and bad do stumble.[1]
Good candles don't offend, except sore eyes,
Nor hurt, unless it be the silly flies.
Thus none like burning candles in the night,
Nor ought[2] to holy living for delight.
But let us draw towards the candle's end:
The fire, you see, doth wick and tallow spend,
As grace man's life until his glass is run,
And so the candle and the man is done.
The man now lays him down upon his bed,
The wick yields up its fire, and so is dead.
The candle now extinct is, but the man
By grace mounts up to glory, there to stand.

XV.

UPON THE SACRAMENTS.

Two sacraments I do believe there be,
Baptism and the Supper of the Lord;
Both mysteries divine, which do to me,
By God's appointment, benefit afford.
But shall they be my God, or shall I have
Of them so foul and impious a thought,
To think that from the curse they can me save?
Bread, wine, nor water, me no ransom bought.[3]

XVI.

UPON THE SUN'S REFLECTION UPON THE CLOUDS IN A FAIR MORNING.

Look yonder, ah! methinks mine eyes do see
Clouds edged with silver, as fine garments be;
They look as if they saw that golden face
That makes black clouds most beautiful with grace.
Unto the saints' sweet incense, or their prayer,
These smoky curdled clouds I do compare.
For as these clouds seem edged, or laced with gold,
Their prayers return with blessings manifold.

XVII

UPON APPAREL.

God gave us clothes to hide our nakedness,
And we by them do it expose to view.
Our pride and unclean minds to an excess,
By our apparel, we to others show.[4]

XVIII.

THE SINNER AND THE SPIDER.

Sinner.

What black, what ugly crawling thing art thou?

Spider.

I am a spider————

Sinner.

A spider, ay, also a filthy creature.

Spider.

Not filthy as thyself in name or feature.
My name entailed is to my creation,
My features from the God of thy salvation.

Sinner.

I am a man, and in God's image made,
I have a soul shall neither die nor fade,
God has possessed me[5] with human reason,
Speak not against me lest thou speakest treason.
For if I am the image of my Maker,
Of slanders laid on me He is partaker.

Spider.

I know thou art a creature far above me,
Therefore I shun, I fear, and also love thee.

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[1] This character is admirably drawn in the second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 200—Mr. Brisk, a suitor to Mercy. —(Ed.)

[2] Preterite of the verb 'to save,' from the Saxon *agan*, to be held or bound by moral obligation.—*Imperial Dictionary.* —(Ed.)

[3] What folly, nay, madness, for man to pretend to make God of a little flour, or to rely for forgiveness of sin on a wafer, a bit of bread, or a little wine or water. How degraded is he that pretends to believe such palpable absurdities. —(Ed.)

[4] This is one of Bunyan's keen, shrewd, home thrusts. Clothes professedly made to hide what they studiously display!! —(Ed.)

[5] Possessed me with, or has given me possession of.—(Ed.)

But though thy God hath made thee such a creature,
Thou hast against him often played the traitor.
Thy sin has fetched thee down: leave off to boast;
Nature thou hast defiled, God's image lost.
Yea, thou thyself a very beast hast made,
And art become like grass, which soon doth fade.
Thy soul, thy reason, yea, thy spotless state,
Sin has subjected to th' most dreadful fate.
But I retain my primitive condition,
I've all but what I lost by thy ambition.

Sinner.

Thou venomed thing, I know not what to call thee,
The dregs of nature surely did befall thee,
Thou wast made of the dross and scum of all,
Man hates thee; doth, in scorn, thee spider call.

Spider.

My venom's good for something, 'cause God made it,
Thy sin hath spoiled thy nature, doth degrade it.
Of human virtues, therefore, though I fear thee,
I will not, though I might, despise and jeer thee.
Thou say'st I am the very dregs of nature,
Thy sin's the spawn of devils, 'tis no creature.
Thou say'st man hates me 'cause I am a spider,
Poor man, thou at thy God art a derider;
My venom tendeth to my preservation,
Thy pleasing follies work out thy damnation.
Poor man, I keep the rules of my creation,
Thy sin has cast thee headlong from thy station.
I hurt nobody willingly, but thou
Art a self-murderer; thou know'st not how
To do what good is; no, thou lovest evil;
Thou fliest God's law, adherest to the devil.[1]

Sinner.

Ill-shaped creature, there's antipathy
'Twixt man and spiders, 'tis in vain to lie;
I hate thee, stand off, if thou dost come nigh me,
I'll crush thee with my foot; I do defy thee.

Spider.

They are ill-shaped, who warped are by sin,
Antipathy in thee hath long time been
To God; no marvel, then, if me, his creature,
Thou dost defy, pretending name and feature.
But why stand off? My presence shall not throng thee,
'Tis not my venom, but thy sin doth wrong thee.
Come, I will teach thee wisdom, do but hear me,
I was made for thy profit, do not fear me.

[1] Man's sinfulness, by nature and practice, justly, but awfully described.—*Mason.*

But if thy God thou wilt not hearken to,
What can the swallow, ant, or spider do?
Yet I will speak, I can but be rejected,
Sometimes great things by small means are effected.
Hark, then, though man is noble by creation,
He's lapsed now to such degeneration,
Is so besotted and so careless grown,
As not to grieve though he has overthrown
Himself, and brought to bondage everything
Created, from the spider to the king.
This we poor sensitives do feel and see;
For subject to the curse you made us be.
Tread not upon me, neither from me go;
'Tis man which has brought all the world to woe.
The law of my creation bids me teach thee;
I will not for thy pride to God impeach thee.
I spin, I weave, and all to let thee see,
Thy best performances but cobwebs be.
Thy glory now is brought to such an ebb,
It doth not much excel the spider's web;
My webs becoming snares and traps for flies,
Do set the wiles of hell before thine eyes;
Their tangling nature is to let thee see,
Thy sins too of a tangling nature be.
My den, or hole, for that 'tis bottomless,
Doth of damnation show the lastingness.
My lying quiet until the fly is catch'd,
Shows secretly hell hath thy ruin hatch'd.
In that I on her seize, when she is taken,
I show who gathers whom God hath forsaken.
The fly lies buzzing in my web to tell
Thee how the sinners roar and howl in hell.
Now, since I show thee all these mysteries,
How canst thou hate me, or me scandalize?

Sinner.

Well, well; I no more will be a derider,
I did not look for such things from a spider.

Spider.

Come, hold thy peace; what I have yet to say,
If heeded, help thee may another day.
Since I an ugly ven'mous creature be,
There is some semblance 'twixt vile man and me.
My wild and heedless runnings are like those
Whose ways to ruin do their souls expose.
Daylight is not my time, I work in th' night,
To show they are like me who hate the light.
The maid sweeps one web down, I make another,
To show how heedless ones convictions smother;
My web is no defence at all to me,
Nor will false hopes at judgment be to thee.

Sinner.

O spider, I have heard thee, and do wonder
A spider should thus lighten and thus thunder!

Spider.

Do but hold still, and I will let thee see
Yet in my ways more mysteries there be.
Shall not I do thee good, if I thee tell,
I show to thee a four-fold way to hell;
For, since I set my web in sundry places,
I show men go to hell in divers traces.
One I set in the window, that I might
Show some go down to hell with gospel light.
One I set in a corner, as you see,
To show how some in secret snared be.
Gross webs great store I set in darksome places,
To show how many sin with brazen faces;
Another web I set aloft on high,
To show there's some professing men must die.
Thus in my ways God wisdom doth conceal,
And by my ways that wisdom doth reveal.
I hide myself when I for flies do wait,
So doth the devil when he lays his bait;
If I do fear the losing of my prey,
I stir me, and more snares upon her lay:
This way and that her wings and legs I tie,
That, sure as she is catch'd, so she must die.
But if I see she's like to get away,
Then with my venom I her journey stay.
All which my ways the devil imitates
To catch men, 'cause he their salvation hates.

Sinner.

O spider, thou delight'st me with thy skill!
I pr'ythee spit this venom at me still.

Spider.

I am a spider, yet I can possess
The palace of a king, where happiness
So much abounds. Nor when I do go thither,
Do they ask what, or whence I come, or whither
I make my hasty travels; no, not they;
They let me pass, and I go on my way.
I seize the palace,[1] do with hands take hold
Of doors, of locks, or bolts; yea, I am bold,
When in, to clamber up unto the throne,
And to possess it, as if 'twere mine own.
Nor is there any law forbidding me
Here to abide, or in this palace be.
Yea, if I please, I do the highest stories
Ascend, there sit, and so behold the glories
Myself is compassed with, as if I were
One of the chiefest courtiers that be there.
Here lords and ladies do come round about me,
With grave demeanour, nor do any flout me
For this, my brave adventure, no, not they;
They come, they go, but leave me there to stay.

[1] See Pr. xxx. 20, and *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 185. There is also a very striking allusion to the subject of this emblem, in Bunyan's *Light in Darkness*, vol. i., p. 435.

Now, my reproacher, I do by all this
Show how thou may'st possess thyself of bliss:
Thou art worse than a spider, but take hold
On Christ the door, thou shalt not be controll'd.
By him do thou the heavenly palace enter;
None chide thee will for this thy brave adventure;
Approach thou then unto the very throne,
There speak thy mind, fear not, the day's thine own;
Nor saint, nor angel, will thee stop or stay,
But rather tumble blocks out of the way.
My venom stops not me; let not thy vice
Stop thee; possess thyself of paradise.
Go on, I say, although thou be a sinner,
Learn to be bold in faith, of me a spinner.
This is the way the glories to possess,
And to enjoy what no man can express.
Sometimes I find the palace door uplock'd,
And so my entrance thither has upblock'd.
But am I daunted? No, I here and there
Do feel and search; so if I anywhere,
At any chink or crevice, find my way,
I crowd, I press for passage, make no stay.
And so through difficulty I attain
The palace; yea, the throne where princes reign.
I crowd sometimes, as if I'd burst in sunder;
And art thou crushed with striving, do not wonder.
Some scarce get in, and yet indeed they enter;
Knock, for they nothing have, that nothing venture.
Nor will the King himself throw dirt on thee,
As thou hast cast reproaches upon me.
He will not hate thee, O thou foul backslider!
As thou didst me, because I am a spider.
Now, to conclude: since I such doctrine bring,
Slight me no more, call me not ugly thing.
God wisdom hath unto the piss-ant given,
And spiders may teach men the way to heaven.

Sinner.

Well, my good spider, I my errors see,
I was a fool for railing upon thee.
Thy nature, venom, and thy fearful hue,
Both show what sinners are, and what they do.
Thy way and works do also darkly tell,
How some men go to heaven, and some to hell.
Thou art my monitor, I am a fool;
They learn may, that to spiders go to school.

XIX.

MEDITATIONS UPON THE DAY BEFORE THE SUNRISING.

But all this while, where's he whose golden rays
Drives night away and beautifies our days?
Where's he whose goodly face doth warm and heal,
And show us what the darksome nights conceal?

Where's he that thaws our ice, drives cold away?
Let's have him, or we care not for the day.
Thus 'tis with who partakers are of grace,
There's nought to them like their Redeemer's face.

XX.

OF THE MOLE IN THE GROUND.

The mole's a creature very smooth and slick,
She digs i' th' dirt, but 'twill not on her stick;
So's he who counts this world his greatest gains,
Yet nothing gets but's labour for his pains.
Earth's the mole's element, she can't abide
To be above ground, dirt heaps are her pride;
And he is like her who the worldling plays,
He imitates her in her work and ways.
Poor silly mole, that thou should'st love to be
Where thou nor sun, nor moon, nor stars can see.
But O! how silly's he who doth not care
So he gets earth, to have of heaven a share!

XXI.

OF THE CUCKOO.

Thou booby, say'st thou nothing but Cuckoo?
The robin and the wren can thee outdo.
They to us play thorough their little throats,
Taking not one, but sundry pretty taking notes.
But thou hast fellows, some like thee can do
Little but suck our eggs, and sing Cuckoo.
Thy notes do not first welcome in our spring,
Nor dost thou its first tokens to us bring.
Birds less than thee by far, like prophets, do
Tell us, 'tis coming, though not by Cuckoo.
Nor dost thou summer have away with thee,
Though thou a yawling bawling Cuckoo be.
When thou dost cease among us to appear,
Then doth our harvest bravely crown our year.
But thou hast fellows, some like thee can do
Little but suck our eggs, and sing Cuckoo.
Since Cuckoos forward not our early spring,
Nor help with notes to bring our harvest in;
And since, while here, she only makes a noise,
So pleasing unto none as girls and boys,
The Formalist we may compare her to,
For he doth suck our eggs, and sing Cuckoo.

XXII.

OF THE BOY AND BUTTERFLY.

Behold how eager this our little boy
Is for this Butterfly, as if all joy,
All profits, honours, yea, and lasting pleasures,
Were wrapt up in her, or the richest treasures,
Found in her, would be bundled up together,
When all her all is lighter than a feather.
He halloos, runs, and cries out, Here, boys, here,
Nor doth he brambles or the nettles fear.
He stumbles at the mole-hills, up he gets,
And runs again, as one bereft of wits;
And all this labour and this large outcry,
Is only for a silly butterfly.

Comparison.

This little boy an emblem is of those
Whose hearts are wholly at the world's dispose,
The butterfly doth represent to me,
The world's best things at best but fading be.
All are but painted nothings and false joys,
Like this poor butterfly to these our boys.
His running thorough nettles, thorns, and briars,
To gratify his boyish fond desires;
His tumbling over mole-hills to attain
His end, namely, his butterfly to gain;
Doth plainly show what hazards some men run,
To get what will be lost as soon as won.
Men seem in choice, than children far more wise,
Because they run not after butterflies;
When yet, alas! for what are empty toys,
They follow children, like to beardless boys.[1]

XXIII.

OF THE FLY AT THE CANDLE.

What ails this fly thus desperately to enter
A combat with the candle? Will she venture
To clash at light? Away, thou silly fly;
Thus doing thou wilt burn thy wings and die.
But 'tis a folly her advice to give,
She'll kill the candle, or she will not live.
Slap, says she, at it; then she makes retreat,
So wheels about, and doth her blows repeat.
Nor doth the candle let her quite escape,
But gives some little check unto the ape:
Throws up her heels it doth, so down she falls,
Where she lies sprawling, and for succour calls.
When she recovers, up she gets again,
And at the candle comes with might and main,
But now behold, the candle takes the fly,
And holds her, till she doth by burning die.

Comparison.

This candle is an emblem of that light
Our gospel gives in this our darksome night.
The fly a lively picture is of those
That hate and do this gospel light oppose.
At last the gospel doth become their snare,
Doth them with burning hands in pieces tear.[2]

[1] He who, in riper years, seeks happiness in sensual gratification, is a child in understanding: he only *changes his toys*.—(Ed.)

[2] 'To the one, a savour of death unto death; and to the other, a savour of life unto life," 2 Co. ii. 16.

XXIV.

ON THE RISING OF THE SUN.

Look, look, brave Sol doth peep up from beneath,
Shows us his golden face, doth on us breathe;
He also doth compass us round with glories,
Whilst he ascends up to his highest stories.
Where he his banner over us displays,
And gives us light to see our works and ways.
Nor are we now, as at the peep of light,
To question, is it day, or is it night?
The night is gone, the shadows fled away,
And we now most sure are that it is day.
Our eyes behold it, and our hearts believe it;
Nor can the wit of man in this deceive it.
And thus it is when Jesus shows his face,
And doth assure us of his love and grace.

XXV.

UPON THE PROMISING FRUITFULNESS OF A TREE.

A comely sight indeed it is to see
A world of blossoms on an apple-tree:
Yet far more comely would this tree appear,
If all its dainty blooms young apples were.
But how much more might one upon it see,
If all would hang there till they ripe should be.
But most of all in beauty 'twould abound,
If then none worm-eaten should there be found.
But we, alas! do commonly behold
Blooms fall apace, if mornings be but cold.
They too, which hang till they young apples are,
By blasting winds and vermin take despair,
Store that do hang, while almost ripe, we see
By blust'ring winds are shaken from the tree,
So that of many, only some there be,
That grow till they come to maturity.

Comparison.

This tree a perfect emblem is of those
Which God doth plant, which in his garden grows,
Its blasted blooms are motions unto good,
Which chill affections do nip in the bud.
Those little apples which yet blasted are,
Show some good purposes, no good fruits bear.
Those spoiled by vermin are to let us see,
How good attempts by bad thoughts ruin'd be.
Those which the wind blows down, while they are green,
Show good works have by trials spoiled been.
Those that abide, while ripe upon the tree,
Show, in a good man, some ripe fruit will be.
Behold then how abortive some fruits are,
Which at the first most promising appear.
The frost, the wind, the worm, with time doth show,
There flows, from much appearance, works but few.

XXVI.

UPON THE THIEF.

The thief, when he doth steal, thinks he doth gain;
Yet then the greatest loss he doth sustain.
Come, thief, tell me thy gains, but do not falter,
When summ'd, what comes it to more than the halter?
Perhaps, thoul't say, The halter I defy;
So thou may'st say, yet by the halter die.
Thou'lt say, Then there's an end; no, pr'ythee, hold,
He was no friend of thine that thee so told.
Hear thou the Word of God, that will thee tell,
Without repentance thieves must go to hell.
But should it be as thy false prophet says,
Yet nought but loss doth come by thievish ways.
All honest men will flee thy company,
Thou liv'st a rogue, and so a rogue will die.
Innocent boldness thou hast none at all,
Thy inward thoughts do thee a villain call.
Sometimes when thou liest warmly on thy bed,
Thou art like one unto the gallows led.
Fear, as a constable, breaks in upon thee,
Thou art as if the town was up to stone thee.
If hogs do grunt, or silly rats do rustle,
Thou art in consternation, think'st a bustle
By men about the door, is made to take thee,
And all because good conscience doth forsake thee.
Thy case is most deplorably so bad,
Thou shunn'st to think on't, lest thou shouldst be mad.
Thou art beset with mischiefs every way,
The gallows groaneth for thee every day.
Wherefore, I pr'ythee, thief, thy theft forbear,
Consult thy safety, pr'ythee, have a care.
If once thy head be got within the noose,
'Twill be too late a longer life to choose.
As to the penitent thou readest of,
What's that to them who at repentance scoff.
Nor is that grace at thy command or power,
That thou should'st put it off till the last hour.
I pr'ythee, thief, think on't, and turn betime;
Few go to life who do the gallows climb.

XXVII.

OF THE CHILD WITH THE BIRD AT THE BUSH.

My little bird, how canst thou sit
And sing amidst so many thorns?
Let me a hold upon thee get,
My love with honour thee adorns.
Thou art at present little worth,
Five farthings none will give for thee,
But pr'ythee, little bird, come forth,
Thou of more value art to me.
'Tis true it is sunshine to-day,
To-morrow birds will have a storm;

My pretty one come thou away,
  My bosom then shall keeep thee warm.
Thou subject are to cold o'nights,
  When darkness is thy covering;
At days thy danger's great by kites,
  How can'st thou then sit there and sing?
Thy food is scarce and scanty too,
  'Tis worms and trash which thou dost eat;
Thy present state I pity do,
  Come, I'll provide thee better meat.
I'll feed thee with white bread and milk,
  And sugar plumbs, if them thou crave.
I'll cover thee with finest silk,
  That from the cold I may thee save.
My father's palace shall be thine,
  Yea, in it thou shalt sit and sing;
My little bird, if thou'lt be mine,
  The whole year round shall be thy spring.
I'll teach thee all the notes at court,
  Unthought-of music thou shalt play;
And all that thither do resort,
  Shall praise thee for it every day.
I'll keep thee safe from cat and cur,
  No manner o' harm shall come to thee;
Yea, I will be thy succourer,
  My bosom shall thy cabin be.
But lo, behold, the bird is gone;
  These charmings would not make her yield;
The child's left at the bush alone,
  The bird flies yonder o'er the field.

Comparison.

This child of Christ an emblem is,
  The bird to sinners I compare,
The thorns are like those sins of his
  Which do surround him everywhere.
Her songs, her food, and sunshine day,
  Are emblems of those foolish toys,
Which to destruction lead the way,
  The fruit of worldly, empty joys.
The arguments this child doth choose
  To draw to him a bird thus wild,
Shows Christ familiar speech doth use
  To make's to him be reconciled.
The bird in that she takes her wing,
To speed her from him after all,
Shows us vain man loves any thing
  Much better than the heavenly call.

XXVIII.

OF MOSES AND HIS WIFE.

This Moses was a fair and comely man,
His wife a swarthy Ethiopian;
Nor did his milk-white bosom change her skin.
She came out thence as black as she went in.
Now Moses was a type of Moses' law,
His wife likewise of one that never saw
Another way unto eternal life;
There's mystery, then, in Moses and his wife.
The law is very holy, just, and good,
And to it is espoused all flesh and blood;
But this its goodness it cannot bestow
On any that are wedded thereunto.
Therefore as Moses' wife came swarthy in,
And went out from him without change of skin,
So he that doth the law for life adore,
Shall yet by it be left a black-a-more.

XXIX.

OF THE ROSE-BUSH.

This homely bush doth to mine eyes expose
A very fair, yea, comely ruddy rose.
This rose doth also bow its head to me,
Saying, Come, pluck me, I thy rose will be;
Yet offer I to gather rose or bud,
Ten to one but the bush will have my blood.
This looks like a trapan,[1] or a decoy,
To offer, and yet snap, who would enjoy;
Yea, the more eager on't, the more in danger,
Be he the master of it, or a stranger.
Bush, why dost bear a rose if none must have it,
Who dost expose it, yet claw those that crave it?
Art become freakish? dost the wanton play,
Or doth thy testy humour tend its way?

Comparison.

This rose God's Son is, with his ruddy looks.
But what's the bush, whose pricks, like tenter-hooks,
Do scratch and claw the finest lady's hands,
Or rend her clothes, if she too near it stands?
This bush an emblem is of Adam's race,
Of which Christ came, when he his Father's grace
Commended to us in his crimson blood,
While he in sinners' stead and nature stood.
Thus Adam's race did bear this dainty rose,
And doth the same to Adam's race expose;
But those of Adam's race which at it catch,
Adam's race will them prick, and claw, and scratch.

XXX.

OF THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN.

What, hast thou run thy race, art going down?
Thou seemest angry, why dost on us frown?
Yea, wrap thy head with clouds and hide thy face,
As threatening to withdraw from us thy grace?
O leave us not! When once thou hid'st thy head,
Our horizon with darkness will be spread.

[1] 'Trapan' is the Saxon verb to ensnare, modernized to trap.—(Ed.)

Tell who hath thee offended, turn again.
Alas! too late, intreaties are in vain.

Comparison.

Our gospel has had here a summer's day,
But in its sunshine we, like fools, did play;
Or else fall out, and with each other wrangle,
And did, instead of work, not much but jangle.
And if our sun seems angry, hides his face,
Shall it go down, shall night possess this place?
Let not the voice of night birds us afflict,
And of our misspent summer us convict.[1]

XXXI.

UPON THE FROG.

The frog by nature is both damp and cold,
Her mouth is large, her belly much will hold;
She sits somewhat ascending, loves to be
Croaking in gardens, though unpleasantly.

Comparison.

The hypocrite is like unto this frog,
As like as is the puppy to the dog.
He is of nature cold, his mouth is wide
To prate, and at true goodness to deride.
He mounts his head as if he was above
The world, when yet 'tis that which has his love.
And though he seeks in churches for to croak,
He neither loveth Jesus nor his yoke.

XXXII.

UPON THE WHIPPING OF A TOP.

'Tis with the whip the boy sets up the top,
The whip makes it run round upon its toe;
The whip makes it hither and thither hop:
'Tis with the whip the top is made to go.

Comparison.

Our legalist is like unto this top,
Without a whip he doth not duty do;
Let Moses whip him, he will skip and hop;
Forbear to whip, he'll neither stand nor go.

XXXIII.

UPON THE PISMIRE.

Must we unto the pismire go to school,
To learn of her in summer to provide
For winter next ensuing. Man's a fool,
Or silly ants would not be made his guide.
But, sluggard, is it not a shame for thee
To be outdone by pismires? Pr'ythee hear:
Their works, too, will thy condemnation be
When at the judgment-seat thou shalt appear.
But since thy God doth bid thee to her go,
Obey, her ways consider, and be wise;
The piss-ant tell thee will what thou must do,
And set the way to life before thine eyes.

XXXIV.

UPON THE BEGGAR.

He wants, he asks, he pleads his poverty,
They within doors do him an alms deny.
He doth repeat and aggravate his grief,
But they repulse him, give him no relief.
He begs, they say, Begone; he will not hear,
But coughs, sighs, and makes signs he still is there;
They disregard him, he repeats his groans;
They still say nay, and he himself bemoans.
They grow more rugged, they call him vagrant;
He cries the shriller, trumpets out his want.
At last, when they perceive he'll take no nay,
An alms they give him without more delay.

Comparison.

This beggar doth resemble them that pray
To God for mercy, and will take no nay,
But wait, and count that all his hard gainsays
Are nothing else but fatherly delays;
Then imitate him, praying souls, and cry:
There's nothing like to importunity.

XXXV.

UPON THE HORSE AND HIS RIDER.

There's one rides very sagely on the road,
Showing that he affects the gravest mode.
Another rides tantivy, or full trot,
To show much gravity he matters not.
Lo, here comes one amain, he rides full speed,
Hedge, ditch, nor miry bog, he doth not heed.
One claws it up-hill without stop or check,
Another down as if he'd break his neck.
Now every horse has his especial guider;
Then by his going you may know the rider.

Comparison.

Now let us turn our horse into a man,
His rider to a spirit, if we can.
Then let us, by the methods of the guider,
Tell every horse how he should know his rider.
Some go, as men, direct in a right way,
Nor are they suffered to go astray;
As with a bridle they are governed,
And kept from paths which lead unto the dead.

[1] How agonizing will be the cry of the lost soul—'The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved,' Jer. viii. 20.—(Ed.) Upon the brittle thread of life hang everlasting things.—*Mason.*

Now this good man has his especial guider,
Then by his going let him know his rider.
Some go as if they did not greatly care,
Whether of heaven or hell they should be heir.
The rein, it seems, is laid upon their neck,
They seem to go their way without a check.
Now this man too has his especial guider,
And by his going he may know his rider.
Some again run as if resolved to die,
Body and soul, to all eternity.
Good counsel they by no means can abide;
They'll have their course whatever them betide.
Now these poor men have their especial guider,
Were they not fools they soon might know their rider.
There's one makes head against all godliness,
Those too, that do profess it, he'll distress;
He'll taunt and flout if goodness doth appear,
And at its countenancers mock and jeer.
Now this man, too, has his especial guider,
And by his going he might know his rider.

XXXVI.

UPON THE SIGHT OF A POUND OF CANDLES FALLING TO THE GROUND.

But be the candles down, and scattered too,
Some lying here, some there? What shall we do?
Hold, light the candle there that stands on high,
It you may find the other candles by.
Light that, I say, and so take up the pound
You did let fall and scatter on the ground.

Comparison.

The fallen candles do us intimate
The bulk of God's elect in their laps'd state;
Their lying scattered in the dark may be
To show, by man's lapsed state, his misery.
The candle that was taken down and lighted,
Thereby to find them fallen and benighted,
Is Jesus Christ; God, by his light, doth gather
Who he will save, and be unto a Father.

XXXVII.

UPON A PENNY LOAF.

Thy price one penny is in time of plenty,
In famine doubled, 'tis from one to twenty.
Yea, no man knows what price on thee to set
When there is but one penny loaf to get.

Comparison.

This loaf's an emblem of the Word of God,
A thing of low esteem before the rod
Of famine smites the soul with fear of death,
But then it is our all, our life, our breath.[1]

[1] When the Word of God dwells in us richly in all wisdom, then will the peace of God rule in our hearts, and we shall be sweetly inclined to every good thought, word, and work.—(Ed.)

XXXVIII.

THE BOY AND WATCHMAKER.

This watch my father did on me bestow,
A golden one it is, but 'twill not go,
Unless it be at an uncertainty:
But as good none as one to tell a lie.
When 'tis high day my hand will stand at nine;
I think there's no man's watch so bad as mine.
Sometimes 'tis sullen, 'twill not go at all,
And yet 'twas never broke nor had a fall.

Watchmaker.

Your watch, though it be good, through want of skill
May fail to do according to your will.
Suppose the balance, wheels, and springs be good,
And all things else, unless you understood
To manage it, as watches ought to be,
Your watch will still be at uncertainty.
Come, tell me, do you keep it from the dust,
Yea, wind it also duly up you must?
Take heed, too, that you do not strain the spring;
You must be circumspect in every thing,
Or else your watch, were it as good again,
Would not with time and tide you entertain.

Comparison.

This boy an emblem is of a convert,
His watch of the work of grace within his heart,
The watch-maker is Jesus Christ our Lord,
His counsel, the directions of his Word;
Then convert, if thy heart be out of frame,
Of this watch-maker learn to mend the same.
Do not lay ope' thy heart to worldly dust,
Nor let thy graces over-grow with rust,
Be oft' renewed in th' spirit of thy mind,
Or else uncertain thou thy watch wilt find.

XXXIX.

UPON A LOOKING-GLASS.

In this see thou thy beauty, hast thou any,
Or thy defects, should they be few or many.
Thou may'st, too, here thy spots and freckles see,
Hast thou but eyes, and what their numbers be.
But art thou blind? There is no looking-glass
Can show thee thy defects, thy spots, or face.

Comparison.

Unto this glass we may compare the Word,
For that to man advantage doth afford
(Has he a mind to know himself and state),
To see what will be his eternal fate.

But without eyes, alas! how can he see?
Many that seem to look here, blind men be.
This is the reason they so often read
Their judgment there, and do it nothing dread.

XL.

OF THE LOVE OF CHRIST.

The love of Christ, poor I! may touch upon;
But 'tis unsearchable. O! there is none
Its large dimensions can comprehend
Should they dilate thereon world without end.
When we had sinned, in his zeal he sware,
That he upon his back our sins would bear.
And since unto sin is entailed death,
He vowed for our sins he'd lose his breath.
He did not only say, vow, or resolve,
But to astonishment did so involve
Himself in man's distress and misery,
As for, and with him, both to live and die.
To his eternal fame in sacred story,
We find that he did lay aside his glory,
Stepped from the throne of highest dignity,
Became poor man, did in a manger lie;
Yea, was beholden unto his for bread,
Had, of his own, not where to lay his head;
Though rich, he did for us become thus poor,
That he might make us rich for evermore.
Nor was this but the least of what he did,
But the outside of what he suffered?
God made his blessed son under the law,
Under the curse, which, like the lion's paw,
Did rent and tear his soul for mankind's sin,
More than if we for it in hell had been.
His cries, his tears, and bloody agony,
The nature of his death doth testify.
Nor did he of constraint himself thus give,
For sin, to death, that man might with him live.
He did do what he did most willingly,
He sung, and gave God thanks, that he must die.
But do kings use to die for captive slaves?
Yet we were such when Jesus died to save's.
Yea, when he made himself a sacrifice,
It was that he might save his enemies.
And though he was provoked to retract
His blest resolves for such so good an act,
By the abusive carriages of those
That did both him, his love, and grace oppose;
Yet he, as unconcerned with such things,
Goes on, determines to make captives kings;
Yea, many of his murderers he takes
Into his favour, and them princes makes.

XLI.

ON THE CACKLING OF A HEN.

The hen, so soon as she an egg doth lay,
(Spreads the fame of her doing what she may.)
About the yard she cackling now doth go,
To tell what 'twas she at her nest did do.
Just thus it is with some professing men,
If they do ought that good is, like our hen
They can but cackle on't where e'er they go,
What their right hand doth their left hand must know.

XLII.

UPON AN HOUR-GLASS.

This glass, when made, was, by the workman's skill,
The sum of sixty minutes to fulfil.
Time, more nor less, by it will out be spun,
But just an hour, and then the glass is run.
Man's life we will compare unto this glass,
The number of his months he cannot pass;
But when he has accomplished his day,
He, like a vapour, vanisheth away.

XLIII.

UPON A SNAIL.

She goes but softly, but she goeth sure,
She stumbles not, as stronger creatures do.
Her journey's shorter, so she may endure
Better than they which do much farther go.
She makes no noise, but stilly seizeth on
The flower or herb appointed for her food,
The which she quietly doth feed upon
While others range and glare, but find no good.
And though she doth but very softly go,
However, 'tis not fast nor slow, but sure;
And certainly they that do travel so,
The prize they do aim at they do procure.

Comparison.

Although they seem not much to stir, less go,
For Christ that hunger, or from wrath that flee,
Yet what they seek for quickly they come to,
Though it doth seem the farthest off to be.
One act of faith doth bring them to that flower
They so long for, that they may eat and live,
Which, to attain, is not in others power,
Though for it a king's ransom they would give.
Then let none faint, nor be at all dismayed
That life by Christ do seek, they shall not fail
To have it; let them nothing be afraid;
The herb and flower are eaten by the snail.[1]

XLIV.

OF THE SPOUSE OF CHRIST.

Who's this that cometh from the wilderness,
Like smoky pillars thus perfum'd with myrrh,

[1] If the crawling snail finds food, wherefore do ye doubt, O! ye of little faith.—(Ed.)

Leaning upon her dearest in distress,
Led into's bosom by the Comforter?
She's clothed with the sun, crowned with twelve stars,
The spotted moon her footstool she hath made.
The dragon her assaults, fills her with jars,
Yet rests she under her Beloved's shade,
But whence was she? what is her pedigree?
Was not her father a poor Amorite?
What was her mother but as others be,
A poor, a wretched, and a sinful Hittite.
Yea, as for her, the day that she was born,
As loathsome, out of doors they did her cast;
Naked and filthy, stinking and forlorn;
This was her pedigree from first to last.
Nor was she pitied in this estate,
All let her lie polluted in her blood:
None her condition did commiserate,
There was no heart that sought to do her good.
Yet she unto these ornaments is come,
Her breasts are fashioned, her hair is grown;
She is made heiress of the best kingdom;
All her indignities away are blown.
Cast out she was, but now she home is taken,
Naked (sometimes), but now, you see, she's cloth'd;
Now made the darling, though before forsaken,
Barefoot, but now as princes' daughters shod.
Instead of filth, she now has her perfumes;
Instead of ignominy, her chains of gold:
Instead of what the beauty most consumes,
Her beauty's perfect, lovely to behold.
Those that attend and wait upon her be
Princes of honour, clothed in white array;
Upon her head's a crown of gold, and she
Eats wheat, honey, and oil, from day to day.
For her beloved, he's the high'st of all,
The only Potentate, the King of kings:
Angels and men do him Jehovah call,
And from him life and glory always springs.
He's white and ruddy, and of all the chief:
His head, his locks, his eyes, his hands, and feet,
Do, for completeness, out-go all belief;
His cheeks like flowers are, his mouth most sweet.
As for his wealth, he is made heir of all;
What is in heaven, what is on earth is his:
And he this lady his joint-heir doth call,
Of all that shall be, or at present is.
Well, lady, well, God has been good to thee;
Thou of an outcast, now art made a queen.
Few, or none, may with thee compared be,
A beggar made thus high is seldom seen.
Take heed of pride, remember what thou art
By nature, though thou hast in grace a share,
Thou in thyself dost yet retain a part
Of thine own filthiness; wherefore beware.

XLV.

UPON A SKILFUL PLAYER ON AN INSTRUMENT.

He that can play well on an instrument,
Will take the ear, and captivate the mind
With mirth or sadness; for that it is bent
Thereto, as music in it place doth find.
But if one hears that hath therein no skill,
(As often music lights of such a chance)
Of its brave notes they soon be weary will:
And there are some can neither sing nor dance.

Comparison.

Unto him that thus skilfully doth play,
God doth compare a gospel-minister,
That rightly preacheth, and doth godly pray,
Applying truly what doth thence infer.
This man, whether of wrath or grace he preach,
So skilfully doth handle every word;
And by his saying doth the heart so reach,
That it doth joy or sigh before the Lord.
But some there be, which, as the brute, doth lie
Under the Word, without the least advance
Godward; such do despise the ministry;
They weep not at it, neither to it dance.

XLVI.

OF MAN BY NATURE.

From God he's a backslider,
Of ways he loves the wider;
With wickedness a sider,
More venom than a spider.
In sin he's a considerer,
A make-bate and divider;
Blind reason is his guider,
The devil is his rider.

XLVII.

UPON THE DISOBEDIENT CHILD.

Children become, while little, our delights!
When they grow bigger, they begin to fright's.
Their sinful nature prompts them to rebel,
And to delight in paths that lead to hell.
Their parents' love and care they overlook,
As if relation had them quite forsook.
They take the counsels of the wanton's, rather
Than the most grave instructions of a father.
They reckon parents ought to do for them,
Though they the fifth commandment do contemn;
They snap and snarl if parents them control,
Though but in things most hurtful to the soul.
They reckon they are masters, and that we
Who parents are, should to them subject be!

If parents fain would have a hand in choosing,
The children have a heart will in refusing.
They'll by wrong doings, under parents gather,
And say it is no sin to rob a father.
They'll jostle parents out of place and power,
They'll make themselves the head, and them devour.
How many children, by becoming head,
Have brought their parents to a piece of bread!
Thus they who, at the first, were parents' joy,
Turn that to bitterness, themselves destroy.
But, wretched child, how canst thou thus requite
Thy aged parents, for that great delight
They took in thee, when thou, as helpless, lay
In their indulgent bosoms day by day?
Thy mother, long before she brought thee forth,
Took care thou shouldst want neither food nor cloth.
Thy father glad was at his very heart,
Had he to thee a portion to impart.
Comfort they promised themselves in thee,
But thou, it seems, to them a grief wilt be.
How oft, how willingly brake they their sleep,
If thou, their bantling, didst but winch or weep.
Their love to thee was such they could have giv'n,
That thou mightst live, almost their part of heav'n.
But now, behold how they rewarded are!
For their indulgent love and tender care;
All is forgot, this love he doth despise.
They brought this bird up to pick out their eyes.

XLVIII.

UPON A SHEET OF WHITE PAPER.

This subject is unto the foulest pen,
Or fairest handled by the sons of men.
'Twill also show what is upon it writ,
Be it wisely, or nonsense for want of wit,
Each blot and blur it also will expose
To thy next readers, be they friends or foes.

Comparison.

Some souls are like unto this blank or sheet,
Though not in whiteness. The next man they meet,
If wise or fool, debauched or deluder,
Or what you will, the dangerous intruder
May write thereon, to cause that man to err
In doctrine or in life, with blot and blur.
Nor will that soul conceal from who observes,
But show how foul it is, wherein it swerves.
A reading man may know who was the writer,
And, by the hellish nonsense, the inditer.

XLIX.

UPON FIRE.

Who falls into the fire shall burn with heat;
While those remote scorn from it to retreat.
Yea, while those in it, cry out, O! I burn,
Some farther off those cries to laughter turn.

Comparison.

While some tormented are in hell for sin;
On earth some greatly do delight therein.
Yea, while some make it echo with their cry,
Others count it a fable and a lie.[1]

[1] Fools make a mock at sin. The scorner occupies a proud, an elevated seat, which will sink under him, and crush him down to everlasting destruction. The threatenings and promises of God stand sure for ever.—(Ed.)

THE STRUGGLER;

CONTAINING

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER IN WHICH MR. BUNYAN'S BOOKS WERE PUBLISHED, AND THE NUMBER OF EDITIONS THEY PASSED THROUGH DURING HIS LIFE.

THIRTY REASONS WHY CHRISTIAN PEOPLE SHOULD PROMOTE THEIR CIRCULATION, AND THE STRUGGLER FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THESE LABOURS.—PUBLISHED IN 1691.

By CHARLES DOE, one of Mr. Bunyan's personal friends.

A CATALOGUE-TABLE OF MR. BUNYAN'S BOOKS.

AND

THEIR SUCCESSION IN PUBLISHING, MOST ACCORDING TO HIS OWN RECKONING.

Note.—Those that are in Italic letter are them that compose the first folio: And the rest are intended, when time serves, for a second folio.*

1	*Gospel truths opened,*	1656	31	The 2d pt. Pilgrim's Progress (3 Imp.),	[1684]
2	A vindication of that [sm. 4to]	1657	32	Life and Death of Mr. Badman,†	[1680]
3	Sighs from Hell (9 Impressions),	[1650]	33	Holy Life the beauty of Christianity,	
4	The 2 Covenants Law and Grace,		34	The Pharisee and Publican,	1685
5	*I will pray with the Spirit,*	1663	35	A caution against Sin, [a sheet]	[1684]
6	*A map of salvation, &c.,* [A broadside]		36	Meditations on 74 things,	
7	The four last things (3 Impressions),		37	The first-day Sabbath,	1685
8	Mount Ebal and Gerizim,		38	The Jerusalem Sinner Saved,	1688
9	Prison Meditations,		39	Jesus Christ an advocate,	1688
10	*The Holy City, &c.,*	1665	40	The House of God,	1688
11	*The Resurrection, &c.,*	1665	41	The Water of Life,	1688
12	Grace Abounding (6 Impressions),	[1666]	42	Solomon's Temple Spiritualized,	[1688]
13	Justification by Jesus Christ, [sm. 4to]	1671	43	The Excell. of a broken heart,	[1689]
14	Confession of Faith, &c.,	1672	44	His last Sermon at London,	1688
15	Difference in Judgment, &c.,	1673	45	*Exposit. on 10 first chap. of Genesis,*	12 *Manuscripts* part of the first folio. 1692
16	Peaceable principles, &c.,	1674	46	*Justification by Imputed Righteousness,*	
17	Election and Reprobation, &c., [sm. 4to]	[No date]	47	*Paul's departure and crown,*	
18	*Light for them in Darkness,*		48	*Of the Trinity and a Christian,*	
19	*Christian Behaviour* (4 Impressions),		49	*Of the Law and a Christian,*	
20	*Instructions for the Ignorant,*	1675	50	*Israel's Hope encouraged,*	
21	Saved by Grace,		51	*Desires of the righteous granted,*	
22	*The Strait-Gate,*	1676	52	*The unsearchable riches of Christ,*	
23	The Pilgrim's Progress (12 Impressions),	[1678]	53	*Christ Compleat Saviour in's Interest,*	
24	The Fear of God,	1679	54	*Saint's Knowledge of Christ's love,*	
25	Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ (4 Impress.)		55	*House of the Forest of Lebanon,*	
26	The Holy War (3 Impressions),	1682	56	*A description of Antichrist,*	
27	The Barren Fig Tree,		57	A Christian Dialogue.‡	4 *Manuscripts* yet unprinted.
	The Greatness of the Soul, &c.,	[1683]	58	The Heavenly Footman.‡	
	A Case of Conscience of prayer, [sm. 4to]	[1683]	59	A Pocket Concordance.‡	
	Advice to Sufferers,	1684	60	An Account of his Imprisonment.‖	

Here's sixty pieces of his labours, and he was sixty years of age.

He was born at Elstow, nigh Bedford, about 1628. And about 1652 was, by irresistible grace, converted: and in 1660 he had preached five years, and then, for that, was thrown into Bedford Goal; and in 1671 was called to the pastoral office at Bedford, being the 11th of his twelve years and an half's imprisonment; and died at London, Aug. 31, 1688.

[Where the date is in brackets it is supplied from original copies in the Editor's possession.]

* Difficulties as to copyright prevented this second volume from being published.—See Editor's Preface.

† A good copy of this rare volume with the wood-cuts, having the reverse blank, in the editor's possession, and a fine copy, without the cuts, at Mr. Pickering's, agree as to the date of 1680. It is misplaced in this chronological table; but the date shows that it was not intended as a third part of the *Pilgrim's Progress;* the second part of which was not published for four years after the life of Badman.—Ed.

‡ These MSS., although diligently sought, cannot be found.

§ This was published in a separate pocket volume by C. Doe, 1698.

‖ Published from Mr. Bunyan's MS., 1765.

REASONS

WHY CHRISTIAN PEOPLE SHOULD PROMOTE BY SUBSCRIPTIONS THE PRINTING IN FOLIO THE LABOURS OF MR. JOHN BUNYAN, LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, AND PASTOR OF THE CONGREGATION AT BEDFORD.

I. He was a very able and excellent minister of the gospel; viz., able to express himself, and had excellent matter known to all Christians that have heard him preach.

II. He became thus able and excellent a minister by a great degree of Gospel Grace bestowed upon his own soul, more than probable for that very end; for that God wrought him from a very great profane sinner, and an illiterate poor man, to this profound understanding the true or genuine spiritual meaning of the Scriptures, whereby he could experimentally preach to souls with power, and affection, and apostolical learning, the true nature of the gospel.

III. God's bestowing such great grace, to turn so great a sinner, to make such a great gospel labourer, and thrust him into his harvest, argues there was great need, and therefore without question his labours ought to be preserved.

IV. Our Bunyan being so graciously, by the Lord of the harvest, thrust into labour, clearly shows to us, (and may by this preservation to future ages), that God is not bound to human means of learned education (though learning may be useful in its place), but can, when he will, make a minister of the gospel without man's forecast of education, and in spite of all the men in the world that would oppose it, though it be above sixteen hundred years after the apostles.

V. Many thousands had the soul benefit and comfort of his ministry to astonishment, as if an angel or an apostle had touched their souls with a coal of holy fire from the altar.

VI. This excellent operation of the special grace of God in him, and the gift of utterance when he preached, confounded the wisdom of his adversaries that heard him, or heard of him, he being, as it is commonly called, unlearned, or had not school education.

VII. For all these reasons before-mentioned, of the spirituality of his preaching, his labours in writing deserve preservation by printing as much as any other famous man's that have writ since the apostles' time.

VIII. Moreover he hath been a Christian sufferer for above twelve years, by imprisonment, whereby he sealed to the truth he preached.

IX. Yet, for all that imprisonment, he preached then, and there, and afterwards abroad, as a faithful labourer for the salvation of souls.

X. And he was not a man that preached by way of bargain for money, for he hath refused a more plentiful income to keep his station.

XI. And his moderation, or desire of money, was as the apostle Paul's practice, below his privilege; so that he did not, when he died, leave much wealth to his family.

XII. And the Church that wants such a pastor may find it long before they get one, and therefore ought to respect our Bunyan's labours

XIII. If God had not put it into the heart of some Christians or Church to preserve the Epistles of the Apostle to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and others, we in this age of the world should in all probability never have known that there ever were any such Christians and doctrines; their names and doctrines might have been lost, and we might have perished, and that would have been dreadful; for God mostly works by second causes.

XIV. And why should any Christian people, that have reason to reckon themselves obliged herein, set themselves aside from communicating to other Christians and the ages to come the gospel labours of so eminent a minister as God so graciously honoured and assisted them with?

XV. And if these labours (of, as I may say, an apostle of our age, if we have any) are not preserved by printing thus in folio, most of them in all probability will be lost, for there are many of them have been out of print many years, and will never otherwise be printed again because of the charge, &c.

XVI. By the late Act for liberty of conscience, it is lawful now to print the works of dissenters, though it was not so formerly; therefore much danger cannot plead excuse.

XVII. It is a good work without controversy, and therefore there can be no scruple of conscience about its pleasing God.

XVIII. There is also to the subscribers a further benefit in this folio; for, whereas these twenty books would, if bought single, cost nigh twenty shillings now, as printed in folio they will have them for about twelve shillings bound together in one volume, which conveniency also prevents losing.

XIX. These ten manuscripts, which were never before printed, would, if printed in small books, and bought single, cost almost the money that these twenty in folio comes for, which is great odds.

XX. Not to preserve his labours and name, which are so great, is a disingenuous slighting or despising them, and serving them no better than a wicked man's that rots. Bunyan hath preached, and freely bestowed many a good and gospel-truth, and soul-reviving expression; for which of them doth any of his friends slight him? Nay, do not they rather owe him something for his labour he bestowed on them, as Philemon did to Paul?

XXI. The price of the first part will be an easier purchase than of the whole; and all in one volume would be somewhat too big in bulk and price.

XXII. There is need of printing these books now, because errors and superstitions, like the smoke of the

bottomless pit, darken protestants understanding the purer truths of the gospel.

XXIII. And when this first part is sold off, we shall endeavour to publish a second part, whereby he that is willing may have the whole in folio.

XXIV. This preservation will preserve the name of John Bunyan, a champion of our age to future ages; whereby it may be said in the pulpit, The great convert Bunyan said so and so.

XXV. If the labours of so eminent a minister should not be preserved, I know not whose should.

XXVI. Antichristian people are diligent to preserve the works of their eminent men; and therefore Christians should be diligent to preserve theirs.

XXVII. The chief reasons we argue from are not common rules, that therefore every good minister's endeavours ought to be printed in folio. But this case is extraordinary, as an eminent minister, made so by abundance of gospel grace, who has also writ much, which hath gone off well. I say eminent, though he was, when young, profane, and had not school education to enable him, as is apparent to all that knew him.

XXVIII. By this printing in folio a man may have recourse for satisfaction in a case of conscience to any of these particular books with the rest, which otherwise are not to be bought; and that I have proved by often trying most London booksellers, and before that given them above twice the price for a book; and I know not how to get another of those sorts for any price whatsoever.

XXIX. All these things, or half of them, beside many others that might be given, being considered, I cannot see but it is an absolute duty.

XXX. And lastly (pardon me, if I speak too great a word, as it may seem to some to be borne), all things considered; that is, his own former profaneness, poverty, unlearnedness, together with his great natural parts, the great change made by grace, and his long imprisonment, and the great maturity in grace and preaching he attained to, I say our deceased Bunyan hath not left in England, or the world, his equal behind him, as I know of. And this is the unfeigned belief of,

Your Christian brother,

CHARLES DOE.

THE STRUGGLER

(FOR THE PRECEDING PRESERVATION OF MR. JOHN BUNYAN'S LABOURS IN FOLIO) THINKS IT MAY ANSWER THE DESIRES OF MANY TO GIVE THE FOLLOWING RELATION:—

CHRISTIAN READER,

I DO here as a further duty presume to give you, according to my understanding, a relation in three parts, concerning our eminent author, Mr. John Bunyan, and his labours.

I. The author's parentage, imprisonment, times, and manner of his life and death, &c.

II. Relations and observations upon his labours, &c.

III. Notes on printing this folio and index, &c.

First, Our excellent author, by the abundant grace of God, Mr. John Bunyan, was born at Elstow, a mile side of Bedford, about the year 1628. His father was mean, and by trade a mender of pots and kettles, vulgarly called a tinker, and of the national religion, as commonly men of that trade are, and was brought up to the tinkering trade, as also were several of his brothers, whereat he worked about that country,[1] being also very profane and poor, even when married, &c.

[1] As doth appear by his book of his conversion, intituled, Grace Abounding, &c.

But it pleased God, by his irresistible grace, to work in him some convictions and fears of hell, and also desires of heaven, which drove him to reading and hearing of religious matters, so, controlling grace growing abundantly, he did not take up religion upon trust, but grace in him continually struggling with himself and others, took all advantages he lit on to ripen his understanding in religion, and so he lit on the dissenting congregation of Christians at Bedford, and was, upon confession of faith, baptized about the year 1651, or 52, or 53.

And after a little time, having a gift of utterance, and love to the conviction of sinners, preached about the country the same salvation he found by experience himself stood in need of, by faith and repentance, and worked at his tinkering trade for a livelihood, whereby the reigning grace of God appeared the more sovereign and glorious in this choice, even as it shone in the choice of Peter, a fisherman, and the rest of the apostles, and others of the eminent saints of old, most of them tradesmen, and of whom most excellent things are spoken, &c.

In the year 1660, being the year king Charles returned to England, having preached about five years, the rage of gospel enemies was so great that, November 12, they took him prisoner at a meeting of good people, and put him in Bedford jail, and there he continued about six years, and then was let out again, 1666, being the year of the burning of London, and, a little after his release, they took him again at a meeting, and put him in the same jail, where he lay six years more. [3] Before they took him his intent was to preach on these words, 'Dost thou believe on the Son of God?' Jn. ix. 35. From whence he intended to show the absolute need of faith in Jesus Christ. And after he was released again, they took him again, and put him in prison the third time, but that proved but for about half a year.

[2] As in his book intituled, Grace Abounding, s. 319.

[3] As he says in his Epistle to his Confession of Faith.

Whilst he was thus twelve years and a half in prison, he writ several of his published books, as by

many of their epistles appears, as 'Pray by the Spirit,' 'Holy City,' 'Resurrection,' 'Grace Abounding,' and others, also 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' as himself and many others have said.

The pastor of Bedford congregation died, and, after some years' vacancy, John Bunyan, though a prisoner, was, by the church, called to the pastoral office, December 21, 1671, and as it pleased the Lord to rule the rage of men, it proved in or about the last year of his twelve years' imprisonment. And, being out, he preached the gospel publicly at Bedford, and about the counties, and at London, with very great success, being mightily followed everywhere. And it pleased the Lord to preserve him out of the hands of his enemies in the severe persecution at the latter end of king Charles the Second's reign, though they often searched and laid wait for him, and sometimes narrowly missed him.

In 1688, he published six books, being the time of king James the Second's liberty of conscience, and was seized with a sweating distemper, which, after his some weeks going about, proved his death, at his very loving friend's, Mr. Strudwick's, a grocer, at Holborn Bridge, London, on August 31, 1688, and in the 60th year of his age, and was buried in Finsbury burying-ground, where many London dissenting ministers are laid; and it proved some days above a month before our great gospel deliverance was begun by the Prince of Orange's landing, whom the Lord of his continued blessing hath since made our preserving king, William the Third.

And as to his family, he left his widow, Elizabeth, and three sons, John, Thomas, and Joseph, and three daughters, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Mary; but his blind daughter he writes of in his 'Grace Abounding' died some years before him, and his widow died 1690–1.

Secondly, Concerning his labours; God did give of his extraordinary grace of the gospel to our author, Bunyan, and it is worthy our observation, for thereby God may have due honour, his people comfort, and adversaries confuted in their several corrupt notions, especially that of only them that have school education are fitly qualified for ministers of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ. And also hereby the superstitious man is confounded in his way of worship, as were his predecessors, the rulers of the Jews, in the case of Peter and John, saying, Whence had these men this knowledge, seeing they are unlearned? but there was and is a reason beyond their false rules of education—for they had been with Jesus.

This is also apt to convince sincere-hearted Christians that God can, when he will, make a minister of his gospel, and send him forth in the power of his Spirit, and defend him, nay, may I say, it is God's prerogative to make his gospel-ministers, and he makes them effectual to all the ends of his gospel, to preach, as the great apostle saith, in season and out of season, to abase and abound, &c. He that can make the dry bones live (as in Eze. xxxvii.), what can he not do? yea, they shall live, and become a great host, and antichristian arts must fall; for the Lord doth make his servants, as he did Jeremiah, as brazen walls against people and priests.

And however some subtilly and vain-gloriously pretend to be the only lawful successors of the apostles, yet certain I am, from safer reasons of faith, that our author Bunyan was really, sincerely, and effectually a lawful successor of the apostles, and as lawful as any have been above this thousand years. Nay, may I say, he was a second Paul; for that his conversion was in a great measure like that great apostle's, who, of a great enemy to godliness, was, by strong and irresistible workings of sovereign grace, made a great minister of, and sufferer for, the gospel. Thousands of Christians in country and city, can testify that their comfort under his ministry has been to admiration, so that their joy hath showed itself by much weeping.

To the eye of carnal reason it may seem that the great apostle Paul's imprisonment was a contradiction to his commission of effectually preaching the gospel to many countries; especially considering his commission was strengthened by his miraculous conversion, from the glory and call of the Lord Jesus from heaven, for the making of him such a great gospel preacher. And yet God suffered it so to be, and we have reason to believe for the best; because God usually works those seeming contrary things to his own end and glory. And the effect was, the saints were strengthened thereby, and several epistles were written thereby, which hath preserved much of the gospel in writing to the ages after, and even for our very great and needful help.

And I reckon I shall not be out of the way, if I observe and say—What hath the devil or his agents gotten by putting our great gospel-minister, Bunyan, in prison? for in prison, as before mentioned, he wrote many excellent books, that have published to the world his great grace, and great truth, and great judgment, and great ingenuity; and to instance in one, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, he hath suited to the life of a traveller so exactly and pleasantly, and to the life of a Christian, that this very book, besides the rest, hath done the superstitious sort of men and their practice more harm, or rather good, as I may call it, than if he had been let alone at his meeting at Bedford, to preach the gospel to his own auditory, as it might have fallen out; for none but priest-ridden people know how to cavil at it, it wins so smoothly upon their affections, and so insensibly distils the gospel into them, and hath been printed in France, Holland, New England, and in Welsh, and about a hundred thousand in England, whereby they are made some means of grace, and the author become famous; and may be the cause of spreading his other gospel-books over the European and American world, and in process of time may be so to the whole universe.

When Mr. Bunyan preached in London, if there were but one day's notice given, there would be more people come together to hear him preach than the meeting-house would hold. I have seen to hear him preach, by my computation, about twelve hundred at a morning lecture, by seven o'clock, on a working day, in the dark winter time. I also computed about three thousand that came to hear him one Lord's-day, at Lon-

don, at a town's end meeting-house; so that half were fain to go back again for want of room, and then himself was fain, at a back door, to be pulled almost over people to get upstairs to his pulpit.

Mr. Bunyan's dispute with a scholar to this effect.

As Mr. Bunyan was upon the road near Cambridge, there overtakes him a scholar that had observed him a preacher, and said to him, How dare you preach, seeing you have not the original, being not a scholar?

Then said Mr. Bunyan, Have you the original?

Yes, said the scholar.

Nay, but, said Mr. Bunyan, have you the very selfsame original copies that were written by the penmen of the scriptures, prophets and apostles?

No, said the scholar, but we have the true copies of those originals.

How do you know that? said Mr. Bunyan.

How? said the scholar. Why, we believe what we have is a true copy of the original.

Then, said Mr. Bunyan, so do I believe our English Bible is a true copy of the original.

Then away rid the scholar.

Another dispute with a scholar.

As Mr. Bunyan was preaching in a barn, and showing the fewness of those that should be saved, there stood one of the learned to take advantage of his words; and having done preaching, the schoolman said to him, You are a deceiver, a person of no charity, and therefore not fit to preach; for he that in effect condemneth the greatest part of his hearers hath no charity, and therefore not fit to preach.

Then Mr. Bunyan answered—The Lord Jesus Christ preached in a ship to his hearers on the shore, Mat. xiii.; and showed that they were as four sorts of ground—The high-way, The stony, The Thorny, and The good ground; whereof the good ground was the only persons to be saved.

And your position is—That he that in effect condemneth the greatest part of his hearers hath no charity, and therefore not fit to preach the gospel.

But here the Lord Jesus Christ did so; then your conclusion is—The Lord Jesus Christ wanted charity, and therefore not fit to preach the gospel.

Horrid blasphemy; away with your hellish logic, and speak Scripture.

Then replied the learned: 'Tis blasphemy to call logic hellish, which is our reason—the gift of God; for that which distinguisheth a man from a beast is the gift of God.

But Mr. Bunyan replied: Sin doth distinguish a man from a beast; is sin therefore the gift of God? &c.

They parted.

I once asked him his opinion in a common religious point, and offered some arguments to prove my opinion for the general of it; but he answered, that where the Scripture is silent we ought to forbear our opinions; and so he forebore to affirm either for or against, the Scripture being altogether silent in this point.

Thirdly, concerning this folio, &c. I have struggled to bring about this great good work; and it had succeeded in Mr. Bunyan's lifetime, even all his labours in folio, but that an interested bookseller opposed it; and notwithstanding the many discouragements I have met with in my struggles in this so great a work, we have—and I may believe by the blessing of the Lord—gotten about four hundred subscriptions, whereof about thirty are ministers; which also shows the great esteem our author's labours are in among Christian people. And that the reasonableness and duty of the preservation of his labours in folio, by subscription, may be continued to memory, I have also added my reasons, which I distributed in my late struggles to effect this work.

His effigies was cut in copper,* from an original paint done to the life, by his very good friend, a limner; and those who desire it single, to put in a frame, may have it at this bookseller's—Mr. Marshal; and also the catalogue-table. The epistle is writ by two ministers, Mr. Wilson of Hichin, in Hertfordshire, and Mr. Chandler, who succeeds Mr. Bunyan at Bedford.

And Mr. Burton, that writ the epistle to *Some Gospel-truths Opened*, being the first book Mr. Bunyan writ, was minister at Bedford.

Note.—I would not charge the following running-titles upon our author, Bunyan; because they were added in the proposals, for want of running titles and the knowledge of them, and the copies being at Bedford when the proposals were drawn up at London; and also because, perhaps, he designed some other like running-titles:—

Paul's departure and crown.
Israel's hope encouraged.
The saint's privilege and profit.
Christ a complete Saviour.
The saint's knowledge of Christ's love.
Of the Trinity and a Christian.
Of the Law and a Christian.

Notes upon the Index, &c.†

I did intend to print a complete table of all the texts of Scriptures used in our author's labours, that from thence, looking into his book, his sense might be easily found upon any text; so his labours might have been also in the nature of an exposition upon the whole Bible; but I have delayed till some other opportunity, it may be of the next folio, and whenever it falls I intend to give notice.

Because I and other subscribers, especially ministers, were willing this folio should be commoded with an index, I have, as a Christian, exposed myself and made one, and that without money for my labour of writing it, though I confess it might have seemed some other men's duty; yet being ignorant of the man that had the opportunity, and would have done it, unless paid for it, I was necessitated to effect it; and if the bookseller had

* Alluding to the portrait published as a frontispiece to the folio volume, 1692.—Ed.

† The Index accompanying the first folio.—Ed.

paid for it, he would have lessened the number of 140 sheets of Mr. Bunyan's labours in this folio at ten shillings. Excuse this fault in me, if it be one.

I could have collected abundance more of excellent matter in this table; and I have placed an Italic-lettered word in every paragraph in the table, to be the guide-word to the same word in the folio, which is a black-lettered word in the folio, latter part; that is, those books formerly printed, where the printer hath not failed to make it so, and also in the manuscript, fore-part, a guide-word to the same word under which I have drawn a black line, in as many folios as opportunity and time would permit me to do, because I had not time and conveniency before this folio was printed to mark the manuscripts for to be a black-lettered word, as I had time for the formerly printed books.* Also note, the book, though marked, doth not always refer to the table, but the table to the book, is the intent; and because the word in the book doth not always, though very often, fall in alphabetical order, therefore some other like word is put in its place in the table.

Also note, sometimes many principal words are in one paragraph, and then, though the matter be not to be found in the table by the word, that some perhaps may expect, yet it may be found by another word, because several words are so united that one cannot well part them; and it would be too large a table to put them all in severally in alphabetical order—as soul, sinner, saved, salvation, justification, Christ, God, &c.

Also note. When to the table-phrase more than one number is placed, then expect not that the same black-letter word is always to be found in the book to the last number, as is to the first number, but it may be some other black or marked word of like meaning; as for antichrist the black-lettered word in some places is harlot, and for apostles the black-letter word sometimes is twelve, because the word apostle is not in that part of the folio, though intended by twelve.

Also note. The phrase in the table is not always the very same, word for word, in the book, because the design of the table is to give matter in short saying, as well as most commonly a complete sentence; and, therefore, they that would have Mr. Bunyan's entire, complete, and full sense of the matter, let them look out of the table into the book, and there take all its connection together. Also, I have to keep the table as short as I well could; and yet, to direct well to the matter in the book, placed one part of the matter under one word, in alphabetical order, and another part of the same matter in another following paragraph, under another word in the table; so that, by finding one word in the table, you may often find in the same paragraph, in the book, before or after that word, other matter thereto relating.†

I had but about two years' acquaintance with our author, and, therefore, have said but little of him, because of hastening this to the press; yet if any more comes to my memory, I intend to put it at the end of the index.

Your Christian brother,

C. D.

* This is as originally printed. Mr. Doe means, he had not time to mark in the manuscript such words as the printer should put in black-letter.—Ed.

† The table to which Charles Doe here refers is only to twenty of Mr Bunyan's books. It is diffuse, and badly arranged. The Index given with this first complete edition of all the admirable works of our great pilgrim forefather, is entirely new. It is the result of a careful reading of every treatise, extracting a notice of such things as the editor conceived to be most deeply interesting. These extracts were then arranged, in order to furnish a useful index to all the works of Bunyan. It has been attended with very great labour, and some delay to the publication; but *no* sacrifice is too great, in order to render Bunyan's works as complete as possible. George Offor.

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